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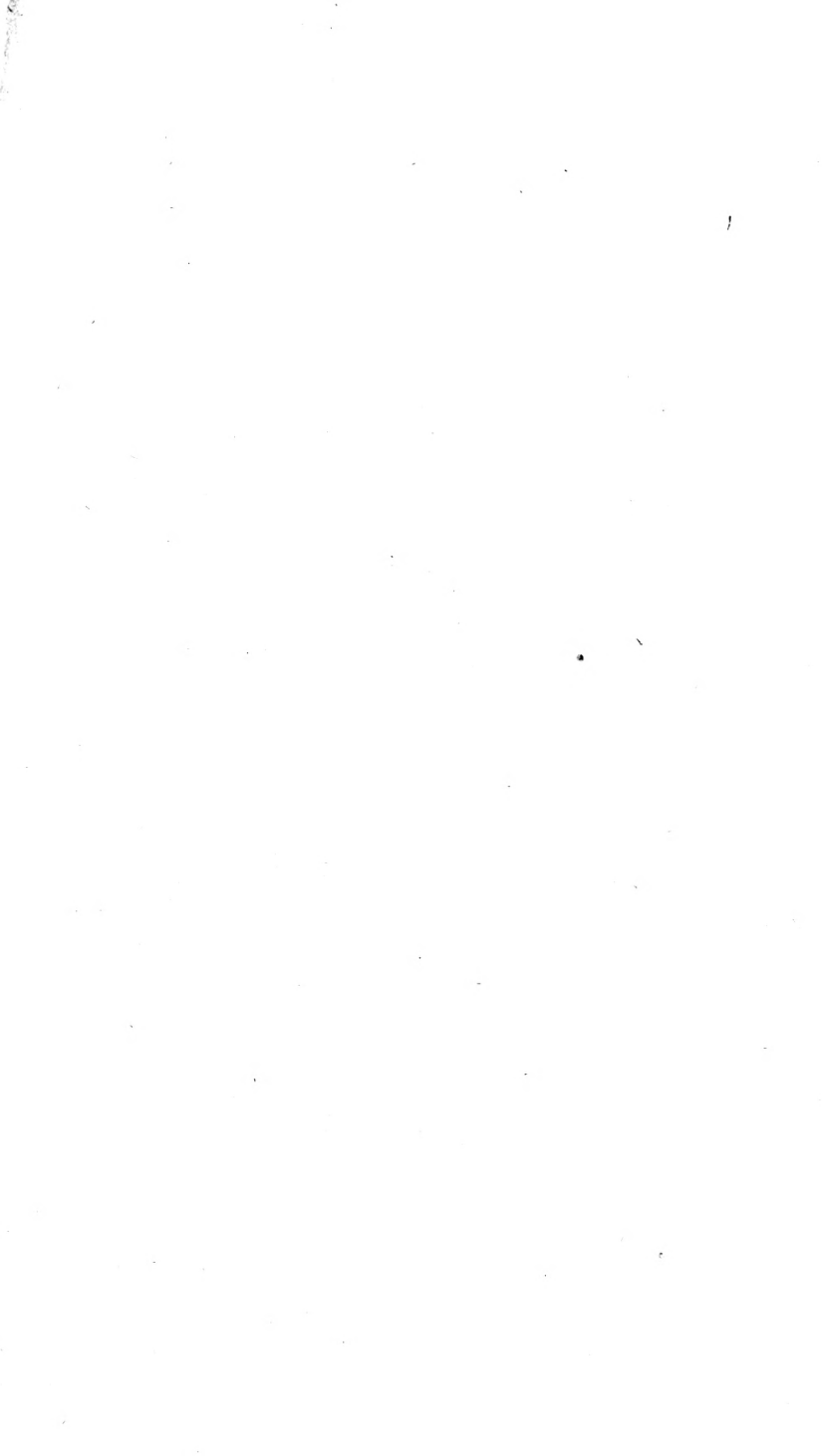


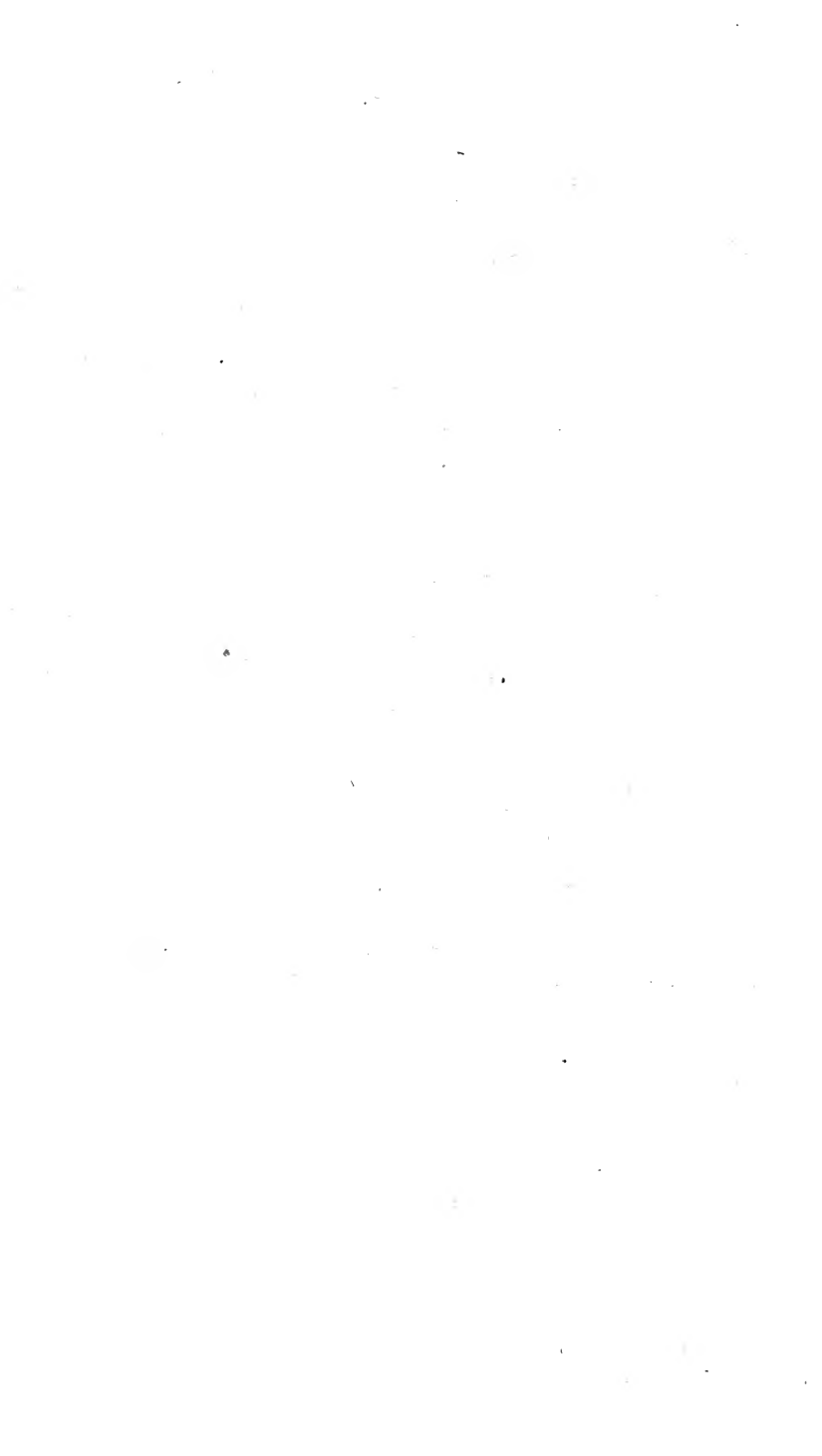
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TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THOMAS MIFFLIN, ESQ.

P R E S I D E N T

O F T H E

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA;

T H I S V O L U M E

IS, WITH DUE RESPECT, DEDICATED;

BY HIS OBEDIENT,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

Philadelphia, January 30, 1789.

MATHEW CAREY.

171-22

v. 5

P R E F A C E.

IF an uncommon accession of patronage, be a proof of public approbation, I am induced to hope, that my endeavours, in the prosecution of the American Museum, to acquire that pleasing reward, are not wholly without effect. The complete establishment of this work, which now enters the fifth volume of its course, demands my most unfeigned acknowledgments: no exertions shall be spared, to preserve, unfulfilled, the character it has been honoured with, by some of the most distinguished personages in America.

That part of it, which comprizes the papers respecting the revolution, begins, in the present number, with some of the public acts of the venerable congress of 1774—and takes in all the depositions, &c. respecting those memorable events, the battles of Lexington and Concord.

In each of the succeeding numbers, will be introduced accounts of some of the proceedings of congress or of other public bodies—or dispatches from the commanders in the principal engagements, sieges, &c. of the late eventful contest: and thus, in a year or two, the most important of these interesting documents will be collected together, from the various detached papers where—in they are at present confusedly dispersed.

The importance of the agricultural interest of America, is too clearly understood, to render expatiation necessary on the subject. I therefore gladly embrace every opportunity of preserving such essays on rural concerns, as are published here. It is much to be regretted that their number bears no proportion to their utility. Might not our agricultural societies render essential service to their countrymen, by occasionally publishing extracts from foreign treatises on husbandry and other rural affairs, suited to the circumstances, soil and climate of America? These might make their appearance weekly in the papers, and be afterwards inserted in the different magazines and in the museum.

All essays that have a tendency to improve the manufactures of this country, are collected with a care not inferior to that bestowed on those of the former description.

Such law cases as are published in America, and are any wise interesting, find a ready admission here.

If any gentlemen of the faculty choose to submit their speculations to the public, the American Museum offers them its services; and, from its very extensive circulation, appears a vehicle well calculated for their purpose.

The preservation of the *Visitant*, written by an amiable character in this city—of the *Worcester Speculator*, by an unknown hand, many numbers of which are not inferior to the *Spectator*—and of the *Friend*, by the rev. dr. Dwight—can hardly fail to prove agreeable to every reader who wishes to promote the knowledge of the most important of all sciences—that of the moral duties imposed on mankind by their relation to their Creator and to each other.

As several persons object to the introduction of extracts from books, and to the insertion of those pieces which come not properly under the denomination of “*fugitive*,” I beg they will consult the preface to the first number, wherein they will see, that I reserved a liberty to lay under contribution all publications whatsoever, American or European, ancient or modern, which might be likely to serve “the cause of liberty, religion, or virtue.”

No longer than this appears to be the leading object of the Museum, do I hope and request a continuance of the favour of the public, and am,

their obedient servant,

MATHEW CAREY.

Philadelphia, Jan. 30, 1789.



Letter from his excellency general Washington, to M. Carey.

S I R,

Mount Vernon, June 25, 1788.

I Believe the American Museum has met with extensive, I may say, with universal approbation from competent judges: for I am of opinion, that the work is not only eminently calculated to disseminate political, agricultural, philosophical, and other valuable information—but that it has been *uniformly conducted with taste, attention, and propriety*. If to these important objects be superadded the more immediate design, of rescuing public documents from oblivion—I will venture to pronounce, as my sentiment, THAT A MORE USEFUL LITERARY PLAN HAS NEVER BEEN UNDERTAKEN IN AMERICA, OR ONE MORE DESERVING OF PUBLIC ENCOURAGEMENT. By continuing to prosecute the plan with *similar assiduity and discernment*, the merit of your Museum must ultimately become as well known in some countries of Europe, as on this continent; and can scarcely fail of procuring you an ample compensation for your trouble and expense.

For my part, I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical publications: insomuch that I could heartily desire, copies of the Museum and Magazines, as well as common Gazettes, might be spread through every city, town, and village in America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge, more happily calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people.

With sincere wishes for the success of your undertaking in particular, and of the typographical art in general,

I am, sir,
your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MR. MATHEW CAREY.



Extract of a letter from the honourable John Dickinson to the same,

Wilmington, July 19, 1788.

AS I have always thought the press of inestimable benefit to the interests of freedom, and of truth in general, so have I been fully convinced that the mode of conveying intelligence by periodical publications, is attended with particular advantages. The proposal of the American Museum, for communicating political, agricultural, and other valuable information, and serving as a repository of useful tracts, appeared, therefore, to be an undertaking worthy of attention; and with very great pleasure I have observed, that *it has been conducted in a manner highly deserving encouragement*. As I do not doubt but it will be continued with the same *diligence, prudence, and zeal for advancing the welfare of these states*, that have hitherto so eminently distinguished its direction, I fervently wish, and firmly trust, that a generous and enlightened people will justly estimate the merits of a work carried on with such a variety of exertions, and such a fidelity of intentions for the public good.

Letter from his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of N. Jersey.

Elizabeth-town, 8th August, 1788.

S I R,

IT is but lately that I became a subscriber for your *American Museum*, or *Repository*. I have been so often deceived by pompous title-pages, which, upon reading the book, ended in a *ridiculous mouse*—and, in my intercourse with mankind, so frequently imposed upon by specious promises never performed—that I have at last arrived at the period of caution. But perusing one of your Museums, lent me by a friend, I hesitated not a moment to subscribe for the work. Since that, I have read all the preceding numbers, and can say, without flattery, (which I always detested) that *it far exceeds, in my opinion, every attempt of the kind, which, from any other American press, ever came to my hands.*

How familiar soever many of those *fugitive pieces*, with the collection and republication of which you periodically oblige the public, may be to those of the present generation who have seen them before, they will, to posterity, be undoubtedly extremely entertaining, and I presume that good printers, like good painters, mean to *delineate for eternity*. The succeeding age will, with the keenest avidity, search for every thing that has been written, some time previous to, and during the whole continuance of that memorable conflict, which, by the blessing of God, finally terminated in one of the greatest revolutions recorded in history.

The repository will also be of *singular use to future historians and annalists*, by your collection and preservation of such public documents, as would otherwise, in all probability, be soon swallowed up in the abyss of oblivion. Nor will the present generation reap an inconsiderable benefit from those *original pieces*, that are calculated to diffuse political, agricultural and philosophical knowledge. Thus much as to my sentiments respecting the *utility* of your undertaking. Relative to its *execution*, I think *it has hitherto been conducted with great taste, prudence, accuracy, and judgment*; and will, if continued with the *same assiduity and skill*, be essentially conducive to public emolument. As such undertakings ought, in my opinion, to be encouraged by every lover of his country, I sincerely wish you good success in your laudable enterprize, as I do to all of your profession—esteeming the liberty of the press as one of the most inestimable blessings of a free people, and a strong bulwark against the assaults of tyranny. But when I say this, I do not mean to extend my good wishes to those of your typographical brethren, who turn this liberty into licentiousness, into which I have, since the revolution, seen it frequently and shamefully turned, by wantonly aspersing the characters of individuals, and scurrilously traducing *good names, which, to the owners, are better than precious ointment*; and which licentiousness, I should imagine, was, in every well-policed society, no more the exclusive privilege of a printer, than of a painter, or plasterer, or poulterer, or pettifogger, or any other man whatsoever.

I am, sir,

your most obedient

and very humble servant,

Mr. M. Carey.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

Extract of a letter from his excellency Edmond Randolph, governor of Virginia, to the same.

Richmond, August 19, 1788.

*** I Concur with those respectable characters, [gen. Washington, gov. Livingston, and mr. Dickinson], in their high opinion of your undertaking, and its execution; and shall be always ready to testify that concurrence, by any aid in my power.

I am, sir,

your most obedient servant,

EDMOND RANDOLPH.

Mr. M. Carey.

◆◆◆◆◆

Letter from Benjamin Rush, M. D. to the same:

SIR,

I Chearfully concur in adding the testimony of my name in favour of the usefulness of your Museum, together with my best wishes for its extensive circulation, while it *continues to be* the vehicle of essays that are calculated to *advance the interests of science and virtue, and of the agriculture—manufactures—and national government of the united states.*

From, sir,

your most humble servant,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

◆◆◆◆◆

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having carefully considered the object and tendency of the American Museum, published by mr. Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, are of opinion, that it is a very useful work, calculated to disseminate literary, political, historical, agricultural, and other valuable information, in a very advantageous manner, and to a great extent, and more especially to preserve interesting documents from oblivion. We therefore chearfully recommend it to the patronage and protection of the public in general.

E Z R A S T I L E S, D. D. L. L. D.

President of Yale college.

T I M O T H Y D W I G H T, D. D.

F R A N C I S H O P K I N S O N,

Judge of admiralty for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

W I L L I A M W H I T E, D. D.

bishop of the protestant episcopal church in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

J O H N E W I N G, D. D.

Provost of the university of Pennsylvania.

S A M U E L M A G A W, D. D.

Vice-provost of the university of Pennsylvania.

T E N C H C O X E.

J O H N A N D R E W S, D. D.

Principal of the academy of the protestant episcopal church, in the city of Philadelphia.

R I C H A R D L A W,

Chief Justice of the state of Connecticut.

ELIPHALET DYER, } Judges of the supreme
ROGER SHERMAN, } court of the state of
WILLIAM PITKIN, } Connecticut,



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R E P O S I T O R Y

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN

FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.

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..... "With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,
"From various gardens cult'd with care."

..... "Collecta revirescunt."

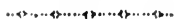


VOLUME V,



PHILADELPHIA:

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Mr. James O'Hear.	Dr. Samuel Wilson,	Hon Thomas Jefferson,
Thomas Pinckney, jun.	Felix Warley, esq.	esq. minister plenipo-
esq.	—(—)(—)(—)—	tentary from the unit-
Mr. James Peirson,	Georgia.	ed states, at the court
Mr. Nathaniel Russell	William Few, esq.	of Versailles.
	—(—)(—)(—)(—)(—)(—)—	

Names of subscribers received too late for insertion in alphabetical order.

Mr. John Heap, Ship-	Mr. George Clarke,	Mr. John Ragan, Ha-
penburgh.	Greencastle.	gerstown.
Mr. Francis Campbell,	Mr. J. M'Lenahan, do.	Capt. Isaac Shelly, near
jun. do.	Mr. Robert M'Culloh,	Danville, Kentucke.
Mr. Daniel Duncan, do.	do.	Harry Innis, esq. do.
Mr. D. M'Knight, do.	Mr. Michael Carey, do.	Mr. Joseph Allison,
Capt. Matthew Scott, do.	Mr. William Berryhill,	Chambersburg.
Mr. Samuel Redick, do.	do.	Mr. Pat. Campbell, do.
Mr. Alex. Magee, do.	Mr. Sam. Douglass do.	Mr. G. Chambers, do.
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Mr. E. Fitzgerald, do.	John T. Mason, esq.	do.
Mr. John Brown, do.	Hagerstown.	Mr. Wm. Allison, do.
Mr. T. Campbell, do.	John Barnes, esq. ditto.	Mr. John Laurence, do.

* * It is hoped that the errors and omissions of the preceding list, will be excused, as resulting from inadvertence.

Those gentlemen, whose places of residence are not particularly specified, live in the capital of their respective states; except in Maryland, where those of this description, live in Baltimore.

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For J A N U A R Y 1789.

Particulars relative to the nature and customs of the Indians in North-America. By Mr. Richard M'Causland.

IT has been advanced, by several travellers and historians, that the Indians of America differed from other males of the human species, in the want of one very characteristic mark of the sex, a beard. From this general observation, the Esquimaux have been excepted; and hence it has been supposed, that they had an origin different from that of the other natives of America. Inferences have also been drawn, not only with respect to the origin, but even relative to the conformation, of Indians; as if this was, in its nature, more imperfect than that of the rest of mankind.

It appears somewhat singular, that authors, in deducing the origin both of the Esquimaux, and of the other Indians of America, from the old world, should never have explained to us, how the former came to retain their beards, and the latter to lay them aside. To ascertain the authenticity of this point, may, perhaps, prove of little real utility to mankind: but the singularity of the fact certainly claims the attention of the curious; and as it is impossible to fix any limits to the inferences, which may, at one time or another, be drawn from alleged facts, it must always be of consequence to enquire into the authenticity of those facts, how little interesting soever they may at present appear.

I will not by any means take upon me to say, that there are not nations of America, destitute of beards; but ten years' residence at Niagara, in the midst of the Six-Nations (with frequent opportunities of seeing other nations of Indians) has convinced me that they do not differ from the rest of men in this particular, more than one European differs from another: and as this imperfection has been attributed to the Indians of North-America, equally with those of the rest

of the continent, I am much inclined to think, that this assertion is as void of foundation in one region, as it is in the other.

All the Indians of North-America (except a very small number, who, from living among white people, have adopted their customs) pluck out the hairs of the beard; and as they begin this from its first appearance, it must naturally be supposed, that, to a superficial observer, their faces will seem smooth and beardless. As further proof that they have beards, we may observe first, that they all have instruments for the purpose of plucking them out: secondly, that when they neglect this for any time, several hairs sprout up, and are seen upon the chin and face: thirdly, that many Indians allow tufts of hair to grow upon their chins or upper lips, resembling those we see in different nations of the old world: fourthly, that several of the Mohocks, Delawares, and others, who live amongst white people, sometimes shave with razors, and sometimes pluck their beards out. These are facts which are notorious amongst the army, Indian traders, &c. and which are never doubted, in that part of the world, by any person in the least conversant with the Indians: but as it is difficult to transport a matter of belief from one country to another distant one, and as the authors, who have maintained the contrary opinion, are too respectable to be doubted on light grounds, I by no means intend to rest the proofs upon what has been said, or upon my single assertion.

I have provided myself with two authorities, which, I apprehend, may in this case be decisive. One is that of colonel Butler, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, well known in the late American war, whose great and extensive influence, amongst the Six-Nations, could not have been acquired, by any thing less, than his long and intimate knowledge of them and their language. The other au-

thority is that of Thayendanega, commonly known by the name of captain Joseph Brant, a Mohock Indian of great influence, and much spoken of in the late war. He was in England in one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five. and writes and speaks the English language, with tolerable accuracy. I shall therefore only subjoin their opinions upon this matter, the originals of which I have, under their own signatures.

Colonel BUTLER'S.

The men of the Six Nation Indians have all beards naturally, as have all the other nations in North-America, which I have had an opportunity of seeing. Several of the Mohocks shave with razors, as do likewise many of the Panees, who are kept as slaves by the Europeans. But, in general, the Indians pluck out the beard by the roots, from its earliest appearance; and as their faces are therefore smooth, it has been supposed, that they were destitute of beards. I am even of opinion, that if the Indians were to practise shaving from their youth, many of them would have as strong beards, as Europeans.

(Signed) JOHN BUTLER.

Agent of Indian affairs.

Niagara, April 12, 1784.

Captain BRANT'S.

The men of the Six Nations have all beards by nature; as have likewise all other Indian nations of North America which I have seen. Some Indians allow a part of the beard upon the chin and upper lip to grow, and a few of the Mohocks shave with razors, in the same manner as Europeans; but the generality pluck out the hairs of the beard by the roots as soon as they begin to appear; and as they continue this practice all their lives, they appear to have no beard, or at most only a few straggling hairs, which they have neglected to pluck out. I am, however, of opinion, that if the Indians were to shave, they would never have beards altogether so thick as the Europeans; and there are some to be met with who have actually very little beard.

(Signed)

JOS. BRANT THAYENDANEGA.
Niagara, April 12, 1784.

Upon this subject I shall only further observe, that it has been supposed by some, that this appearance of beard on Indians arises only from a mixture of European blood; and that an Indian of pure race is entirely destitute of it. But the nations, amongst whom this circumstance can have any influence, bear so small a proportion to the multitude who are unaffected by it, that it cannot by any means be considered as the cause; nor is it looked upon as such, either by capt. Brant or col. Butler.

I shall here subjoin a few particulars, relative to the Indians of the Six-Nations, which seem not to be well understood even in America. My authorities upon this subject, as well as upon the former, are the Indian capt. Brant, and col. Butler.

Each nation is divided into three or more tribes; the principal of which are called the turtle-tribe, the wolf-tribe, and the bear-tribe.

Each tribe has two, three, or more chiefs, called sachems; and this distinction is always hereditary in the family, but descends along the female line: for instance, if a chief dies, one of his sister's sons, or one of his own brothers, will be appointed to succeed him. Among these, no preference is given to proximity or primogeniture; but the sachem, during his lifetime, chooses one, whom he supposes to have more abilities than the rest; and in this choice, he frequently, though not always, consults the principal men of the tribe. If the successor happens to be a child, the offices of the post are performed by some of his friends, until he is of sufficient age to act himself.

Each of these posts of sachem has a name peculiar to it, and which never changes, as it is always adopted by the successor; nor does the order of precedence of each of these names or titles ever vary. Nevertheless, any sachem, by abilities and activity, may acquire greater power and influence in the nation, than those who rank before him in point of precedence; but this is merely temporary, and dies with him.

Each tribe has one or two chief warriors, whose dignity is also hereditary, and has a peculiar name attached to it.

These are the only titles of distinction which are fixed and permanent in the nation; for although any Indian may, by superior talents, either as a counsellor or as a warrior, acquire influence in the nation, yet it is not in his power to transmit this to his family.

The Indians have also their great women as well as their great men, to whose opinions they pay great deference; and this distinction is also hereditary in families. They do not sit in council with the sachems, but have separate ones of their own.

When war is declared, the sachems and great women generally give up the management of public affairs into the hands of the warriors. It may however so happen, that a sachem may at the same time be also a chief warrior.

Friendships seem to have been instituted with a view towards strengthening the union between the several nations of the confederacy; and hence friends are called the sinews of the Six Nations. An Indian has therefore generally one or more friends in each nation. Besides the attachment which subsists during the lifetime of the two friends, whenever one of them happens to be killed, it is incumbent on the survivor to replace him, by presenting to his family either a scalp, a prisoner, or a belt consisting of some thousands of wampum; and this ceremony is performed by every friend of the deceased.

The purpose and foundation of war-parties therefore is, in general, to procure a prisoner or scalp to replace the friend or relation of the Indian who is the head of the party. An Indian who wishes to replace a friend or relation, presents a belt to his acquaintance, and as many as choose to follow him, accept this belt, and become his party. After this, it is of no consequence whether he goes on the expedition or stays at home (as it often happens that he is a child) he is still considered as the head of the party. The belt he presented to his party is returned fixed to the scalp or prisoner, and passes along with them to the friends of the person he replaces. Hence it happens, that a war party, returning with more scalps or prisoners than the original intention of the

party required, will often give one of these supernumerary scalps or prisoners to another war party whom they meet going out; upon which this party, having fulfilled the purpose of their expedition, will sometimes return without going to war. *London, 1786.*



Extracts of some letters, from Sir William Johnson, bart. to Arthur Lee, M. D. F. R. S. on the customs, manners, and language of the northern Indians of America.

IN all enquiries of this sort, we should distinguish between the more remote tribes, and those Indians, who, from their having been next to our settlements for several years, and relying solely on oral tradition, for the support of their ancient usages, have lost great part of them, and have blended some with our customs, so as to render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace their customs to their origin.

The Indians did certainly live under more order and government formerly, than at present. This may seem odd, but it is true; for, their intercourse being with the lower class of our traders, they learn little from us, but our vices; and their long wars, together with the immoderate use of spiritous liquors, have so reduced them, as to render that order, which was first instituted among them, unnecessary and impracticable.

They do not at present use hieroglyphics; their figures being drawn, to the utmost of their skill, to represent the thing intended. For instance, when they go to war, they paint some trees with the figures of warriors, often the exact number of the party; and if they go by water, they delineate a canoe. When they gain a victory, they mark the handle of their tomahawks with human figures, to signify prisoners: and draw the bodies without heads, to express the scalps they have taken. The figures which they affix to deeds, have led some to imagine, that they had alphabetical characters or cyphers. The fact is this: every nation is divided into tribes, of which some have three, as the turtle, bear and wolf; to which some add the snake, deer, &c. Each tribe forms a little community within

the nation ; and as the nation has its peculiar symbol, so has each tribe the particular badge from which it is denominated : and a sachem of each tribe being a necessary party to a fair conveyance, such sachem affixes the mark of his tribe thereto, like the public seal of a corporation. With respect to the deed of 1726, of which you sent me the signatures, the transaction was in some measure of a partial nature. All the nations of the confederacy did not subscribe it ; and those chiefs who did, neglected to pay due regard to their proper symbols ; but signed agreeably to fancy, of which I have seen other instances. The manner I have mentioned is the most authentic, and conformable to their original practice.

As to the information, which, you observe, I formerly transmitted to the governor of New-York, concerning the belt and fifteen bloody sticks sent by the Mississagees, the like is very common ; and they use these sticks, as well to express the alliance of castles, as the number of individuals in a party. The sticks are generally about six inches in length, very slender, and painted red, if the subject be war. Their belts are mostly black wampum, painted red when they denote war. They describe castles sometimes upon them by square figures of white wampum ; and in alliances, human figures holding a chain, which is their emblem of friendship, and each figure represents a nation. An axe is also sometimes described, and always imports war : the taking it up, being a declaration of war ; and the burying it, a token of peace.

With respect to your questions concerning the chief magistrate, or sachem, and how he acquires his authority, &c. I am to acquaint you, that there is, in every nation, a sachem, or chief ; who appears to have some authority over the rest, and it is greatest amongst the most distant nations. But in most of those bordering on our settlements, his authority is scarcely discernible, as he seldom assumes any power before his people. And indeed this humility is judged the best policy ; for, wanting coercive power, their commands would perhaps occasion assassination, which sometimes happens.

The sachems of each tribe are usually chosen in a public assembly of the chiefs and warriors, whenever a vacancy happens by death, or otherwise : they are generally chosen for their sense and bravery from among the oldest warriors, and approved of by all the tribe ; on which they are saluted sachems. There are, however, several exceptions ; for some families have a kind of inheritance in the office, and are called to this station in their infancy.

The chief sachem, by some called the king, is so either by inheritance, or by a kind of tacit consent, the consequence of his superior abilities and influence. The duration of his authority depends much on his own wisdom, the number and consequence of his relations, and the strength of his particular tribe. But even in those cases where it descends, should the successor appear unequal to the task, some other sachem is sure to possess himself of the power and the duties of the office. I should have observed, that military services are the chief recommendations to this rank. And it appears pretty clearly, that heretofore the chief of a nation had, in some small degree, the authority of a sovereign. This is now the fact among the most remote Indians. But as, since the introduction of fire-arms, they no longer fight in close bodies, but every man is his own general ; I am inclined to think this has contributed to lessen the power of the chief. This chief of a whole nation, has the custody of the belts of wampum, &c. which are as records of public transactions : he prompts the speakers at all treaties, and proposes affairs of consequence. The chief sachems form the grand council ; and those of each tribe often deliberate apart on the affairs of their particular tribes. All their deliberations are conducted with extraordinary regularity and decorum. They never interrupt him who is speaking ; nor use harsh language, whatever may be their thoughts. The chiefs assume most authority in the field : but this must be done, even there, with great caution ; as a head warrior thinks himself of most consequence in that place.

The Indians believe in, and are much afraid of, witchcraft : those sus-

pested of it, are therefore often punished with death. Several nations are equally severe on those guilty of theft, (a crime indeed uncommon among them): but in cases of murder, the relations are left to take what revenge they please. In general, they are unwilling to inflict capital punishments, as these defeat their grand political object, which is, to increase their numbers by all possible means.

On their hunts, as upon all other occasions, they are strict observers of *meum* and *tuum*, and this from principle, holding theft in contempt; so that they are rarely guilty of it, though tempted by articles of much value. Neither do the strong attempt to seize the prey of the weak; and I must do them the justice to say, that, unless heated by liquor, or inflamed by revenge, their ideas of right and wrong, and their practices, in consequence of them, would, if more known, do them much honour. It is true, that, having been often deceived by us, in the purchase of lands, in trade, and other transactions, many of them begin now to act the same part. But this reflects most on those who set them the example.

As to your remark on their apparent repugnance to civilization, I must observe, that this is not owing to any viciousness of their nature, or want of capacity; as they have a strong genius for arts, and uncommon patience. I believe they are put to the English schools too late, and sent back too soon to their people, whose political maxim, Spartan-like, is to discountenance all pursuits but war, holding all other knowledge as unworthy the dignity of man, and tending to enervate and divert them from that warfare on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend. These sentiments, constantly instilled into the minds of youth, and illustrated by examples drawn from the contemptible state of the domesticated tribes, leave lasting impressions; and can hardly be defeated by an ordinary school education.

I wish my present leisure would allow me to give you as many specimens of their language as would shew, that, though not very wordy, it is extremely emphatical; and their style adorned with noble images, strong meta-

phors, and equal in allegory to any of the eastern nations. The article is contained in the noun, by varying the termination; and the adjective is combined into one word. Thus of *echin*, a man, and *gowana*, great, is formed *echingowana*, a great man. *Cahyung-haw* is a creek, *caghyung-ha*, a river, *caghyung-haowana*, a great river; *caghyung-heeo*, a fine river; *kaga* the inhabitants of any place, and *tierham* the morning; so, if they speak of eastern people, they say, *tierhanf-aga*, or people of the morning. *Eso* is expressive of a great quantity, and *esogee* is the superlative. It is curious to observe, that they have various modes of speech, and phrases, peculiar to each age and sex, which they strictly observe. For instance, a man says, when he is hungry, *cadagcariax*, which is expressive both of his want, and of the animal food he requires to supply it; whilst a child says, in the same circumstances, *cautfore*, that is, I require spoon-meat.

There is so remarkable a difference in the language of the Six Nations from all others, as affords ground for enquiring into their distinct origin. The nations north of the St. Lawrence, those west of the great lakes, with the few who inhabit the sea-coasts of New-England, and those again who live about the Ohio, notwithstanding the respective distances between them, speak a language radically the same, and can in general communicate their wants to one another; while the Six Nations, who live in the midst of them, are incapable of conveying a single idea to their neighbours, nor can they pronounce a word of their language with correctness. The letters M and P, which occur frequently in the other languages, are not in theirs; nor can they pronounce them but with the utmost difficulty. There is indeed some difference of dialect among the Six Nations themselves; but this is little more than what is found in all the European States.

1772.



Observations on the language of the Mshhekaneew Indians; in which the extent of that language, in North America, is shewn; its genius is grammatically traced: some of its peculiarities, and some instan-

ces of analogy, between that and the Hebrew, are pointed out.

Communicated to the Connecticut society of arts and sciences, and published at the request of the society. By Jonathan Edwards, D. D. pastor of a church in Newhaven, and member of the Connecticut society of arts and sciences.

P R E F A C E.

THAT the following observations may obtain credit, it may be proper to inform the reader, with what advantages they have been made.

When I was but six years of age, my father removed, with his family, to Stockbridge, which, at that time, was inhabited almost solely by Indians; as there were in the town but twelve families of whites or Anglo-Americans, and perhaps one hundred and fifty families of Indians. The Indians being the nearest neighbours, I constantly associated with them; their boys were my daily school-mates and play-fellows. Out of my father's house, I seldom heard any language spoken, except the Indian. By these means, I acquired the knowledge of that language, and a great facility in speaking it. It became more familiar to me, than my mother tongue. I knew the names of some things in Indian, which I did not know in English; even all my thoughts ran in Indian: and, though the true pronunciation of the language is extremely difficult to all but the Indians themselves, they acknowledged, that I had acquired it perfectly; which, as they said, never had been acquired before by any Anglo-American. On account of this acquisition, as well as on account of my skill in their language in general, I received from them many compliments, applauding my superior wisdom. This skill in their language, I have, in a good measure, retained to this day.

After I had drawn up these observations, lest there should be any mistakes in them, I carried them to Stockbridge, and read them to capt. Yoghum, a principal Indian of the tribe, who is well versed in his own language, and tolerably informed concerning the English: and I availed myself of his remarks and corrections.

From these facts, the reader will form his own opinion of the truth and

accuracy of what is now offered him.

When I was in my tenth year, my father sent me among the Six Nations, with a design that I should learn their language, and thus become qualified to be a missionary among them. But on account of the war with France, which then existed, I continued among them but about six months. Therefore the knowledge, which I acquired of that language, was but imperfect, and at this time I retain so little of it, that I will not hazard any particular critical remarks on it. I may observe, however, that though the words of the two languages are totally different, yet their structure is, in some respects, analogous, particularly in the use of prefixes and suffixes.

THE language, which is now the subject of observation, is that of the Muhhekaneew or Stockbridge Indians. They, as well as the tribe at New London, are, by the Anglo-Americans, called Mohegans, which is a corruption of Muhhekaneew*, in the singular, or Muhhekaneok, in the plural. This language is spoken by all the Indians throughout New England. Every tribe, as that of Stockbridge, that of Farmington, that of New London, &c. has a different dialect; but the language is radically the same. Mr. Elliot's translation of the bible is in a particular dialect of this language. The dialect, followed in these observations, is that of Stockbridge. This language appears to be much more extensive, than any other language in North America. The languages of the Delawares, in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots, bordering on Nova Scotia, of the Indians of St. Francis in Canada, of the Shawanese on the Ohio, and of the Chippewaus to the westward of lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan. The same is said concerning the languages of the Ottowaus, Nanticooks, Muntecs, Menomonees, Meshlangas, Saukies, Otagaumies, Killistinoes, Nipegons, Alkonkins, Winnebagoes, &c. That the languages of the several tribes in New England, of the Delawares, and of mr. Elliot's bible,

NOTE.

* Wherever *w* occurs in an Indian word, it is pronounced as in *work*, *world*, &c.

are radically the same with the Mohegan, I assert from my own knowledge. What I assert concerning the language of the Penobscots, I have from a gentleman in Massachusetts, who has been much conversant among the Indians. That the languages of the Shawanese and Chippewaus is radically the same with the Mohegan, I shall endeavour to shew. My authorities, for what I say of the languages of the other nations, are Capt. Yoghun, before mentioned, and Carver's travels.

English.	Mohegan.	Shawanee.
A bear	Mquoh	Manquah
A beaver	Amisque *	Amaguah
Eye	Mkeesque	Skeefacoo
Ear	Towohque	Towacah
Fetch	Pautoh	Featoloo
My grandfather	Nemoghhome†	Nemahompethau
My grandmother	Nohhuh	Nocumthau
My grandchild	Nanghees	Noofihethau
He goes	Pum ffoo	Pomthalo
A gill	Peesquanfoo	Squathauthau
House	Weekumuhm	Weecuah
He (that man)	Uwoh	Welah
His head	Weenis	Weeseh (I imagine misspelt, for weeniesh.)
His heart	Utoh	Otahel
Hair	Weghaukun	Welathoh
Her husband	Waughechela	Wasechela
His teeth	Wepecton	Wepectalee
I thank you	Wneeweh	Nearweh
My uncle	Nsees	Neeeseethau
I	Neah	Nelah
Thou	Keah	Kelah
We	Neaunuh	Nelauweh
Ye	Keauwuh	Kelauweh
Water	Nbey	Nippee
Elder sister	Ninees	Neineethau
River	Sepoo	Thepee

The following is a specimen of the analogy between the Mohegan and Chippewau languages.

English.	Mohegan.	Chippewau.
A bear	Mquoh	Mackwah
A beaver	Amisque	Amik
To die (I die)	Nip	Nip
Dead (he is dead)	Nboo or neboo†	Nee poo
Devil	Mrandou, or mannito‡	Manitou
Dress the kettle (make a fire)	Pootouwah	Poutwah

NOTES.

* A final *i* is never sounded in any Indian word, which I write, except monosyllables.

† *gh* in any Indian word has the strong guttural sound, which is given by the Scots to the same letters in the words *tough*, *enough*, &c.

‡ The first syllable scarcely sounded.

The last of these words properly signifies a *specie*, or any thing frightful.

English.	Mohegan.	Chippewau.
His eyes	Ukeefquan	Wiinkhie
Fire	Staaw	Scutta
Give it him	Meenuh	Millaw
A spirit (a spectre)	Mannito	Manitou
Blow	Tuneh*	Tawne
House	Weekumuhm	Wigwaum
An impostor (he is an impostor, or bad man)	Mtissoo	Mawlawtissie
Go	Pumfleh	Pimmouffie
Marry	Weeween	Weewin
Good for nought	Mot	Malatat
River	Sepoo	Sippim
Shoe	Mkiffin	Maukiffin
The sun	Keesogh	Killis
Sit down	Mattipeh	Mintipin
Water	Nbey	Nebbi
Where	Tchah	Tah
Winter	Hpoon	Pepoun
Wood	Metooque	Mittic

Almost every man who writes Indian words, spells them in a peculiar manner: and I dare say, if the same person had taken down all the words above, from the mouths of the Indians, he would have spelt them more alike, and the coincidence would have appeared more striking. Most of those, who write and print Indian words, use the letter *a* where the sound is that of *oh* or *au*. Hence the reader will observe, that, in some of the Mohegan words above, *o* or *oh* is used, when *a* or *ah* is used in the correspondent words of the other languages; as Mquoh, Mauquah. I doubt not, the sound of those two syllables is exactly the same, as pronounced by the Indians of the different tribes.

It is not to be supposed, that the like coincidence is extended to all the words of those languages. Very many words are totally different. Still the analogy is such, as is sufficient to shew, that they are mere dialects of the same original language.

I could not throughout, give words of the same signification in the three languages; as the two vocabularies, from which I extracted the Shawanee and Chippewau words, did not con-

NOTE.

* Wherever *u* occurs, it has not the long sound of the English *u* as in *commune*; but the sound of *u* in *uncle*, though much protracted. The other vowels are to be pronounced, as in English.

tain words of the same signification, excepting in some instances.

The Mohawk, which is the language of the six nations, is entirely different from that of the Mohegans. There is no more appearance of a derivation of one of these last mentioned languages from the other, than there is of a derivation of either of them from the English. One obvious diversity, and in which the Mohawk is perhaps different from any other language, is, that it is wholly destitute of labials: whereas the Mohegan abounds with them. I shall here give the numerals, as far as ten, and the *pater noster*, in both languages.

Mohegan	Mohawk
Ngwittoh	Ulkot
Neesoh	Teggench
Noghhoh	Ohs
Nauwoh	Kialeh
Nunon	Wisk
Ngwittus	Yoiyok
Tupouwus	Chantok
Ghusooh	Sottago
Nauncweh	Teuhtoh
Mannit	Wialeh

The *pater noster* in the Mohegan language, is as follows;

Noghnuh, ne spummuck oieon, taugh mauweh wneh wtukoseauk neanne annuwoieon. Taugh ne aunchuwutammun wawehtuseek maweh noh pummech. Ne annoihitteech mauweh awaannek noh hkey oiecheek, ne aunchuwutammun, ne annoihitteek neek spummuk oiecheek. Menenaunh noonooch wuhkamauk tquogh nuh uh-huyutamauk ngummauwch. Ohquuta-

monwenanuh aunch munachioeank
ne anneh ohquatanouwoeank num-
peh neek munacheh annehquaukeek.
Cheen hquakquaucheh siukeh anne-
henaunuh. Panneeeweh litouwenau-
nah neen maumtekeh. Keah ng-
wehchek kwiouwauweh mauweh noh
puinnieh; kranwoi; eslah awaun w-
tinnoiyuwun ne annoieyon; hanwee-
weh ne kinnoieen. Amen.

The *pater noster*, in the language of the Six Nations, taken from Smith's history of New York, is this;

Soungwauneha canrounkyawga teh-
fectaroan sauhfoneyoulla esa sawa-
neyou okettauhfela chneauwoung na
canrounkyawga nughwonshauga neate-
wehnefalauga taugwaunatoronoant-
oughsick toantaugweleewheyoutlaung
chenceyew chaquatauleh wheyoutlaun-
na toughsou taugwauffareneh tawau-
tottenaugaloughtoungga nafawne fa-
cheautaugwaf coantehsalohauzaic-
kaw esa sawanneyou esa salhourzta esa
soungwafoung chenuehaungwa; au-
wen.

The reader will observe, that there is not a single labial either in the numerals or *pater noster* of this language; and that, when they come to amen, from an aversion to shutting the lips, they change the m to w.

In no part of these languages, does there appear to be a greater coincidence, than in this specimen. I have never noticed one word in either of them, which has any analogy to the correspondent word in the other language.

Concerning the Mohegan language, it is observable that there is no diversity of gender, either in nouns or pronouns. The very same words express he and she, him and her. Hence, when the Mohegans speak English, they generally in this respect, follow strictly their own idiom; a man will say concerning his wife, he sick, he gone away, &c.

With regard to cases, they have but one variation from the nominative, which is formed by the addition of the syllable an, as *wonehun*, his child, *wnechunan*. This variation seems to suit indifferently any case, except the nominative.

The plural is formed, by adding a letter or syllable to the singular; as *nemannauw*, a man, *nemannauk*, men: *penumpaufoo*, a boy, *penumpaufoouk* boys.

The Mohegans more carefully distinguish the natural relations of men to each other, than we do, or perhaps any other nation. They have one word to express an elder brother, *netohcon*; another to express a younger brother, *ngheesum*. One to express an elder sister, *umase*; another to express a younger sister, *ngheesum*. But the word for younger brother and younger sister, is the same, — *nsase* is my uncle by my mother's side: *nuchehque* is my uncle by my father's side.

The Mohegans have no adjectives in all their language; unless we reckon numerals, and such words as, all, many, &c. adjectives. Of adjectives, which express the qualities of substances, I do not find that they have any. They express those qualities by verbs neuter; as *wneissoo*, he is beautiful; *mtissoo*, he is homely; *pehtungwissoo* he is tall; *nsonmoo*, he is malicious, &c. Thus in Latin many qualities are expressed by verbs neuter, as *valleo*, *caleo*, *frigeo*, &c. Although it may, at first, seem not only singular, and curious, but impossible, that a language should exist without adjectives; yet it is an indubitable fact. Nor do they seem to suffer any inconvenience by it: since they as readily express any quality by a neuter verb, as we do by an adjective.

(To be continued.)



Extract of a letter from dr. Elisha J. Hall, to the president of the Baltimore medical society, on the necessity of passing a law for the regulation of the practice of medicine.

THE importance of the business now before us demands our most serious attention and united exertions. We are now deliberating on a plan to be laid before the legislature of this state, for the future government of ourselves, and for the benefit of the public in general. If we should be so fortunate as to agree upon any particular system, founded on liberal and extensive principles, there is no doubt but that the respectability of the names of the gentlemen who form this society, will add dignity to any system to which their approbation may be given.

The various ill consequences which flow from an indiscriminate admission of men into the practice of physic is

this state, are obvious to every person, and shew the necessity of the interposition of the legislature to prescribe some regulation to remedy this evil.

Several of our sister states have passed laws of this nature, and receive manifest advantage therefrom. The state of New York, the state of New Jersey, and Delaware, act as worthy examples; and their citizens now enjoy all those heartfelt sensations that arise from a conscious security in the integrity and professional abilities of their family physicians.

It now only remains with us to adjust some plan, by which the citizens of Maryland may derive similar advantages, from a regulation of this nature.

Sir, you must remember, that at our meeting this evening, there were gentlemen, who objected to a law that would operate in any measure upon ourselves, and those who are, at present, in the practice of physic in this state—offering as reasons in support of their opinions, that such a law would be an infringement on the rights of them, as citizens.

I am sorry that there are gentlemen who will express thoughts so destructive of, and inconsistent with, reason, with justice, and with the declared principles which actuated us to convene on this day.

The objects now before us, I conceive, are two—first to remedy an evil existing at present in society, in general—and secondly, to place the medical faculty, in particular, upon a more respectable footing. I conceive if the legislature was to take up this business upon a partial ground, and pass a law prescribing the qualifications of those who may practise physic in future, in this state, and not extending to those already in business, I say such regulation would be subversive of the object now before us, and would have a direct tendency to rivet the evil in society, for a number of years, which is the declared object of this society to remove, and under which the community at present suffers the severest scourge. Those men, whose unworthiness renders such a law necessary at present, feel their inferiority in some degree to gentlemen of established and known abilities in their profession, and the public is benefitted in propor-

tion to the degree of reserve and restraint under which these pretenders to medical science labour. But after the passing a law of this nature, all restraint is taken off them.

The man, who has spent years of his time in pursuit of medical knowledge, and perhaps exhausted his constitution and purse in the struggle, is now placed upon the same footing with the most ignorant pretender. The man who has spent years of his life in acts of benevolence to his fellow-creatures, and [who has been] crowned with medical laurels for distinguished acts of ability in his profession, is placed on a level with the most selfish, inhuman, and ignorant empiric.

In short, the most learned physician, and the most accomplished quack, are placed upon the same theatre, entitled to the same advantages—there to take their respective directions—there to act as they please—to kill and to save would be attributed as much to the one as to the other. Each acting under the sanction of the law, neither can be controlled; but each meeting the censure of mankind—each character is blended in one, and each branded as the robber of the people, and as the murderer of his fellow-creatures! I confess that I do not aspire to so dignified a situation. I confess I do not wish a law tending to this end—but I would rather declare eternal war with the quacks, and listen to the cold voice of the people, who, at present, consider they confer a favour upon us, when we are asked to attend them—and make the best bargain with those I am concerned with, than give my approbation to a law so immediately productive of an increase of all the evils under which the society suffers, and we are disgraced at present. The science of medicine has degenerated too much already. Instead of being studied methodically, and practised as a science—it is now too often taken up as a contemptible art, and practised as a species of traffic.

There cannot be a man of respectability in his profession, who would object to a law operating upon him, when he is conscious that such a regulation would be the means of preventing a number of unworthy characters

practising physic, to the disgrace of the science, and to the destruction of the lives of numbers of his fellow-creatures. But, on the contrary, he must be happy in having that distinction, which will separate him from the ignorant, and afford the community that criterion of medical merit, so essential to the happiness and safety of society : and as to the fears of those unworthy characters, whose ignorance renders such a law necessary, they are not deserving of notice. Instead of exciting compassion, they justly deserve our contempt. Instead of meeting with lenity from the legislature, their inhuman conduct merits the severest punishment that our penal law annexes to the worst of crimes. Every friend of humanity must rejoice to lend his aid in support of a plan replete with so much importance to society.

No doubt, there will be men who will object to a law which will extend to those now in the practice of physic ; and their numbers will be proportioned to the evil at present complained of. Those men, whose unworthiness forms the necessity of such a regulation, will be the most clamorous in opposition to the law. Conscious of their inability to pass an examination before men of integrity and professional abilities, they will view such a regulation, though founded in justice and universal benevolence, as the approach of a death warrant. Ashamed of their past conduct in their profession—alive to the reproachful instances of ignorance and inhumanity, manifested even to their consciences by the event, and made notorious to all around them by the premature deaths and incurable diseases entailed upon their fellow-citizens, from hence they tremble at their situation ! Conscious of their past conduct—convinced of their present ignorance—any test of integrity or professional merit, will operate as a dagger to their hearts.

Thus situated as we are—thus surrounded by such swarms of quacks in medicine, we must expect opposition from such men as these. But it is the business of reason—it is the business of justice, in a legislative capacity, to form civil chains for such creatures, proportionably strong to the exertions of those enemies to the peace and safety of society. [*Remainder in our next.*]

Account of the nervous system.

THAT part of the human body, called the nervous system, consists, first, of a large pulpy mass called the brain, which fills the cavity of the skull ; and in a man is larger, in proportion to the body, than in any other animal.

The brain itself appears such a gross, inert mass of matter, that, perhaps, there is no organ of the human body that we should have less suspected of being connected with thought. But, although we can form no idea how this connection subsists, or by what means the nerves are the organs of sensation and motion, yet we cannot have any doubt of their being both. The circumstances which lead us to this opinion, and confirm us in it, are curious in themselves ; and the knowledge of them is useful in the practice of medicine. We are led to conclude that the brain is the seat of thought.

First, from a feeling, we all have, that imagination, memory, judgment, and all the faculties of the mind, are exercised within the head ; the cavity of which is completely filled with brain.

Secondly, because a long exertion of thought is apt to create a head-ach, as an excessive exertion of the arms or legs is, to produce uneasiness in those members.

Thirdly, because the nerves, which serve four of our five senses,—the smell, the taste, the sight, and the hearing—take their origin directly from the brain ; and those which do not, take it indirectly, by the intervention of the spinal marrow.

Fourthly, because whatever destroys the nerves belonging to any organ, effectually deprives us of the use of that organ. An obstruction in the optic nerve, for example, produces complete blindness, although the visible parts of the eyes remain perfectly sound.

Finding that, when the nerves going from the brain or spinal marrow to any part of the body, are destroyed, the sensation and powers of that part are also destroyed ; we might naturally infer, that, when the substance of the brain itself is injured, its functions would be impaired. And this, in fact, is the case ; for the functions of the

brain are impaired in proportion to the injury.

A wound, or disease, which essentially destroys the organization of the brain, immediately destroys thought and sensation; the person instantly dies. Whatever confines or injures the brain, destroys thought.

A blow on the head has rendered a man of great acuteness stupid during the remainder of his life.

A bad conformation of the skull, or some disease in the substance of the brain, are among the causes of idiotism. The brains of madmen are generally found of an unnatural hardness or weight.

A small pressure of the brain diminishes, a stronger destroys, the sensibility of the whole body.

There was, some years since, a beggar at Paris, part of whose skull had been removed, without injuring the brain, in consequence of a wound. This being healed, he wore a plate upon the part where the skull was wanting, to prevent the brain from being hurt by every accidental touch. For a small piece of money this poor creature took off the plate, and allowed the brain to be gently pressed, by laying a handkerchief, or some such soft substance upon it: this immediately occasioned dimness of sight and drowsiness: the pressure being somewhat augmented, he became quite insensible, with high breathing, and every symptom of a person in an apoplexy; from which state he never failed soon to recover, upon the pressure being removed. As this experiment was attended with no pain, it was often repeated, and always with the same effect.



Account of an extraordinary disease among the Indians, in the island of Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, in New England. In a letter from Andrew Oliver, esq. to Israel Mauduit, esq. E. R. S.

ABOUT the beginning of August 1763, when the sickness began at Nantucket, the whole number of Indians belonging to that island, was 258: of these, 258 had the distemper betwixt that time and the 20th of February following, 36 only of whom

recovered; of the 100, who escaped the distemper, 34 were conversant with the sick, 8 dwelt separate, 18 were at sea, and 40 lived in English families. The physician informs me, that the blood and juices appeared to be highly putrid, and that the disease was attended with a violent inflammatory fever, which carried them off in about five days. The season was uncommonly moist and cold, and the distemper began originally among them; but having once made its appearance, seems to have been propagated by contagion; although some escaped it, who were exposed to the infection.

The distemper made its appearance at Martha's Vineyard, the beginning of December, 1763. It went through every family, into which it came, not one escaping it; 52 Indians had it, 39 of whom died; those who recovered, were chiefly of the younger sort.

The appearance of the distemper was much the same in both these islands; it carried them off in each, in five or six days. What is still more remarkable than even the great mortality of the distemper, is, that not one English person had it in either of the islands, although the English greatly exceed in numbers: and that some persons in one family, who were of a mixt breed, half Dutch and half Indian, and one in another family, half Indian and half Negro, had the distemper, and all recovered; and that no person at all died of it, but such as were entirely of Indian blood. From hence, it was called the Indian sickness.

There had been a great scarcity of corn among the Indians, the preceding winter; this, together with the cold, moist season, has been assigned by some, as the causes of the distemper among them. These circumstances, it is true, may have disposed them to a morbid habit, but do not account for its peculiarity to the Indians: the English breathed the same air, and suffered, in some measure, by the scarcity, with the Indians; they yet escaped the sickness. I do not see, therefore, but that the *sudor Anglicus*, which heretofore affected the English only, and this late Indian sickness, must be classed together among the arcana of providence.

*Observations, anatomical, physiological, and pathological on the absorbent tubes of animal bodies.**By Samuel Latham Mitchill, M. D.*

THAT system of vessels, which in animals performs the work of absorption, arising by numerous minute orifices from the internal and external surfaces of their bodies, has been repeatedly the subject of disquisition and enquiry. Monro, Hewson, Hunter, Sheldon, Cruickshank, Mascagni, and others, by numerous experiments upon dead as well as living subjects, have ascertained, that such vessels exist not only in man, but in quadrupeds, birds, serpents, fishes, and worms. In all the creatures, where such tubes have been found, their use and intentions seem to be the same; the lacteals to convey the chyle from the intestinal canal to the thoracic duct, and the lymphatics to transmit to the same place, that various matter which they imbibe on the other several surfaces of the body.

But, although many facts are known, respecting them, still there remains something to be said concerning their structure and functions.

It has ever been confessed that their mouths in the larger animals, are too small to be discerned and examined with anatomical accuracy, and therefore their physiology and pathology have in many respects been shadowed with all the obscurity of guess and conjecture. In this situation of affairs, it will, I hope, be allowable to try what information can be derived from comparative anatomy, and to view the truth by the light which analogy affords. If the axioms, for the study of nature, in the material inanimate world, be also applicable to the varied modes of life and organization, then may it be said, "that effects of the same kind may be ascribed to the same causes; and the qualities of phenomena, discovered by experiments, may be considered as universal qualities of phenomena of the same kind," in these cases as well as in others; thus, if the function of respiration is reasonably believed to be subservient to the same general purpose in all breathing animals, then the discovery of the nature of that process in one creature, will

afford us an easy application of the same to each. In like manner, may we be permitted to reason about absorption, and apply the facts found in one class of animals, to explain corresponding appearances in another.

In several kinds of animals, the mouths of the absorbent vessels can be seen with the naked eye, in a living, moving, and irritable state. There is a species of holothuria, which I caught upon the Atlantic ocean, that has absorbent tubes, so evident on its surface, that I could discern them very plainly, without the aid of magnifying glasses. Several species of actinia that I have examined both in Europe and America, have such tubes, so plain, when in an expanded state, that no person, who carefully examines, can ever fail to see them. Several of the medusas are furnished with long pendulous strings, which, when narrowly inspected, prove to be bibulous tubes, for the purpose of inhalation. And more plainly still, some species of asterias have these patulous vessels, so large and long, that they must necessarily strike forcibly the attention of every careful inspector. The vessels of the asterias rubens, I have in a more particular manner examined, and find them to be composed of an external layer of circular muscular fibres, covering an interior coat of longitudinal ones; and to have at the extremity, a thicker and larger assemblage of orbicular fibres, connected with the former, and somewhat resembling the constrictor oris in man. They have the capacity to be lengthened and shortened at pleasure, and to move themselves in any direction. It possesses the power of applying these mouths to any solid body, and of adhering to it with considerable firmness, insomuch as to elevate small gravel and sand. Through them is conveyed all its food, for which it is in perpetual motion, groping about to all things within reach; and by these have I often seen oysters and scollops killed and devoured. Each of these tubes may be in some respects compared to the trunk of an elephant, being, like it, flexible, long, and tenacious of whatever is grasped by its sphincter, which is capable of greater or less contraction, as occasion requires. The structure of these vessels, in the other

animals, though not quite so evident, appears to be just the same, and their manner of action exactly similar; but of this I cannot be altogether so positive, on account of the smallness of size and irritability in some of them, not permitting me to investigate the particulars with such accurate minuteness; but howsoever this may be, there is no doubt that these functions are quite alike.

Since now it is shewn, that in four species of animals, such are the structure and functions of the absorbent vessels, it will be proved, in these cases, that absorption is not performed by capillary attraction, as has been commonly said, but by a real living power and muscular energy.

If next we may be allowed to reason analogically from those facts, to the larger and more perfect kind of animals, we shall find a ready solution to a number of others, inexplicable upon any known principle. We can explain how hard and solid substances can be taken up within them, and removed; how muscular, vascular, cellular, and ossous matters are abraded by the continual action of these open-mouthed vessels and carried away; how partial shrinking happens in palsies, and universal consumption in old age; how sarcoctosis may be produced by a gnawing of the bony substance near their greedy mouths; how the testicles may be diminished by a vicious action of the absorbents there; how the thymus, capsulæ atrabiliarie and membrana pupillaris are gradually removed by their natural agency; how dislocated humeri and femora can form for themselves, new acrobula on the ribs or ossa innominata, if not reduced; with many more facts long since well known and established, but never explained, such as the absorption of mercury, &c. through the skin of any part of the body.

Thus, upon the conviction that absorption in man is performed in the same manner, as in the creatures enumerated, and granting that the active mouths of the tubes can suck, absorb, imbibe, corrode, gnaw, tear off, wear away or inhale the various substances in their vicinity, we can assign a sufficient reason for phenomena otherwise impossible to be explained.

In all these instances, it may be noted, that the absorbent mouths of tubes are not breathing-places, and that therefore the manner of taking in the substances which they convey, must be different from the method that man and quadrupeds use when they suck or drink, by forming a vacuum within, and causing the weighty atmosphere to force up the external liquor to fill it; but the way in cases of absorption must be, that the orifice of the vessel, by some means stimulated to action, feels, gropes, and searches about for something to seize, which it divides, breaks off, or rends asunder by the force and power of the sphincter muscle, in fragments or portions adapted to its capacity, and then, by the aid of the circular and longitudinal fibres, transmits through its whole extent.

There is another fact, very favourable to this argument, which, on account of its daily occurrence, I wonder has been overlooked so long; common flies have a rostrum that can be variously moved, and whose extremity has a sphincter so evident, that it may be seen to dilate and contract, whenever the insect is in quest of food; fluids and solids may be seen to enter it, and whenever a solid body is grasped, that is too large for conveyance, the creature lets it drop, and seeks a smaller morsel: this rostrum then is truly an absorbent tube, and the performance of the same function, in a like manner by musquitoes, gnats, and some other insects, forms a copious induction for the establishment of our opinion.

It would be an easy task to shew, that capillary attraction is in more cases than these enumerated, not the cause of absorption; or, even if we grant, for argument's sake, that it is the cause, we shall find it inadequate to the explanation of many phenomena: for by what modification of that process can carths, bones, and metals, be made to rise in the tubes like fluids? But if the account delivered here be true, why should I prolong my writing, by a refutation of hypotheses and conjectures?

I shall only add, in corroboration of what has been already observed, the discovery of calcareous earth in

the thoracic duct, of madder in the bones, and of iron in the blood, all exsilling, *propria forma*; which being solids, totally subvert the doctrine of capillary attraction, and receive a reasonable and easy solution by the theory here delivered.



Observations on worms in the human body, and of the virtues of the Carolina pink-root, as a vermifuge.

NOTHING has been more frequently fatal to the lives of children than worms. This fatality has been much lamented, and much industry has been exercised to investigate means which might prevent it. But hitherto the *desideratum* has eluded the most diligent researches; and many of the faculty are unhappily ignorant of remedies which are sure to afford relief. Most of the British authors, by whom American practitioners have been governed and directed, are, to the surprise of the unprejudiced observer, singularly deficient in useful prescriptions. Bitter, sweet, saline, and fetid medicines have, by them lately and formerly, been much recommended and applauded, as preventatives, palliatives, and repellents. These medicines, however, do not by any means answer their encomiums. I have known certain families use the best stomachic bitters, as preventatives, with the best judgment, but without any success. I have seen the best saline, sweet, and fetid mixtures, administered, to check vomiting, and repel worms from the stomach into the intestines, with no kind of advantage. From many observations of this nature, I am induced to believe, that no bitter medicines, hitherto recommended for the prevention of worms, answer this end, otherwise than as they may, in particular cases, restore or maintain the common state of health, independent of worms; and that all fetid, saline, and sweet mixtures, are no farther salutary, than as they happen to fill the stomach, and be retained by accidental agreement with the particular idiosyncrasy of the patient. After bitters, &c. enumerated, the principal medicine among British authors, for the destruction of worms, has been mercury. Many preparations of this article have been particu-

larly recommended, as *Merc. d. corros.* *Aethiops miner.* &c. From the most attentive and thorough trials with each of these preparations, and others, I am sure it may be justly asserted, that mercury is in no form an efficacious vermifuge; and in no case of this nature, equal to many other mild, simple, and safe cathartics. I have administered it in small and large portions, to no valuable purpose, and seen the patient discharge living worms, six days after its operation. Hence I have entirely discarded it, as a vermifuge; and now consider it as a very improper and dangerous medicine, when administered with such design. Perhaps some may say, that my experiments have been imperfect, my observations fallacious, and my conclusions consequently unjust; that mercury cuts worms in pieces, and discharges them undistinguishably with natural excrements. That mercury has this effect, is false; though very commonly asserted by some physicians, and believed by many. To such as know any thing of philosophy, no reason can be assigned for the support of this assertion; to those of a different character, arguments are generally of little value. Tin, lead, iron, and copper, have also been recommended for the destruction of worms; but are very far from answering such recommendations, with any safety to the general health of the body; and many patients have been lost and destroyed, through implicit confidence in them.

Happily for mankind, truth is often discovered by accident, after philosophy has laboured for it in vain.

The Carolina pink is a safe and infallible vermifuge, and, I believe, would prevent nine tenths of the deaths occasioned by worms, if properly administered. In the last year, I had forty-two worm cases, in every one of which the Carolina pink proved effectually salutary; worms were discharged in each case; and every patient was restored to perfect health.

Many physicians are already sensible of the wonderful efficacy of this most excellent medicine, and nothing that can be said in favour of it will be new to them; others, however, believe it to be of little or no value; and some even think it injurious and

dangerous. For the consideration of such as are thus incredulous of its true virtues, I beg leave to assert, that I have never seen a single ill effect from it, in the course of a very considerable practice for a number of years; nor do I believe it has a tendency to excite inflammation or lethargy to any considerable degree. That it is superlatively powerful in removing worms, any person may be satisfied, by exhibiting it to children in health. After such exhibition, if there are not more or less worms, discharged, in nine cases out of ten, I am willing the medicine should be considered of no value.

The best form in which it may be exhibited, is not yet determined, among those who are sensible of its efficacy:—the necessary quantity is also a matter of some dispute. To be satisfied in these points, I have given it in small and large portions; I have given the simple root in powder alone, and the same in conjunction with *aloes*, *rhæi* and *Ethiops* mineral; I have given the root alone, by infusion, and by the same way the root and top together; I have also added to such infusions, *rhæi*, *fenna*, *manna*, and salts. From the issue of repeated trials in all these forms, I am of opinion, that the simple root, by infusion, is the best and most infallible form, in which it can be administered, and that no sugar, melasses, or *manna* is requisite to be joined, unless it be barely to render the medicine more palatable to the patient. Two drams, strongly infused in half a pint of water, will never be too much for a child two or three years old. Such as are five, six, or seven years of age, will generally require of the root and water, a double quantity, and perhaps more. I believe it is most usefully taken in the space of one hour, or less, if the stomach can retain it. The same quantity may be daily repeated with perfect safety, two, three, or four times, if any vermifuge be necessarily indicated. But if not thus indicated, it will be most convenient, that the patient be purged with *fenna*, *rhubarb*, *manna*, &c. with a strict attention to such diet as will be requisite to preserve the bowels from irritation and inflammation, which are always in some degree, the conse-

quence of a paroxysm of worms. For this purpose, an abdominal lotus is also of much benefit. When the pink is in operation, emollient glysters ought to be frequently repeated.

How this medicine operates to the destruction of worms, is to me as yet among the *desiderata*: and what are the properties by which its effects are produced, I cannot tell: nor am I much ashamed of this ignorance, since I believe that no botanist, unacquainted with its effects, would have any suspicion of them from its sensible qualities. Some have supposed it no other way a vermifuge, than by the common properties of cathartics. But this cannot be true: as no other cathartic will have the same effects. Some have supposed it a kind of lethargic poison, of which the vermin frequently recover, after a certain period; and for the support of this opinion, have asserted, that the worms have been generally found motionless, at their first appearance, and afterwards became active; and hence they have advised the pink to be administered in conjunction with *fenna*, or other brisk cathartics. As this practice has not been found so successful, as the use of the simple pink alone, so the data on which it is fixed, cannot be fully admitted.

How far this pink may be serviceable in other complaints of the human body, is not, perhaps, as yet known. It is however, such an excellent remedy against worms, that no family, where there are children, ought to be without it. All children, suspected of worms, may take a potion once in a month or two, followed with any common purge; and thus be relieved from danger.

J. L.

Newhaven, March, 1787.

✍ It is highly probable that four or five ounces of pink root, infused in two or three quarts of water, might be more serviceable in destroying grubs and bots in horses, than any thing known among farriers.



The resolution of the high court of errors and appeals of the state of Pennsylvania, in the case of Silas Talbot, quitam, &c. against the commanders and owners of the

brigs, Achilles, Patty, and Hibernia; January 14th, 1785.

THIS cause was of great consequence, not only on account of the property depending on its decision, but because the following questions were determined upon solemn argument: First, that the owners of letters of marque are responsible for injuries committed on the high seas, by the commanders of vessels sent out by them, at least, to the value of the vessels. Secondly, that in cases of capture from enemies, persons in other vessels acquire no right, merely by seeing the capture made. Thirdly, that the judge of admiralty for this state may legally take cognizance in cases similar to this. Fourthly, that the appeal in such cases to the high court of errors and appeals for this state, is regular.*

C A S E.

SILAS TALBOT, commander of the armed sloop, *Argo*, belonging to, and in the service of these states, duly commissioned, sailed from New London, in the state of Connecticut, the twenty ninth of August, 1779, on a cruise. On the sixth of September, after an engagement of three hours, he took as prize upon the high seas, an armed letter of marque vessel, called the *Betsey*, of two hundred tons burden, with a valuable cargo, belonging to subjects of Great Britain, not being inhabitants of Bermuda, and bound for New York, then in possession of the British naval and land forces. He took the commander and eleven hands, out of the prize, leaving three in her, and put on board a prize master and eleven other hands, with instructions to proceed to New London. The firing was heard, and the engagement for more than an hour seen, by persons on board three letter of marque brigs that had lately sailed from Philadelphia. During the engagement,

NOTE.

* It was contended by the council for the respondent, that the appeal lay to the court of appeals instituted by the united states; and by the council for the appellants, that the court of admiralty for this state had no jurisdiction in this case.

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the *Betsey* was perceived from the three brigs, bearing towards them. Her surrender was also seen from on board them: The prize-master, in obedience to his instructions, proceeded on his voyage, in company with the *Argo*, for New London. Some time after, the three brigs were discerned from on board the *Betsey*. Towards evening they chased the *Argo* and *Betsey*. The next day, early in the morning, the prize being in tow of the *Argo*, the three brigs were seen from on board the prize and the *Argo*, chasing them. The brigs approached fast, under British colours. Captain Talbot, finding it impracticable for the prize to escape, with a trumpet hailed her, directing the prize master to throw off the rope, and lie too with the prize, until the three brigs should come up with her, adding, that he with the *Argo* would run a little to leeward and lie too also—and that if the brigs should prove to be American, the prize master should endeavour to obtain permission for the prize to come down by herself, and inform him of the brigs being friends. In a short time, the brigs came up, and from one or two of them, under British colours, the *Betsey* was fired at twice, she then bearing British colours reversed, according to the custom of prizes, and being in the latitude of 39 degrees 4 minutes, and the longitude of 71 degrees 24 minutes. When first hailed, the people on board the *Betsey* answered, she was from Montserrat. Persons from two of the brigs, one of which had fired at the *Betsey*, boarded her. Among these was W. D. from the last mentioned brig. The commander of this brig was informed by the prize master on board the *Betsey*, that she was a prize to the *Argo*, commanded by captain Talbot; that the vessel then in sight was the *Argo*; that he was put on board the *Betsey*, as prize-master, by captain Talbot; he shewed him his written instructions as such; but, said the *Betsey* had been taken three days before. W. D. from on board the *Betsey*, told the said commander, that the prize-master denied having seen the brigs the day before, or that she was then captured; but from every circumstance, and from the report of

one of her English sailors, he was convinced, she was the same vessel seen engaged the day before. On board the brig, to the commander of which this information was given, were a boatswain and sail-maker, who had been taken by capt. Talbot about ten days before, in a vessel from London, and sent by him prisoner to Philadelphia, and shipped there. One of the persons put into the Betsey by captain Talbot, knowing them, mentioned this fact in conversation on board the said brig, to W. D. The person thus put on board by capt. Talbot also said, that the Betsey had been taken three days before. The papers on board the Betsey were examined by W. D. in behalf of the three brigs, and the number of names specified in the English papers, was found to correspond with the number of persons then on board. From these papers it appeared, that she was a British vessel, bound from Montserrat to New York. W. D. made several other examinations on board the Betsey, on behalf of the three brigs, and in the course of them was informed by a seaman who belonged to her, while possessed by the British, that she was taken the day before. This sailor also said, she sailed from Montserrat. Before W. D. left Philadelphia, he had heard, in the coffee house there, a few days before he sailed, that the Argo, a New England privateer, had taken the Dublin cutter, fitted out full of men of war's men. While these examinations were made, the two other brigs chased the Argo, under all sail; upon which, captain Talbot, concluding, they must be British cruisers, made sail before the wind, and soon left them. The commanders of the three brigs took the prize-master and hands out of the Betsey, who were carried to Spain, except one or two of the least considerable, and also took out of her two cannon, small arms, powder, ball, two coils of cordage, and some other articles. They then put a person on board her, as prize-master, and men from each of the brigs, with written orders, dated the 7th of September, 1779, and signed by them all, directing him to "take charge of her as prize to the brigs Achilles, Patty, and Hibernia; carry her into Delaware, Chesapeake, Egg-Harbour,

or Boston, but to get her if possible into Delaware, Chesapeake, or Egg-Harbour, for fear of the sloop Argo's falling in with her, begging him to stand to the southward that night, and strive hard for Philadelphia." These orders were signed on board the brig, the commander of which had directed the examinations before mentioned on board the Betsey. The Betsey sailed off close by the wind to the southward, was afterwards retaken, carried into New York, and restored to the former owners.

On the 17th of Sept. 1779, congress resolved, "that in consideration of the distinguished merit of colonel Silas Talbot, a commission of captain in the navy be given him, and that the marine committee be directed to provide a proper vessel for him as soon as possible." On the first of March, 1780, congress resolved, "that any interest the united states may have, in the capture of the Betsey, by the sloop Argo, captain Silas Talbot, be relinquished to the said captain, and the officers, seamen, and mariners under his command at the time of the capture." On the 13th of March, 1780, captain Talbot, *quitam*, &c. filed his bill in the court of admiralty for this state, against the three brigs, their owners, and commanders. Process issued accordingly. On the 27th the owners came severally before the court, and entered into stipulations for the performance of the decree. August 29th, a plea to the jurisdiction, filed, "for that in cases of damages to be assessed or recovered to make satisfaction for a wrong or trespass to person or property, the prosecutions ought to be in courts of common law." Replication, "that the cause of action was within the jurisdiction of the admiralty." Plea dismissed, *respondeant ouster* awarded, and plea of not guilty filed. July 19th, 1783, decree, that the libellants have and recover of the respondents twelve thousand seven hundred ninety one pounds five shillings, with costs, and on the 22d, the respondents appeal.

The resolution, &c.

THERE are two principal questions concerning jurisdiction in this cause.

First, whether the court of admiralty for this state had jurisdiction?

Second, whether this court has jurisdiction?

The first has been sub divided into these secondary questions :

First, could the court of admiralty for this state take cognizance, as an instance court, supposing this cause not to be a cause of prize ?

Second, did that court take cognizance, as a prize court ?

It is acknowledged, by the council for the appellants, that if this is not a cause of prize, the court of admiralty might take cognizance as an instance court, it being now settled that damages may be assessed in the admiralty—if it was not for an objection arising from the act of assembly for regulating and establishing admiralty jurisdiction in this state. By that act the judge of the admiralty shall “have cognizance of all controversies, suits and pleas of maritime jurisdiction, not cognizable at the common law, and thereupon shall decree as the maritime law, the law of nations, and the laws of this commonwealth shall require.” The objection made, is, that the present controversy is cognizable at common law.

It is manifest from this act, that in framing it, the legislature took into consideration the English statutes relating to things done upon the high seas, and particularly the statutes of the thirteenth of Richard the second, ch. 3. and 5. and the second of Henry the fourth, chap. 11. by which, “admirals and their deputies are prohibited from meddling with any thing done within the realm of England, but only with things done upon the seas, according to that which hath been duly used in the time of Edward the third,” and it is “declared, that the court of the admiral hath no manner of consance, power or jurisdiction of any contract, plea, or quarrel, or of any other thing done or rising within the bodies of counties, except in cases of death or mayhem done in great ships being in the main stream of rivers beneath the * points of the same.”

NOTE.

* Doctor Zouch, in his “jurisdiction of the admiralty,” p. 85, urges strong reasons against this construction; and in Owen’s reports, p. 122, it is said by the court, that the statute

It is clear, even from these cautions, against encroachments of the admiralty upon the courts of common law, and from the well known dispute, mentioned in Coke’s fourth institute, that the jurisdiction of that court, as to “things done upon the sea” is acknowledged to be proper: and, that as to them, the jurisdiction of the common law courts was not proper, but only acquired by a fiction, in supposing them to have been done in some county, when they were not.† The common law courts had a great advantage. They used it. There was no superior court to prohibit them. Upon certain suggestions which they knew to be both false and impossible, they assumed jurisdiction; and would not permit evident truth to be regarded. With such laboured ingenuity has the jurisdiction of common law courts, as to acts upon the high sea been sustained, to the great mortification of sir Thomas Rydlye, and other learned civilians‡, the former with much commendation from the rest, very gravely undertaking to prove, that a ship could not sail in Cheapside in the city of London§, the place usually assigned in suggestions, as the scene of naval transactions.

Yet notwithstanding these statutes, mariners have in England been allowed to sue for wages in the admiralty, upon contracts made there within the body of a county, “against the statute expressly,” as was held by the judges, when that great man, lord chief justice Holt, presided in the king’s bench. § The reasons were, that the remedy was easier, because

NOTES.

of the 15th of Richard the 2d. is misprinted; for the translator mistook bridges for points, that is to say, the lands-end.

† 4 ins. 134 to 143. 3 Blackst. 43, 106, et *Fortescue de laudibus*, 67, et in *notis*.

‡ *Fictio est in re certa, ejus quod est possibile, adversus veritatem, pro veritate a jure facta assumptio*. Doctor Godolphin’s view of admiralty jurisdiction, p. 84.

§ Zouch, p. 131, God. p. 105. 3 Blackstone, 107.

§ Sal. 33.

they could join in the suit, and better, because the ship would be answerable.

In the present case, the owners, masters and sailors, of the three brigs could not be jointly sued at common law. If they could not, what a multiplicity of actions must be brought! Supposing the owners, commander, and men of the *Argo* could join in a suit at common law, one of them might destroy the action by a release. The vessels are not liable in the same manner at common law, as they are in a court of admiralty.

If the court of admiralty for this state cannot take cognizance of things which courts of common law may draw into their cognizance, it seems to have been nugatory in the legislature to have given that court any other jurisdiction than in cases of prize; for, even in the case of wages, justly a favourite object of admiralty jurisdiction, mariners may sue for them at common law.

It appears to have been the intention of the legislature, that justice should be done in the easiest and best manner; and that by the words "not cognizable at common law," should be understood, "not properly cognizable at common law."

The next secondary question is so connected with the definition of a cause of prize, and the treating of that subject introduces so many considerations concerning relative circumstances in these states and the law of nations, and these again are so combined with enquiries as to the jurisdiction of this court, that they cannot be conveniently, at least, not easily, separated. We will at present, therefore, pass to the second principal question, reserving till that shall be discussed, what peculiarly relates to the question we now leave.

This state has all the powers of independent sovereignty, by the declaration of independence, on the 4th of July, 1776, except what were resigned by the subsequent confederation, dated the 6th of July, 1778, but not completed by final ratification, until the 1st of March, 1781.

By the confederation, the united

NOTE.

|| 3 Lev. 355.

states are vested, among other things, with the "sole and exclusive power of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land and water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces, in the service of the united states, shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures."

Such a court was established by the style of "the court of appeals in cases of capture*." By the commission, the judges are "to hear, try, and determine all appeals from the courts of admiralty in the states respectively, in cases of capture, which now are, or hereafter may be duly entered and made in any of the states."†

It was resolved by congress, May 24th, 1780, "that all matters, respecting appeals in cases of capture, now depending before congress, or the commissioners of appeals, consisting of members of congress, be referred to the newly created court of appeals, to be there adjudged and determined according to law."

(Remainder in our next.)



Law-case—respecting the refusal of paper money.

ON the 25th of October, 1786, came on before the supreme court held in Newport, Rhode Island, the trial of a *qui tam* information, brought by John Trevett, informer, against John Weeden, butcher, for refusing to take, of the said John Trevett, for meat, the bills of credit emitted by an act of the general assembly of said state.

To which complaint the said John Weeden made the following plea:

"The said John Weeden comes into court and prays that the honourable court here, will not take cognizance of the complaint of the said John Trevett; because he saith that it ap-

NOTES.

* Acts of congress, May 24. 1780.

† Acts of congress, February 2d. 1780.

appears by the act of the general assembly, whereon the said information is founded, that the said act hath expired, and hath no force.—Also, for that by the said act the matters of complaint are made triable before special courts, incontrollable by the supreme judiciary court of the state; and also, for that the court is not authorized or empowered by said act, to impanel a jury to try the facts charged in the information, and so the same is unconstitutional and void: all which the said Weeden is ready to verify. Wherefore he prays judgment of the court here, that they will not take further cognizance of the said information.

James M. Varnum, esquire, opened the pleadings for the defendant. He rejoiced that the cause was now not before a special court, but before the supreme judiciary court of the state.—Observed that this was a question of the highest importance, as it affected the fundamental rights and liberties of the people. He very justly drew a line between the legislative and judiciary power, and declared the constitution to be superior to both.—Said that the present act did not inflict any penalty.—That the first act, which inflicted the penalty (of which this was only an amendment) had expired.

That the present act had established a judiciary in every county of the state for trial of offenders against the paper money act, without trial by peers, and made their proceedings incontrollable by the superior court. That the citizens were not only entitled to justice, but to equal justice—that this could not take place where there were five different courts, from which there was no appeal: made a learned dissertation on the institution, formation, and powers of the courts of Great Britain and that state, proved that the superior court of that state had by their formation, a controul over all other courts: observed that there the laws centered, and there alone could justice be equally distributed, and by consequence, that if courts existed, incontrollable by the supreme judiciary, there was an end to constitutional liberty.

That the act, by constituting any three of the judges of the supreme court, a special court for the trial of

offences against the late act, formed a legal prejudice, and prevented a freedom of judgment in the superior court—for, said he, the superior court must be checked by the act of its members, as a special court. Declared it to be the indispensable duty of legislators to make laws agreeable to the fundamental rules of the association. That the trial by jury was the constitution of the state. That it was the people's birthright: that their ancestors brought it with them from Great Britain—that it was confirmed to them by the charter of Charles II. That it was declared to be so by several acts of the legislature, as well as by congress; and that this constitution could never be violated by a court, unless they were so timid as to act under the influence of a legislature, which was appointed by, and received all its power from, the constitution; and therefore could not exceed the authority from which they derived their powers, but by annihilating themselves as legislators.

He read Blackstone on trial by jury; and lord Coke's explanation of *magna charta*, in which is the following passage—

‘Against this ancient and fundamental law, trial by peers, (says lord Coke) and in the face thereof, I find an act of parliament made, that as well justices of assize, as justices of the peace (without any finding a presentment of twelve men) upon a bare information for the king, before them made, should have full power and authority, by their discretion, to hear and determine all offences and contempts committed or done by any person or persons against the form, ordinance, and effect of any statute made and not repealed, &c. By colour of which act, shaking this fundamental law, it is not credible what horrid oppression and exactions, to the undoing of infinite numbers of people, were committed by sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, being justices of peace through England: and upon this unjust and injurious act (as commonly in like cases it falleth out) a new office was erected, and they made masters of the king's forfeitures. But in the parliament, holden in the first year of Henry VIII. this act of the 11th of Henry VII. is re-

cited and made void : for that by force of the said act it was manifestly known, that many finisser and crafty feigned and forged informations had been pursued against many of the king's subjects, to their great damage, and wrongful vexation : and the ill success hereof, and the fearful end of those two oppressors, should deter others from committing the like, and should admonish parliaments, that instead of this ordinary and precious trial, *per legem terrae*, they bring not in absolute and partial trials, by discretion."

A variety of other authorities of the first eminence were read in proof of the doctrine advanced by Mr. Varnum, among which was Vattel on the constitution of laws ; where he says ' To attack the constitution, is a perfidious abuse of power in the legislature.' &c.

The court adjourned to next morning, upon opening of which, Judge Howell, in a firm, sensible, and judicious speech, assigned the reasons which induced him to be of the opinion, that the information was not cognizable by the court. Declared himself independent as a judge—the penal law to be unjust and unconstitutional—and therefore gave it as his opinion, that the court could not take cognizance of the information. Judge Devol was of the same opinion. Judge Tillghast took notice of the striking repugnancy in the expressions of the act. ' Without trial by jury, according to the laws of the land'—and on that ground gave his judgment the same way. Judge Hazard voted against taking cognizance. The chief justice declared the judgment of the court, against the informer, without giving his own opinion.

The emotions of joy expressed by the audience on the occasion, strongly manifested how deeply interested they were in the preservation of a constitutional birthright, which, 'till then, had never been arraigned at the tribunal of their own courts.

Observations on the making of pot-ash, by Aaron Dexter, M. D. communicated to, and published by, the American academy of arts and sciences.

HAVING had frequent applica-
tions from the manufacturers of

pot-ash, to examine that article, when condemned by the assay-masters ; I have been led to several observations, which are generally the result of experiments, respecting its defects and the causes of its impurity. From a conviction that those defects may be easily remedied, I have committed my remarks to paper, with a concise history of the manufacturing this salt, which I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the American academy of arts and sciences ; and if after their critical examination, they shall be thought to contain any useful hints, they will dispose of them as they think proper.

The great evil which injures the salt, and very much reduces the value of some of the American pot-ash, arises from foreign matters, such as common salt and earth, being accidentally mixed with it.

The furnaces, and machines or apparatus, commonly used in this country, for extracting the salts from the ashes, and for boiling and fluxing them, are undoubtedly of a good kind.

The first important object to be observed, is to extract all the salts from the ashes. For this purpose, rain or river water ought always be preferred. The ashes should be saturated and thoroughly wet, and remain with about an inch of water over the top of them twelve hours at least. Then a small opening may be made in the bottom of the leach tub, which ought to contain a strainer, to prevent the ashes from running off. The lie discharged is fit for immediate use. As soon as the manufacturer begins to draw it off, he must apply fresh water, and continue that application and boiling the lies until they are so reduced in strength, that they will no longer pay the expense of boiling. The ashes are, however, still to be preserved, and fresh water applied as before ; and, when drawn off, they may be used with profit on fresh ashes, as long as there remain in the lies any salts ; which may be discovered by the taste.

The lie, that runs off for use, should be filtered as it passes the bottom of the tub, and also as it runs into the receiver ; which process may be performed without any expense or inconvenience, through clean straw. Previous to boiling the lie, it ought to

stand twenty four hours, and then be drawn into the kettles with great care, so as to leave all the sediment behind. Every precaution should be taken to let nothing fall into the lies previous to, and whilst boiling : therefore that injurious practice of laying wood on the kettles for drying, must be avoided.

Strong lies may always be boiled half away in the first operation : and others much more. After which they must be taken with care out of the kettles, and put into the receiver at hand. Being to be shifted, a very small quantity of unslaked lime may be put into it, which serves to clarify, and at the same time renders the lie more pungent to the taste. After standing quiet until it cools to the state of blood heat, it must be again shifted ; and in drawing off the lie in every instance, the utmost care must be taken that all the sediment, which is generally a chalky earth, is detained, which process will effectually separate all the common salt, for that will congeal and crystallize with hot water in the same quantity as with cold water, which is not the case with any other neutral salt or alkali. If, after all, from any circumstance unforeseen, the lies shall not appear pure and clean, after being taken from the last sediment, they must stand quiet until another is formed, or until it appears that no other will form ; should one form, it must be separated, as before, prior to its being put into the kettles for the last operation. Without these precautions, the pot-ash, in consequence of neutral salts and a chalky matter which are obtained from the ashes, will be hard to flux, and require a long time to effect it : which will greatly endanger the kettles ; and after it is fluxed, will be very impure, and sell for a reduced price, if the owner be fortunate enough to find a market at any rate.

The pot-ashes, which I have examined, that have been condemned by the assay-masters, I have found to contain principally common earth, which is undoubtedly the chief source of impurity in the pot-ash of this country. If any crystals of common salt or nitre appear in the sediment, they may be preserved and purified by an easy process, which is known to

people in general, who have attended to the manufacturing of saltpetre.

After the lie is properly cleared from earthy matter and common salt, which not only retard the fluxing process, as has been observed, but render it unfit for many uses, particularly the bleaching of linens, it must continue boiling until evaporation shall cease, then the fire must be increased until the salts are perfectly fluxed, for the purpose of destroying the inflammable substance, with which most of them abound, which may be determined by the following simple method. Take some pot-ash, and dissolve it in water : let there be as much pot-ash as the water will dissolve. Then plunge a piece of silver coin, or any thin plate of silver, into the solution. If the pot-ash contains any inflammable matter, it will change the silver to a dark or black colour, in the same manner as if it had been over the steam of burning sulphur. By this easy experiment, the manufacturer will be saved the expense and mortification of carrying pot-ash to market, which must sell for a very reduced price. Should the workmen discover, on the experiment being made, the inflammable principle, or what is called by the workmen the oily substance, or fire, to exist in the pot-ash, it can be remedied only by dissolving in pure water, and boiling it down and fluxing it a second time : or it may be made into pearl-ashes, by calcination, with a little expense.

Some manufacturers may be discouraged from going through this process, by the labour necessary in shifting the lie so often. But if they consider the advantages they will obtain in fluxing their pot-ash, which will be effected in less than half the time required in the usual way, and the great saving in the expense of kettles, by the lies being made clean and pure ; they will be reconciled to the method, notwithstanding the trouble, as on the experiment, their interest will be found to be concerned in its adoption, and as their pot-ash will find a more speedy market, and obtain a higher price. Besides, the manufacturer and the merchant will never be doubtful of their adventures, and the reputation of American pot-ash will be equal, if not superior, to any that is manufactured in Europe.

The subject of pot-ash making, has frequently been before the legislature, and application made for premiums, by people who have, no doubt, acquired useful knowledge in the business. This circumstance, and a wish to render service to the public, are the only motives which have induced me to commit these observations to the academy. I have endeavoured to avoid prolixity, and all chymical terms, as I wish to be understood by people concerned in this branch of business, all of whom may not have had the means of obtaining a perfect knowledge of them.



On the culture and economical uses of the Spanish broom.

THE Spanish broom (*Spartium jencium*, Lin.) is sown on the most arid spots, on the steepest declivities of the hills, in a stony soil, where hardly any other plant could vegetate. In a few years it makes a vigorous shrub: insinuating its roots between the interstices of the stones, it binds the soil, and retains the small portion of vegetable earth scattered over those hills, which the autumnal rains would otherwise wash away.

It is sown in January, after the ground has received a slight dressing. The quantity of seed varies in a given extent of soil; but it is safest to sow thick, as many seeds do not come up, and a number of the plants perish after they have sprung. It cannot be raised otherwise than by seed; when transplanted, it takes root again with difficulty, even in gardens where it is treated with care. But it yields abundance of seeds, which are sold cheap.

A little space is left between each bush, and thus the plants remain without culture for three years, for they are not sufficiently strong to furnish branches long enough for cutting.

There are two uses to which this shrub is applied. Its branches yield a thread, of which they make linen; and in winter, they serve as food for sheep and goats.

In order to obtain the thread, the youngest plants are preferred. They are cut for this purpose generally in the month of August, or after harvest. The branches are cut with a knife, and gathered together in bundles, which are at first laid in the sun to

dry: they are then beat with a piece of wood, washed in a river or pond, and left to steep in the water for about four hours. The bundles, thus prepared, are taken to a little distance from the water, and laid in a hollow place made for them, where they are covered with fern or straw, and remain thus to steep for eight or nine days; during which time, all that is necessary, is, to throw a little water once a-day on the heap without uncovering the broom. After this, the bundles are well washed, the green rind of the plant, or epidermis, comes off, and the fibrous part remains; each bundle is then beaten with a wooden hammer upon a stone to detach all the threads, which are at the same time carefully drawn to the extremity of the branches. After this operation, the faggots are untied and spread upon stones or rocks till they are dry.

The twigs must not be peeled till they are perfectly dry; they are then dressed with the comb, and the threads are separated, according to their fineness, and spun upon a wheel. All this operation is reserved for the dead season.

The linen, made of this thread, serves various purposes in rural economy. The coarsest is employed in making sacks and other strong cloths for carrying grain or seeds. Of the finest is made bed, table, and body linen. The cloth, made with the thread of the broom, is very useful; it is as soft as that made of hemp; and it would, perhaps, look as well as that made of flax, if it was more carefully spun. It becomes white in proportion as it is steeped.

The stalks, after the fibrous part has been peeled off, are tied together in small faggots, and sold for the kindling of fires: the faggot generally consists of four. They also make matches of them, but these are not equal to those made of hemp, although they make a brisker fire.

The second and principal use received from the culture of this broom, is its serving for food in winter for sheep and goats.

In fine weather, the sheep are led out to feed on the broom, where it grows: but in bad weather, the shepherds cut the branches, and bring them to the sheep-folds.

Sheep, fed on this plant, are sometimes subject to a disease, the principal characteristic of which is an inflammation in the urinary passages. It proceeds from having eaten of the plant too abundantly, and may be prevented by mixing it with some other. Sheep are particularly subject to the disease when they have eaten the seeds of the broom; and therefore it is most prevalent when the plant is in fruit. The pernicious quality of the seeds is indicated by a heavy smell, which exhales from them when in a heap.

But these inconveniencies may be easily prevented, and therefore should be no obstacle to the use of a plant so valuable as this for the nourishment of sheep; and especially as the cure of the disease is simple, consisting merely in cooling drink, or a change of food.

Sheep are not allowed to enter a shrubbery of this broom, the first nor second year after it is sown; but they are permitted to browse upon it after the third year. The slumps, that have been eaten at the extremities, are cut off with a hook; and at the end of six years, it is necessary to cut the stock itself, that it may push out fresh shoots. By this means the broom lasts a very long time, and furnishes pretty long branches every year.

A sandy or stony soil, as I have already observed, agrees exceedingly well with this shrub; and therefore the culture of it ought to be considered as very beneficial, as it furnishes a means of turning to account the most barren and unprofitable spots, where no other plant could prosper.

It may likewise be multiplied in particular inclosures, which may serve in winter as places for feeding deer or even rabbits. Waste places, that are fit for nothing else, may be chosen for this purpose, especially as we see that the culture of the shrub is attended with little expense, and almost no trouble.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that it differs much from the broom that is common every where in the north of Europe, though this too in many places is used as food for cattle. Both of them produce flowers that are very much resorted to by bees, as they contain a deal of the honey juice they are

so fond of. And this should be another inducement to the cultivation of the Spanish broom.



An address to the public, from the South Carolina society for promoting and improving agriculture and other rural concerns.

AFTER having gloriously succeeded, by the assistance of divine providence and our own exertions, in terminating a war, which, for some years past, has laid waste our country, it is incumbent upon us equally to endeavour to promote and enjoy the blessings of peace. This cannot be effected by any means more interesting and advantageous, than by turning our attention to the cultivation and improvement of our fields. We ought not only to think of restoring their former appearance, which has been defaced by the horrors of war; but as, by the event of that war, the fruits of the labour we shall bestow upon them, are now secured as our own, and not at a master's disposal, we are encouraged, and should be induced, to make farther exertions for rendering both their beauty and their produce greater.

Agriculture was one of the first employments of mankind; it is one of the most innocent, and, at the same time, the most pleasing and beneficial of any. By its variety, it keeps the mind amused and in spirits; by its exercise and regularity, it conduces to give vigour and health to the body; and, in the end, it is productive of every other necessary and convenience of life. For agriculture is the parent of commerce; and both together form the great sources, from which the wants of individuals are supplied, and the principal riches and strength of every state flow. It becomes the duty, therefore, as well as the interest, of every citizen to encourage and promote it.

But although our fellow citizens in this, and indeed almost every other of the united states, have not been deficient in general exertions of industry in this line of employment; yet they have been too much satisfied with following the methods practised by their fathers, without attempting to discover better by experiments made

by themselves; experiments, which, every where else, have, in the end, been crowned with success.

It is certain, that in America in general, the mode of planting and of managing rural concerns has been pretty much the same for fifty years past; except perhaps in the introduction of one or two new articles of produce in a few of the states. It is no less certain, that within that period, by various experiments in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, a considerable and rapid progress has been made in the improvement of every article which concerns the holder and tiller of land there; and in consequence, a new, and almost entirely different system of husbandry has taken place of the former.

These experiments, which were generally made at first by individuals for their own amusement, or profit, none but themselves, or their nearest neighbours were benefited by. They were at length considered as objects of public utility; and numbers of patriotic gentlemen not only undertook to collect and publish accounts of them in different parts of Europe; but by offering prizes, pecuniary and honorary, they increased the spirit of such experiments by emulation and rewards, as well as by a knowledge of their success.

With the same views, we have instituted this society, and, to explain and effect our plan, we have thought proper to publish this address to our countrymen and fellow citizens.

We recommend to the planters in general (and every one has it more or less in his power) to select a small part of his ground, in order to make experiments on it by various methods—in turning up and preparing the soil—in planting it in its natural state, and in adding manure—in trying the effects of different crops in succession to each other, instead of continuing the same (as is commonly practised here) in the same field for a series of years; in tending the crop on the ground by ploughing, hoeing, weeding, and watering—in managing it, after being removed into the barn and yard—in short, by attempting every new mode, which fancy or judgment may direct; nor do we wish these experiments to be confined merely to the cultivation

and improvement of the earth and its products; but to be extended to every other object which is connected with a country life—such as raising and feeding cattle and flock of all kinds—planting and growing fences, and other wood for firing and building—contriving mills, carriages, and every implement of husbandry, and the like.

In managing these experiments, it will occasion very little trouble, but it is absolutely necessary for the planter to keep a regular journal, and to remark every particular circumstance during the course of them. This will bring the whole more immediately to his memory, and under his judgment; and will better enable him to draw up that account of the event; which we request of all such to communicate to us. We likewise invite every other person to favour us with his sentiments and observations on these subjects.

From these different accounts, we may be able to form an opinion of the best method which has been attempted; and we shall occasionally publish a collection of such, as, in our judgment, will tend most to promote the designs of the society; which centre in the interest and advantages of every member of the state, and consequently, of the state itself.

This society cannot, in its yet infant state, ascertain what prizes they can afford for the encouragement and reward of the experiments they recommend. Our number at present is not large; and our income by subscription, which is fixed at a low rate to induce others to join us, is in proportion. When both increase, we shall not be backward in proposing prizes of such value, as may both excite and reward the merit of the candidates.

Tho. Heyward, jun. president.

Charleston, August, 1785.



Account of the culture of the scarcity root.

THE Paris magazine for the month of May, contains a letter from the count de Chérilly, a patriotic nobleman, who resides much in the country, and is esteemed, after Mr. Duhamel, one of the first experimental farmers in France, concerning

the successful cultivation of the newly discovered vegetable, called, by way of contrariety, the root of famine, from its prodigious increase. The qualities and use of this extraordinary vegetable being but little known, we shall give our readers the substance of the count's letter, which may prompt some amongst our farmers to encourage its growth. "I sowed," says the count, "about seven bushels of the seed in a piece of land, containing eleven thousand cubic feet, being two French acres, in the beginning of November. In March, the growth was advanced, and I believed, that, as the product was abundant, I might increase my stock, by planting a number of slips, which could be well spared. I accordingly had them cut off, and set in a light sandy loam, at the distance of about eighteen or twenty inches asunder. In the following month, they increased to such a degree that I compute every single slip to have propagated fourteen fold. In June, the crops were perfectly ripe and full grown; and I ordered a certain quantity, mixed with mowed grass, to be given to my cows, which they exceedingly relished, and produced from twenty to thirty pints of our measure each, at every milking. The milk and butter were both excellent, and entirely free from any rank or disagreeable taste. My labouring horses and mules became so sleek and well coated from this diet, mixed with their ordinary food, that they scarcely could be distinguished from the best of my coach and riding cattle. About one pound of this root is sufficient to mix with beans, oats, barley, or hay at each feed, which may be given morning and evening." It does not yet appear that any sheep have been fed with this root, but there can be no doubt that a general cultivation of it would be attended with the best consequences.



Questions and answers respecting the making of Parmesan cheese.

QUERY 1. *Are the cows regularly fed in stables?*—From the middle of April, or sooner, if possible, the cows are sent to pasture in the meadows, till the end of November usually,

Or only fed in stables in winter?—When the season is past, and snow comes, they are put into stables for the whole winter, and fed with hay.

Do they remain in the pasture from morning till night? or only in hot weather?—between nine and ten in the morning, the cows are sent to water, and then to the pastures, where they remain four or five hours at most, and at three or four o'clock, are driven to the stables, if the season is fresh, or under porticos, if hot; where, for the night, a convenient quantity of hay is given them.

In what months are they kept at pasture the whole day?—Mostly answered already; but it might be said, that no owner will leave his cattle, without great cause, in uncovered places at night. It happens only to the shepherds from the Alps, when they pass, because it is impossible to find stables for all their cattle.

What is the opinion in the Lodesan, on the best conduct for profit in the management of meadows?—For a dairy farm of 100 cows, which yields daily a cheese weighing 70 to 75 lb. of 28 ounces, are wanted 1000 percas of land. Of these, about 800 are standing meadows, the other 200 are in cultivation, for corn and grass fields in rotation.

Do they milk the cows morning and evening?—Those that are in milk, are milked morning and evening, with exception of such as are near calving.

One hundred cows being wanted to make a Lodesan cheese each day, it is supposed that it is made with the milk of the evening and the following morning; or of the morning and evening of the same day; how is it?—The 100 cows form a dairy farm of a good large cheese; it is reckoned that 80 are in milk, and 20 with calves suckling, or near calving. They reckon one with the other about 32 bocalis of 30 oz. of milk. Such is the quantity for a cheese of about 70 lb. of 28 ounces. They join the evening with the morning milk, because it is fresher so than if it was that of the morning and evening of the same day. The morning milk would be 24 hours old when the next morning the cheese should be made.

Do they skim, or not, the milk to make butter, before they make the cheese?—From the evening milk all the cream possible is taken away for butter, cream-cheese, &c. The milk of the morning ought to be skimmed only slightly; but every one skims as much cream as he can. The butter is sold on the spot immediately at 24 sous; the cheese at about 23 sous. The butter loses nothing in weight; the cheese loses one third of it, is subject to heat, and requires expenses of service, attention, warehouses, &c. before it is sold; and a man in two hours makes 45 to 50 lb. of butter which is sold directly. However, it is not possible to leave much cream on the milk to make Lodesean cheese, called *grained cheese*; because, if it is too rich, it does not last long, and it is necessary to consume it while young and found.

Is Parmesan or Lodesean cheese made every day in the year or not?—With 100 cows it is. In winter, however, the milk being less in quantity, the cheese is of lesser weight, but certainly more delicate.

After gathering or uniting the milk, either skimmed or not, what is exactly the whole operation?—The morning of the 3d of March 1786. I have seen the whole operation, having gone on purpose to the spot to see the whole work from beginning to end. At ten in the morning, the skimming of that morning's milk, gathered only two hours before, was finished. I did, meanwhile, examine the boiler or pot. At the top it was eight feet (English) diameter, or thereabout; and about five feet three inches deep, made like a bell, and narrowing towards the bottom to about two one-half feet. They joined the cream produced that morning with the other produced by the milk of the evening before. That produced by this last milk was double in quantity to that of the morning milk, because it had the whole night to unite, and that of the morning had only two hours to do it, in which it could not separate much. Of the cream, some was destined to make cream-cheese, and they put the rest into the machine for making butter. Out of the milk of the evening before, and of that morning, that was all put together after skimming, they took and put

into the boiler 272 boccali, and they put under it two faggots of wood; which being burnt, were sufficient to give the milk a warmth a little superior to lukewarm. Then the boiler being withdrawn from the fire, the foreman put into it the rennet, which they prepare in small balls of one ounce each, turning the balls in his hand always kept in the milk entirely covered; and after it was perfectly dissolved, he covered the boiler to keep the milk defended, that it might not suffer from the coldness of the season, in particular, as it was a windy day. I went then to look on the man that was making cream-cheese, &c. and then we went twice to examine if the milk was sufficiently coagulated. At noon, the true manufactory of cheese began. The milk was coagulated in a manner to be taken from the boiler in pieces from the surface. The foreman, with a flick that had eighteen points, or rather nine small pieces of wood fixed by their middle in the end of it, and forming nine points in each side, began to break exactly all the coagulated milk, and continued to do so for more than half an hour, from time to time, examining it to see its state. He ordered to renew the fire, and four faggots of willow branches were used all at once: he turned the boiler that the fire might act; and then the underman began to work in the milk with a flick like the above, but with only four smaller flicks at the top, forming eight points, four at each side, a span long each point. In a quarter of an hour, the foreman mixed in the boiler the proper quantity of saffron, and the milk was all in knobs, and finer grained than before, by the effect of turning and breaking the coagulation, or curd, continually. Every moment the fire was renewed or fed; but with a faggot only at a time, to continue it regular. The milk was never heated much, nor does it hinder to keep the hand in it to know the fineness of the grain, which refines continually by the flick-work of the underman. It is of the greatest consequence to mind when the grain begins to take a consistence. When it comes to this state, the boiler is turned from the fire, and the underman immediately takes out the whey, putting it into proper receive-

ers. In that manner the grain subsides to the bottom of the boiler; and leaving only in it whey enough to keep the grain covered a little, the foreman extending himself as much as he can over and in the boiler, unites with his hands the grained milk, making like a body of paste of it. Then a large piece of linen is run by him under that paste, while another man keeps the four corners of it, and the whey is directly put again into the boiler, by which is facilitated the means of raising that paste that is taken out of the boiler, and put for one quarter of an hour into the receiver, where the whey was put before, in the same linen in which it was taken from the boiler; which boiler is turned again directly on the fire, to extract the whey-cheese: which is a second product, eaten by poor people. After the paste remained for a quarter of an hour in that receiver, it was taken out, and turned into the wooden form, called *fassera*, without any thing else made than the roundity, having neither top or bottom. Immediately after having turned it into that round wooden form, they put a piece of wood like a cheese on it, putting and increasing gradually weights on it, which serve to force out the remnant of whey; and, in the evening, the cheese so formed, is carried into the warehouse, where, after twenty-four hours, they begin to give the salt. It remains in that warehouse for fifteen or twenty days; but in summer only from eight to twelve days. Meanwhile the air and salt form the crust to it; and then it is carried into another warehouse for a different service. In the second warehouse, they turn every day all the cheeses that are not older than six months: and afterwards it is enough, if they are turned only every forty-eight or sixty hours, keeping them clean, in particular from that bloom which is inevitable to them, and which, if neglected, turns mully, and causes the cheese to acquire a bad smell.



Cursor thoughts on the first settlement of New England.

THE history of one's own nation, and the principal events that

take place in it, in a country like ours, the generality of people may be well acquainted with, if they please, with very little cost and trouble. And such an acquaintance, I am persuaded, would have the happiest effect upon civil and religious life. History hath been defined "as philosophy teaching by example." In well attested history we see the conduct of others, and may learn the nature and tendency of our own: we see the exercise and consequence of such a temper and line of conduct in others, and may learn our own temper and conduct, and the probable consequences. That a dutiful attention to providence, and a sacred regard to the divine will and government, is a matter of the highest importance, I beg leave to illustrate by a few anecdotes of our country, since the settlement of the English in it. I will mention none but notorious facts, the reality of which admits of no dispute.

In the month of December, A. D. 1620, the first company arrived at Plymouth, and on the 25th of the same month, began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods. This company consisted of little more than one hundred persons. Their first care being employed in providing a place for their goods and a common store, they then began to build some small cottages and huts for habitation. But the work and business went on slowly, the season was so cold and stormy, themselves worn out with a long and tedious voyage, and a great proportion of them sick with the scurvy, and other diseases, contracted in their circumstances, and through the inclemency of the climate, and rigour of the season, to which they had been unaccustomed. Sometimes, two or three died in a day, so that scarce half their number remained through the first winter. The provision brought out with them was almost spent, and what remained much damaged: they were able to procure little or none in the country, except what with great difficulty they got out of the sea, which, under God, seems to have been the means of their preservation.

They were in a strange country, far from friends and helpers, the land to them a howling wilderness, full of

savage beasts and more savage men. Yet the little feeble band were preserved, the ferocious natives wonderfully restrained from destroying them, and in many instances disposed to shew them kindness and afford them assistance.

From such small beginnings have arisen the settlements in New England. How amazing the spread and increase of the inhabitants since, tho' it is no more than 165 years last December, since the first arrival at Plymouth!

To trace the population and cultivation of this country by the English inhabitants, and how it hath emerged from barbarism, to its present improvements, with the pleasing prospect of it's further advances, under the conduct of divine providence, cannot fail to bring both delight and profit to every contemplative, considering mind. *Middletown, Jan. 1786.*



Necessity of disseminating knowledge in America—unhappy alteration in the views and pursuits of its inhabitants—danger of falling into the deplorable state of the Europeans—means of prevention.

GENERAL diffusion of knowledge is more necessary in some countries and times, than others. This maxim, however plain and familiar, is, in my opinion, of some importance in the regulation of society; and may be usefully illustrated in a view of the former and present state of North-America.

In the early settlements of the British colonies, most of the inhabitants were farmers. Their circumstances led them to be temperate and industrious—friendly to each other, and honest in common dealings. Their wants were consequently few; their pride was limited to a narrow sphere; and they had little occasion of expense. They were contented in a plain house, with small windows; a bought coat was handed down from father to son; and the sweet belle of a parish stole the hearts of her neighbours, under the admirable dress of a program gown and a string of wax beads. The good clergymen led their flocks without much expense. If the common people

could read the bible and Bunyan's holy wars, they were sufficient adepts in divinity: and their principal need of arithmetic was to chalk, on the stair-case or mantle-tree, a day's labour or a pound of pork. The arts of knavery and imposition were only in embryo; few people knew any thing about them; and even such as did, had little opportunity for their improvement. If a tavern-keeper watered his rum or scanted his measure on a training day, a few coppers answered the damage. If a merchant cheated in a bushel of salt or a gallon of molasses, the consequences were hardly perceptible. A roguish collector, who pleased to double his rates upon ignorant individuals, never excited the cry of hunger; the barrel of meal remained full, and the defrauded was still more happy than the defrauder. In this state of affairs, property was secure; liberty was in no danger; and the old man could die in all the comforts of death, a quiet conscience, and the prospect of a well settled offspring.

The condition of the American states at this day affords a very different description. Every circumstance is wonderfully altered. The scene of ambition is opened—genius is on the wing—and thousands of the independent Americans are remarkably anxious to vie with the gentry of Europe in the pleasures of government, equipage, and parade. The little village—the cheap coat—offices of captain and justice—rough wagon—pacing horse—and breasted-saddle and pillion—no longer content them. They sigh to be courtiers, gentry, and great men. Every state must have a bishop—every town a lawyer—and every parish two or three great surgeons and doctors. Cities are swelled with innumerable merchants and officers of trust and profit. Brokers and jockies are found in every street, and a man can scarce open his mouth about public securities, without finding a speculator at his elbow. Many are feeding on the expectation of a new congress and federal government. Representatives of the people—ministers abroad—secretaries of state—and offices in a standing army—are the dear phantoms of hope. A dull Dutchman rides in his phaeton—the judge's daughters wing in a coach—and even

poor cousin Jenny, wife of an attorney, not worth two and six pence, sticks up her nose at black tea and brown sugar. For her part, rather than be deprived of hyson and gunpowder, she would beg in the street.

In result of this condition, the liberty and property of the common people are in some danger. The production of the field, and the hand of labour must support the splendor of ambition and the waste of luxury. To effect these purposes, nothing will be neglected that the brain of genius can invent. Collectors will be multiplied—fees doubled—knavery improved—and poor farmers and mechanics soberly advised to follow their occupations all day, and knit at night. It will be said, in political clubs, that America can never have any national strength so long as property and power remain among the bulk of the people. Good policy will of consequence reduce the price of common wages; a farmer must sell the productions of a season for a few pounds; and a poor carpenter be forced to work half a year, for the expense of a short sickness, or a plain suit of clothes. Thus the comforts of private life are sacrificed at the shrine of public splendor; and the dear hours of simple amusement and harmless independence, converted to the drudgery of constant labour, for the support of dissipation and pride.

To prevent effects of this nature, and promote the common pleasures of a happy nation, the peace of good government, and the blessings of the christian religion, I wish, that my countrymen may enlarge the sphere of common education, and diffuse the benefits and sweets of knowledge through the minds of all their rational children. Instead of perplexing their heads with the honours of a college, and spending their estates in making one son lord it over the rest, let them educate their whole families in such a way as to give them some knowledge of human nature, of government, of religion and the means of preserving private property and social privileges. To this end, let there be a school in the centre of every parish, in which geography, mathematics, English language, composition, history and the art of war, may be regularly taught

by proper instructors. To this school let farmers, mechanics, and seamen, send their children, and there keep them, until they are qualified to improve the advantages of society, and act with becoming dignity in those several occupations for which they are designed.

In objection to this plan, of common education and improvement, it may possibly be observed, that common people have neither time nor taste for reading; that they are obliged to keep constantly at their business, and that the product of their labour is very inadequate to the payment of their taxes, the decent support of their household, and the settlement of their children. As circumstances now are, this objection seems to have some foundation. So long as the people of a little town remain willing to be at the yearly expense of three or four thousand pounds for imported articles of frippery and vanity—and so long as a sloop can be more respected, and lives with more ease than a man of understanding, so long, it is acknowledged, common people will be unable to discharge the expense of good education, and have neither time nor taste for reading. But let the scene be once changed, as reason and good policy dictate to the best; let the son and daughter dress a little plainer—let the gaming table be less frequented—let the importation of rum be prohibited for one year—let every man have understanding enough not to be cheated—let the tobacco pipe be broken, and say how much time and money would be then saved for valuable purposes.

It may also be observed by the politician, that a general diffusion of knowledge makes government uneasy, and that an ignorant people are the best and most happy subjects. Under an Asiatic despot, or an European monarch, this observation will probably hold good. The observers of human life are unanimously agreed, that ignorance lightens the yoke of bondage, and that the stupid ass bears the load of an unreasonable master with more patience and less complaint, than the sons of reason. But very few of them are of opinion, that general ignorance is favourable to the glory of republican states, or the

common bond of social happiness. On the contrary, it is most certainly true, that those republican states, which have been the most knowing, have also been the most happy, most powerful, and most peaceable among themselves.

Hence, let the people of the united states be advised to pursue the acquirement of knowledge, as their greatest good. And let the men of ambition, who wish to be rulers, be pleased to remember, that human nature cannot bear the struggle of sudden change without much trouble and distress. The lot which is now tolerable to a poor highlander in Scotland, would be desperate to an American peasant. He, who has always been used to provide his own bread, does not very willingly ask it of another: and the man, who has been accustomed to freedom, can never be reconciled to the hardships and meanness of a slave. To plough his own land, and live under his own roof, is the natural wish of his heart. He had rather be the lord of his own little possessions, than an hireling or tenant in the sweetest fields of Arcadia.

Finally, my countrymen will suffer me to wish (in the words of a very great and learned politician) that the wisest and most industrious among us may obtain the greatest honours; and that those may be neglected, who, under the flattering pretext of momentary advantages, would establish permanent principles of destruction, and to procure the ease of a few in high station, would draw tears from thousands of the poor!

PHILANTHROPOS.

Newhaven, 1788.



Hints to manufacturers. By Mark Leavenworth, esq.

THE best estimates of the difference in the prices of labour in this country, and the manufacturing parts of Europe, particularly England, prove that labour is from about twelve to twenty per cent. higher, in Connecticut, than in England.*

NOTE.

* Though labour is as high in England as here, within from twelve to twenty per cent, it is not pretended

The actual and real expenses of importing those articles which lie within but a small compass, and consequently pay but small freight, is very little, if at all less than the difference in the price of labour. There are some articles which have been but little manufactured in this country, which pay greater expenses, on importing, than those which have been manufactured with success.

Nails, looking-glass frames, &c.

Nails pay a much less freight than frames of looking glasses, the low priced candlesticks, or even the higher priced (except silver) tea kettles, tea urns, shovels and tongs, and coffee-mills.

Shovels and spades.

But of all the articles in the iron branch, consider the shovels and spades! No. 1, of those articles are made at Sheffield, in Yorkshire, for 24s. sterling per dozen, and the other numbers rise in the price, about eighteen pence, or two shillings for each number, up to number 4: on which prices, the person who takes them from the mechanic, has a discount of from ten to fifteen per cent. i. e. almost equal to the difference in the price of labour. The handles may be had in this country, perhaps somewhat cheaper than in Sheffield. Is it not highly probable from those circumstances, that they might be made here for half a dollar each, or even less? But experience has proved that they can be imported and sold for little, if any thing less than a dollar each.

Glass.

The making glass has been the subject of an exclusive grant. The grantees have never made any, because they did not understand their own business; not because they wanted workmen who understood theirs. The grant is, or will be forfeited, before they will ever make any. The grantees have always been calculating to make the crown window glass, which of all glass work, is the most difficult.

NOTE.

but that there is really a much greater difference, for the expenses in the articles of bread, meat, drink, fire, candles and lodging, are higher in England, on an average, by perhaps about one fourth.

cult and expensive. It is understood in Europe but by very few. But the circumstance, which ought to put it out of question, as the first attempt, is, that it may be purchased in this state, at but a little trifle more than it costs in Bristol, when other kinds must cost at least double the European price. A box of window glass, worth three or four pounds, pays about three shillings, or three and four pence freight; and there is little loss in breakage, compared with some other articles of glass. The freight, only, of as many quart bottles, as would cost four pounds, would amount to fifteen or twenty dollars, instead of three shillings, or three and four-pence. The expense of making the bottles, is much less; and people, who understand the business, could much easier be obtained. If they wished to extend their business into the white glass, there is no article which they might not better attempt than window glass; decanters, tumblers, chandeliers, sconces, phials and wine glasses, all pay a freight beyond all proportion greater than the window glass. But, after all, the bottles would be the greatest object to more than one glass house; for if we could have them at a reasonable price, the sale would be vastly extensive, and our farmers would be much benefited by it. If we had bottles in plenty, and cheap, our cider might be shipped to the West Indies and the southern states, to great advantage. We might always send cider, that would be better than the famous Bristol cider, for which the inhabitants of the southern states pay a pistareen per bottle. The common junk bottles, put on board ship in Bristol for exportation, cost one shilling and four-pence sterling, per dozen; but they are made under the weight of heavy duties, which, though drawn back on exportation, considerably increase the expense. Is it not probable that it might be good business to make them at two shillings and four-pence Connecticut currency per dozen? Might not a plenty of bottles prevent the extravagance of drinking London bottled porter, and thereby make a demand for a great number of bottles?

Gloves.

It has been objected to my projects
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for manufacturing the spades and shovels, and the glass bottles, that they require too large capitals; there are, however, many branches of manufacture which are neglected merely because they require too small capitals.

A shopkeeper who lives near me, whose business is obviously too small to support his family, even with good economy, frequently asks his friends what business he shall do, and is really anxious to be determined. One of my acquaintance, to whom the complaint was made, answered, your wife is industrious, and is handy at the use of the needle—half your stock in trade would make you a capital glove-maker, and you might attend your shop with the other half at the same time: “but the business is too small.” The manufacturing the gloves which are sold in this town, would maintain any shopkeeper’s family.

I designed this remark, only as introductory to another:—

Brushes.

We send bristles and wood to Europe, to have them made into brushes. We import not only tooth and buckle brushes, but the hearth, the white-washing, and the floor brushes, including the very handles. It is only a moderate calculation, that we could make all the larger brushes for the expenses of importing them only, exclusive of any first cost.

At a time when the joiners are almost out of employment, any one of them might find himself very full employment in making only our larger brushes.

Bristles have sometimes been so scarce, that when a particular kind of brush has been wanted, imported brushes have been purchased to take to pieces to obtain the bristles in a different form: it is not surprising that bristles are scarce, when we have no use for them; however, let any person purchase all that are brought, and enough will come. But the business is too small!!

Newhaven, August 17th, 1787.



Address to the respective members of
the general assembly of representatives
of the freemen of the common-
wealth of Pennsylvania, from the
E

committee of the manufacturers and mechanics of Philadelphia.

THE bill "to encourage and protect the manufactures of this state," lately published for consideration, although the mode proposed by it does not fully answer their expectation, has animated the committee of that body which solicited the patronage of the legislature, with a lively hope, that, on a more explicit representation, the members of the honourable house will perceive, that the mechanics and manufacturers have constantly kept in view the general interest of the state, as well as their own emolument.

The committee consider iron, leather, and hemp, as the great articles which afford a basis for American manufactures, and while they wish a due attention paid to every other article now manufactured among us, they consider those articles as deserving the first consideration and greatest encouragement.

The importance of iron, as a great staple of our country, is well understood, and that the value of manufactures is composed by the price of the materials, added to the value of the labour, or workmanship. It is evident, that where labour is high, those articles, which contain the greatest quantity of materials produced in our country, and the least labour, deserve our first attention and greatest encouragement. Thus, the value of an anvil or sledge hammer, is chiefly in the iron; while that of a needle, or a lancet, is almost entirely in the labour or workmanship. Hence they infer, that a general principle may be applied to the due encouragement of this great staple article. They conceive a duty on the pound weight is perfectly coincident with this principle; and that its operation will produce all the effects which are desired, more readily, more equally, and to more general satisfaction, than a particular description of articles, which might tend to excite jealousies and dissatisfaction. The exception to this general rule, in the articles of clock and watch work, is rested on the necessity of this trade, for repairing those machines, and the advantage of occasional assistance from workmen of this branch, in executing a variety of small

machinery, which alone could not afford constant employ to workmen.

A general principle, like that above mentioned, will not apply so perfectly to the article of leather, from the very unequal manner of its operation; and therefore it becomes unavoidably necessary to enumerate divers articles specially, which the committee have attempted to do impartially.

The manufacture of hemp near the city, is confined, at present, to the articles of twine, lines, rope, and other cordage; the committee have, therefore, had, more particularly, these articles in view; but conceive it not improper to suggest to you, gentlemen, the importance of a timely encouragement of other articles dependent on this great staple of our country; especially the very great and important one, of sail cloth. In this enlarged view, the extending of the duty of one penny per pound on all hemp made into cloth, imported, may induce this manufacture to be speedily set on foot, and, in due time, a variety of others of like nature. This would be placing the manufacturing of hemp, on the same principle with that of iron.

The importance of ship-building, whether considered as the defence or riches of an empire, is too well understood, both in Europe and America, to need any illustration. The committee, therefore, think it necessary only to say, that they have aimed at a measure which will give it effectual support, on the same general principles with those applied to the articles of iron and hemp, with which it is intimately connected.

They feel themselves happy in the reflexion, that this encouragement not only tends to the emolument of the ship-carpenters; but encourages the making of iron and raising of hemp, and the manufacturing of both these articles, profitably to the workmen, and, at the same time, is directly pointed to the general interest of the state.

They hope, that the produce of those duties will be found, on trial, a fund sufficient for the payment of a future bounty on hemp; and, perhaps, some other articles connected with ship-building, which would afford still greater encouragement to that art—

more direct and evident advantage to the husbandman, and, at the same time, prove equally advantageous to the merchant, whose interest, in this case, is evidently the same with that of the community in general.

In the variety of enumerated articles, the committee have expressed their judgment, formed on the best information they have obtained. It will, perhaps, be observed, that they have omitted the article of playing cards, mentioned in the law. They conceive, that the making of this article in America, does not deserve the "encouragement" of the legislature, and they rejoice that among those who have solicited your patronage, there are none found who manufacture them. Their primary object is not revenue; but, if it were, it has been questioned, whether it would be proper, on payment of any duty whatever, to warrant, by law, their importation into a republic, whose riches are the industry of the people, and whose strength is their virtue.

When the mechanics and manufacturers first laid their distressful situation before the legislature, the destructive effects of enormous importation of the manufactures of other countries, were not so strongly felt, as to draw the public attention; but the distress, which such importations have brought on the state, by rendering from us our specie, leaves it unnecessary now, to reason on that subject: our feelings have been convinced. Notwithstanding this, the committee apprehend some difficulties may arise in this business, from the influence of the merchant, who prefers his own present interest to that of the community, against which the good people of the state have no other shield, than the wisdom and virtue of their representatives. It would, however, be injustice to conceal, that the committee have derived the most cheerful and ready assistance from some merchants, whose knowledge and experience render them respectable, and whose extensive comprehension is capable of conceiving, that the true interest of the state is, eventually, their interest.

The interest of the land-holder, of the mechanic, and of the manufacturer, the committee apprehend forma

that great general interest of the state, on which its fold riches and strength must depend; and that foreign commerce is entitled to countenance and encouragement among us, so far as they tend to the support of that great interest. On this principle, they hope the legislature will determine on all questions respecting the proposed duties; and beg leave to add their idea that this ought not to be confined to the duration of the 2 1-2 per cent. duty; but be made perpetual. And they respectfully suggest, that the preamble of the law might, with truth and propriety, refer to advantages to the land-holder, and others, to be derived from the labours of mechanics and manufacturers, in times of peace as well as of war.

Signed by order of the committee,

JAMES PEARSON,

chairman, *pro tem.*

Philadelphia, April, 1785.



Extract from the minutes of the board of managers of the Pennsylvania society of arts and manufactures.

THE committee, to whom was referred the enquiry into the process of colouring leather, in the manner practised in Turkey and Morocco, report, that they have made enquiry into the subject, and find the business has been attempted by two manufacturers in this city; by one of whom it is still carried on; but they are informed, the method of fixing the colours has not yet been obtained here. They find, also, that this branch has been an object of repeated enquiry and experiment in Europe, and that the most valuable matter relating to it, ever made public there, is the following process, which they beg leave to recommend to the attention of the board.

On the directions contained therein, they beg leave to remark, that the repeated washings and drenchings of the skins appear to be intended to expel from them some natural quality, which would prevent the perfect fixing of the colours. The excessive difference, however, between the prices of American and Morocco skins, and the great and increasing importance of the leather branch in the united states, render it very desirable,

that every part of this process which conveniently can, should be adopted by our manufacturers.

TENCH COXE.
JOHN KAIGHN.

Processes for dyeing leather red and yellow, as practised in Turkey, with directions for preparing and tanning the skins, as communicated by Mr. Philippo, a native of Armenia, who received from the Society for the encouragement of arts in London, one hundred pounds sterling, and also the gold medal of the Society, as a reward for discovering this secret.

First preparation of the skins, both for red and yellow leather, by dressing them in lime.

LET the skins, dried with the hair on, be first laid to soak in clean water, for three days; let them then be broken over the flesh side, put into fresh water two days longer, and afterwards hung up to drain half an hour. Let them now be broken on the flesh side, limed in cold lime on the same side, and doubled together with the grain-side outward. In this state, they must be hung up within doors, over a frame, for five, or six days, till the hair be loose, which must then be taken off, and the skins returned into the lime pit, for about three weeks. Take them out, and let them be well worked, flesh and grain, every sixth or seventh day, during that time, after which let them be washed ten times in clear water, changing the water at each washing. They are next to be prepared in drench, as hereafter mentioned.

Second preparation of the skins for both the red and yellow dyes, by drenching.

After squeezing the water out of the skins, put them into a mixture of bran and water, warm as new milk, in the following proportion, viz. About three pounds of bran for five skins, and water sufficient to make the mixture moderately fluid, which will be about a gallon to each pound of bran. In this drench, let the skins lie three days; at the end of which time, they must be well worked, and afterwards returned into the drench, two days longer. They must

then be taken out, and rubbed between the hands; the water squeezed from them; and the bran scraped off clear from both sides of the skins. After this, they must be again washed ten times, in clear water, and the water squeezed out of them.

Thus far the preparatory process of all the skins, whether intended to be dyed red or yellow, is the same; but afterwards, those which are to be dyed red, must be treated as follows:

Preparations, in honey and bran, of the skins that are to be dyed red.

Mix one pound of honey with three pints of lukewarm water, and stir them together till the honey is dissolved. Then add two double handfulls of bran, and taking four skins (for which the above quantity of the mixture will be sufficient) work them well in it one after another. Afterwards fold up each skin separately, into a round form, with the flesh side inwards, and lay them in an earthen pan, or other proper vessel; if in the summer, by the side of each other; but, in the winter, on the top of each other. Place the vessel in a sloping position, so that such part of the fluid, as may spontaneously drain from the skins, may pass from them. An acid fermentation will then rise in the liquor, and the skins will swell considerably. In this state they must continue for seven or eight days; but the moisture, that drains from them, must be poured off, once or twice a day, as occasion may require. After this, a further preparation in salt is necessary; which must be performed in the following manner.

Preparation, in salt, of the skins to be dyed red.

After the skins have been fermented in the honey and bran, as before-mentioned, let them be taken out of that mixture, on the eighth or ninth day, and well rubbed with dry common sea salt, in the proportion of about half a pound to each skin; the salt must be well worked and rubbed with them. This will make them contract again, and part with a further considerable quantity of moisture; which must be squeezed out, by drawing each skin separately through the hands. They must next be scraped clean on both sides from the bran, superfluous salt, and moisture that

may adhere to them. After which dry salt must be strewed over the grain side, and well rubbed in with the hand. They are then to be doubled, with the flesh side outwards, lengthwise from head to tail, and a little more dry salt must be thinly strewed over the flesh side, and rubbed in: for the two last operations, about a pound and a half of salt will be sufficient for each skin. They must then be put, thus folded on each other, between two clean boards, placed sloping, breadthwise; and a heavy weight laid on the upper board, in order gradually to press out what moisture they will thus part with. In this state of pressure they must be continued two days, or longer, till it is convenient to dye them, for which they will then be duly prepared.

Preparations of the red dye, in a proper proportion for four skins.

Put eight gallons of water into a copper, with seven ounces of shenan—the root of alkanet is also used—tied up in a linen bag. Light a fire under a copper; and when the water has boiled about a quarter of an hour, take out the bag of shenan, and put into the boiling fluid or lixivium; 1st. two drams of alum; 2dly, two drams pomegranate bark; 3dly, three quarters of an ounce of turmeric; 4thly, three ounces of cochineal; 5thly, two ounces of loaf sugar. Let the whole mixture boil about six minutes, then cover the fire, and take out a quart of liquor, putting it into a flat earthen pan; and when it is as cold as new milk, take one skin folded lengthwise, the grain side outwards, and dip it in the liquor, rubbing it gently with the hands. Then taking out the skin, hang it up to drain, and throw away the superfluous dye. Proceed in the same manner with the remaining three skins; and repeat the operation of each skin separately, eight times, squeezing the skins by drawing them through the hands before each fresh dipping. Lay them now on one side of a large pan, set sloping to drain off as much of the moisture as will run from them without pressure, for about two hours, or till they are cold; then tan them as hereafter directed.

Tanning the red skins.

Powder four ounces of the best white galls in a marble mortar, sifting

it through a fine sieve. Mix the powder with about three quarts of water, and work the skins well in this mixture for half an hour or more, folding up the skins fourfold. Let them lie in this tan for twenty-four hours, when they must be worked again as before; then taken out, scraped clean on both sides from the first galls, and put into a like quantity of fresh galls and water. In this fresh mixture, they must be again well worked for three quarters of an hour; then folded up as before, and left in the fresh tan for three days. On the fourth day, they must be taken out, washed clean from the galls in seven or eight fresh quantities of water, and then hung up to dry.

Manner of dressing the skins, after they are tanned.

When the skins have been treated as above, and are very near dry, they should be scraped with the proper instrument or scraper on the flesh side, to reduce them to a proper degree of thickness. They are then to be laid on a smooth board, and glazed by rubbing them with a smooth glass; after which they must be oiled, by rubbing them with olive oil, by means of a linen rag, in the proportion of one ounce and a half of oil for four skins; they are then to be grained on a graining board, lengthwise, breadthwise and from corner to corner.

Preparation with galls, for the skins to be dyed yellow.

After the four skins are taken out of the drench of bran, and clean washed as before directed in the second article, they must be well worked, half an hour or more, in a mixture of a pound and a half of the best white galls, finely powdered, with two quarts of clean water. The skins are then to be separately doubled lengthwise, rolled up with the flesh side outwards, laid in the mixture, and close pressed down on each other, in which state they must continue two whole days. On the third day, let them be again worked in the tan, and afterwards scraped clean from the galls with an ivory or brass instrument (for no iron must touch them). They must then be put into a fresh tan, made of two pounds of galls finely powdered, and about three quarts of water, and well worked therein fifteen times. After this they must be doubled, rolled up as

before, and laid in the second tan for three days. On the third day, a quarter of a pound of white sea salt must be worked into each skin; and the skins doubled up as before, and returned into the tan, till the day following, when they are to be taken out, and well washed six times in cold water, and four times in water lukewarm. The water must be then well squeezed out, by laying the skins under pressure, for about half an hour, between two boards, with a weight of about two or three hundred pounds laid upon the uppermost board, when they will be ready for the dye.

Preparations, of the yellow dye, in the proper proportion, for four skins.

Mix six ounces of cassia *gehira*, or *agenira*, or the berries of the eastern *rhamnus* buck thorn; sumach is also used, with the same quantity of allum, and pound them together till they be fine, in a marble or brass mortar, with a brass pestle. Then dividing the materials, thus powdered, into three equal parts, of four ounces each, put one of those three parts into about a pint and a half of water, in a china or earthen vessel, and stir the mixture together. Let the fluid stand to cool, till it will not scald the hand: then spreading one of the skins flat on a table, in a warm room, with the grain side uppermost, pour a fourth part of the tinging liquor, prepared as above directed, over the upper or grain side, spreading it equally over the skin with the hand, and rubbing it well in: afterwards, do the like, with the other three skins, for which the mixture first made will be sufficient. This operation must be repeated twice more on each skin separately, with the remaining eight ounces of the powder of the berries and allum, with the above mentioned due proportions of hot water, put to them as before directed.

The skins, when dyed, are to be hung up on a wooden frame, without being folded, with the grain side outwards, about three quarters of an hour to drain, when they must be carried to a river or stream of running water, and well washed therein six times or more: after this, they must be put under pressure for about an hour, till the water be squeezed out; afterwards

the skins must be hung up to dry in a warm room.

This being done, the skins are to be dressed and grained as before directed, for those dyed red; except the oiling, which must be omitted.

Published by order of the board.

C. WISTAR, secretary.

Philadelphia, Dec. 4, 1788.



A letter from the tradesmen and manufacturers of New York, to the tradesmen and manufacturers of Boston.

New York, Nov. 17, 1788.

Gentlemen,

THE mechanics and manufacturers of the city of New York, having long contemplated and lamented the evils, which a pernicious system of commerce has introduced into our country; and the obstacles with which it has opposed the extension and improvement of American manufactures; and having taken into consideration your circular letter*, wherein those evils, and their remedies, are pointed out, in a just and striking manner; have authorized us to communicate to you in answer to your address, their sentiments on the interesting subject.

It is with the highest pleasure that we embrace this opportunity to express to you their approbation of the liberal and patriotic attempt of the tradesmen and manufacturers of your respectable town.

Every zealous and enlightened friend to the prosperity of this country, must view with peculiar regret, the impediments with which foreign importations have embarrassed the infant arts in America. We are sensible that they not only are highly unfavourable to every mechanical improvement, but that they nourish a spirit of dependence, which tends in some degree to defeat the purposes of our late revolution, and tarnish the lustre of our character. We are sensible that long habit has fixed in the minds of the people an unjust predilection for foreign productions, and has rendered them too regardless of the arguments, and complaints, with which the patriotic and discerning have addressed

NOTE.

* See Vol. IV. page 347.

them from every quarter. These prejudices have become confirmed and radical; and we are convinced that a strong and united effort is necessary to expel them. We are happy that the tradesmen of Boston have led the way to a general and efficient exertion in this important cause.

The impressions we feel of the utility and expediency of encouraging our domestic manufactures, are in perfect correspondence with your own; and we shall most cheerfully unite our endeavours with those of our brethren throughout the union, and shall be ready to adopt every measure which will have a tendency to facilitate the great design.

The legislature of our state, convinced of the propriety of cherishing our manufactures in their early growth, have made some provisions for that purpose. We have no doubt that more comprehensive and decisive measures will in time be taken by them. But on the confederated exertions of our brethren, and especially on the patronage and protection of the general government, we rest our most flattering hopes of success.

In order to support and improve the union and harmony of the American manufacturers, and to render as systematic and uniform as possible, their designs for the common benefit, we perfectly concur with you on the propriety of establishing a reciprocal and unreserved communication. When our views, like our interests, are combined and concentrated, our petitions to the federal legislature, will assume the tone and complexion of the public wishes, and will have a proportionable weight and influence.

We request you to favour us with a continuation of your correspondence, and to transmit to us, from time to time, such resolutions and proposals of your association, as may be calculated for the promotion of our mutual interests.

We are, with the highest respect and esteem, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servants,

Anthony Post, Ananias Cooper,
Francis Childs, Andrew Atterson,
Wm. W. Gilbert, Henry Pope,
Francis Vandyke, John Goodove.
Wm. J. Ellsworth.

Addressed to messieurs John

Gray, Gibbons Sharp, Benjamin Austin, jun. Sarsen Belcher, William Hawes, and Joshua Wetherle.



A series of letters, on the establishment of the worship of the Deity, as essential to national happiness. By an American.

Plurique boni mores,

Quam bonae leges, valent. Tacitus.

“Religion!

Without thee, what were unenlighten'd man!

A savage roaming through the woods and wilds,

In quest of prey; and with th' unfashion'd fur

Rough clad: devoid of ev'ry finer art, And elegance of life. Nor happiness Domestic, mixt of tenderness and care, Nor moral excellence, nor social bliss, Nor guardian law, were his.

Nothing, save rapine, indolence, and guile,

And woes on woes, a still revolving train,

Whose horrid circle had made human life

Than non-existence worse; but, taught by thee,

Ours are the plans of policy and peace, To live like brothers, and, conjunctive all,

Embellish life.”

Thomson.

LETTER I.

Dear sir,

YOU are pleased to ask my opinion on the sentiment expressed in doctor Price's observations, respecting the article of religious liberty; and whether there may not be an establishment of religion consistently with the civil and religious rights of all denominations: and on the expediency of such an establishment in these states?

I submit the subsequent thoughts to your candour.

Doctor Price, by his generous and disinterested labours in the cause of human nature, merits the applause of all the friends of civil and religious liberty in the world, and especially of every American. I esteem it a special favour, that he and other foreigners, of enlarged minds, have given us their

enlightened thoughts on the momentous subject of government, and the permanent foundation of such a system of regulation, as shall tend to make wise and happy present and future American generations. May we profit by their labours !

We need the assistance of the wise and good, as well as the smiles of an omnipotent providence, to lay firm and lasting the basis of the most glorious empire on which the sun ever shone.

Happy land of universal liberty ! Thrice happy thy future sons, if wisdom direct and establish the councils of their fathers ! While the subjects of European monarchies pine in ignominious vassalage, and look up, from an humble distance, to their haughty lords and oppressors, the free-born American smiles, with conscious dignity and independence, in the possession of the rights and privileges of man, and is eligible to the office of honour and influence, in the road of merit, depending not on the capricious whim of a despotic prince, or his favourite, but on the uncorrupted voice of his fellow citizens.

May Americans, by their wisdom and virtue, forever merit those high encomiums which the enlightened among foreign nations have bestowed upon them.

Europe has, for ages, groaned under civil and ecclesiastical oppression, and still feels the smart of tyranny in church and state. The nations have in time past revolted from oppression, and roused to seize the prize of freedom, but have generally fallen on two evils, anarchy in the first instance, and the power of some aspiring despot, as the consequence, who has more firmly riveted their chains. *Incidit in Scyllam, dum vult vitare Charibdim.* Happily we have shot the gulf, without feeling the rock of tyranny, or the whirlpool of anarchy ; and our war-worn bark has reached the fair haven of peace. The heat and burden is past, but the work of the day is yet to be finished. We have to seize the advantages which providence hath put into our hands, and to turn them to the public good.

Such is the state of human nature, that the sanctions of religion are necessary to give energy to law. Man-

kind are held back from wrong, by the commanding awe of a power infinitely superior to the power of their own creating ; and are excited to the practice of the moral and social virtues, by the animating hope and assurance of future approbation and reward.

Doctor Price passes over in silence, a point I conceive essential to the future prosperity of these states ; that is, the support of the public worship of the Deity ; I mean not, the establishment of any one sect or denomination, accompanied either with an exclusion or toleration of others. Uniformity in mode or sentiment is not to be expected ; almost all the different sects, into which christianendom is divided, are scattered throughout this continent. No one state is uniform, either in creeds or modes of worship, and therefore no one denomination can be established on the principles of equal liberty.

The magistrate steps out of the line of his duty, the moment he establishes his opinion as the standard of orthodoxy ; because, in religious notions, every man is his own judge, and his speculative opinions fall not under the cognizance of human law. In this respect, the constitutions of the American states have shewn a noble freedom from the shackles of human inventions in religious matters, unparalleled by other nations : but if, to shun the dangers which religious establishments have brought upon mankind, we cast off all religious worship, or leave it to the option of individuals at large, whether public worship, or religious instruction, shall be supported at all, I conceive it is making such an offering at the shrine of liberty, as is inconsistent with national existence, or at least with public order and happiness.

All nations, heathen as well as christian, have ever maintained the worship of the Deity. The Grecians and Romans had their public sacred days, devoted to the worship of their deities and to the instructions of morality. They had their priests, haruspices, and prophets, who taught the knowledge of the Deity, enforced the practice of virtue, and pointed out the dangers of vice, by considerations drawn from a future state of retribution. Their fables of Tartarus and Elysium, and the sentence passed

by their judges on departed spirits, according to their good or evil conduct in this world, were mighty incentives to a virtuous life, and necessary aids to civil government.

Lycurgus and Solon; Romulus and Jereboam, those founders of nations, saw the necessity of calling in the aid of religion to give stability and duration to their newly-erected empires; and, without it, their political plans would have proved abortive. Human nature is still much the same; and the aids of religion are as necessary in forming empires in modern, as in ancient times. (*To be continued.*)

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General observations, intended to direct the judgment in forming a just opinion of the men who ought to be chosen to represent a free people; addressed to the citizens of Maryland: by James M'Henry, esq.

1. **E**NDEAVOUR to elect men whose circumstances and situation will have no improper influence upon their public proceedings.

2. Men embarked in the same speculations are too much disposed to combine together to get some of their party to be lawmakers. Yet it is possible for such men to prefer the general good to their own speculations; but such instances are uncommon.

3. Men heavy-laden with debt are disqualified for legislators. Should a dishonest path open, through which they can escape from their embarrassment, it is scarcely possible for them to decline taking it. No man should be suffered to sit as a judge in his own case.

4. Shun men who have always been found to direct their opposition even against the liberal thinkers of a different religious persuasion, when placed in competition with a person of their own church. These are enemies to equal liberty, and will sacrifice almost every thing to a religious prejudice; yet it is difficult to determine, whether the human mind is more under the influence of interest or bigotry. Interest is a Scylla; bigotry a Charibdis. Ye friends of mankind! ye lovers of civil and religious liberty! keep faraway from your councils, bigots and interested men!

5. Never trust a cunning man to make laws for you, when you can get

an honest man; the first does every thing by trick—the last every thing by truth. The one is always candid—the other always a hypocrite, and, when nothing else will do, a liar.

6. The possession of power begets power. Do not give power to a weak man, for he cannot use it to your advantage; nor to a bad man, for he will turn it to his own profit. It is only to be trusted in the hands of a good man, and even not long with him, lest it should corrupt his virtue.

7. A long possession of power necessarily weakens the love of liberty, and creates an indifference to the approbation of good men. Power, by increasing men's influence, inclines them to rely more upon it, than upon virtue, for their re-election.

8. It is always dangerous to keep the offices of government filled with men linked together by the same ties of interest. Should this ever happen, and these men acquire influence to continue themselves in office, the liberties of the people will be swallowed up in their particular interest. To prevent this calamity, the bill of rights is continually reminding you, that "elections ought to be free and frequent," and that a rotation in the higher departments of government, is one of the best securities of permanent freedom. And yet how little pains is taken to prevent the same men from being elected year after year, to the same offices! Re-elections into the assembly must finally render it a hereditary body. The Pennsylvanians have endeavoured to guard against this kind of corruption, by the 8th section of their frame of government, which ordains—"that no person shall be capable of being elected a member to serve in the house of representatives of the freemen of that commonwealth, more than four years in seven." This is a wise article; breaking up combinations, and staying the progress of aristocracy and self-interest.

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A brief account of Kentucky, extracted from a letter of Isaac M'Nixon, Esquire, to the rev. Jordan Dodge, at Sturbridge: dated at Nelson county, Kentucky, January 11, 1788.

"THE soil of Kentucky, like other countries, is various,

but what we here distinguish by the terms first and second rate lands, are, from one to several feet deep, of a chocolate, and, in some places, of a deep mulatto colour, exempted from stones, gravel, or sand on the surface; and where these are the qualities, it pretty generally lies on a flat limestone quarry, from three to six feet below the soil. Lands of an inferior quality, of which (notwithstanding the accounts given of this country) there are large quantities, pretty generally resemble those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but are not so stony.

"It is chiefly a well, but heavy timbered country; the chief kinds of timber are, black walnut, locust, wild cherry, various kinds of ash, mulberry, butternut, hickory, beech, white wood, oaks, and sugar trees in abundance.

"Lands of the first and second quality, and, at present, we do not improve any other, are very little troubled with underbush; what there is, is chiefly spice wood, and what the Indians call papaw.

"The produce is Indian corn, wheat, rye, spelt, rice, barley, tobacco, hemp, flax, cotton, indigo, and vines of every kind.

"The three first articles of grain are raised in such abundance, as to stagger the belief of the most credulous.

"One hundred and seven bushels of shelled corn have actually been gathered in one season from one acre, planted in the usual way, and ploughed and hoed only twice. However, the more general crop is from fifty to eighty bushels the acre.

"I do not recollect to have heard of any person being so curious in ascertaining the produce of an acre of wheat, but a gentleman assured me, that from two bushels of rye, which he sowed last year, he reaped eighty-eight bushels and an half: and the soil, after a year or two's cultivation, is equally favourable to wheat.

"I wish I could be as favourable in my account of water, which, though but scarce, is, I expect, much more plenty than you have been informed. What we have is cold and clear. Mill streams are plenty, and will be generally supplied with water seven or eight months of the year; and at

no season, will there be any deficiency of water for domestic purposes. The streams always have sufficiency for stock, and it may any where be obtained with digging.

"Perhaps no country, so young and remote, was ever so well furnished with pious and eminent clergy of almost every denomination, as Kentucke. We have a few episcopalians, one roman catholic priest, several presbyterian and baptist ministers; the latter are much the most respectable number.

"We are not less happy on the subject of education; we have a charter for a college, which will soon be well endowed; eight thousand acres of land of the first quality, are already given it. The country abounds with Latin schools, one of which, consisting of near thirty scholars, will, we expect, open in a few days in this place, for the accommodation of which we have a stone edifice erected, forty feet by twenty-four. As its situation is healthful, and in a rich, thickly settled country, the inhabitants of which are much devoted to the institution, we have very exalted expectations of its future usefulness.

"The Kentucke country, which in the Indian language imports bloody, was established into a separate district in 1782; it now contains seven counties, the names of which are, Jefferson, Fayette, Lincoln, Nelson, Madison, Mercer, and Bourbon; but the great extent of our settlements, being upwards of two hundred miles in length, and as much in breadth, and the almost daily arrivals by land and water, make it next to impossible to give you with any degree of certainty the number of our inhabitants: the lowest calculations make them fifty thousand souls, and others double that number. Most of the savage tribes contiguous, are still hostile to this country; the exterior parts of which are sometimes visited by them, but the chief injury done of late, is in stealing horses: instances, it is true, sometimes occur, of murders committed by these vagrants, but as the country is so populous, and its settlements so extensive, the interior parts, which, for a long time have enjoyed a state of perfect safety, take but little or no notice of them.

"The climate of Kentucke, I find so very healthful, and at the same time so very moderate, compared with any thing experienced in the northern states, that I cannot do justice to my feelings without touching on the subject. The falls of Ohio, which are about the mean climate of the district, are situated in 37. 30. of latitude; but the country is much more serene and temperate than we could suppose from its situation, owing chiefly, perhaps, to its great remove from the northern lakes.

"Our coldest weather is generally at the setting in of the winter, and seldom continues more than seven or eight weeks.

"Travellers observe, that countries generally abound in grass and other articles of forage, in proportion to their necessity, which though perhaps true, is by no means the case in this country: the soil, from its nature and richness, is extremely well calculated for grass and other articles of herbage, the chief of which are, buffalo grass, buffalo clover, which nearly resembles our English clover, but is larger, and a kind, which, from its similarity to it, is called rye grass: and where these do not prevail, the country abounds with cane, which, continuing green during the winter, affords an excellent food for stock, in so much that our cattle in most parts of the country, will be excellent beef every day in the year, without any care or labour of the owner.

"We have many things in Kentucke, entitled to the epithet of curiosities, among which the many salt springs may be justly reckoned.

"Salt at present is made at but five places, but the country abounds in springs or licks, where it can be procured with equal ease.

"It sells from six to twelve shillings a bushel, but will in future days be much lower.

"The fortifications so frequently met with in this country, are the admiration of every traveller. They are mostly of a circular figure, on well chosen ground, and contiguous to water: near each of these is found a mount of earth, thrown up in form of a cone, and is generally proportionate to its adjacent fortification.

"When, or by whom these were

made, is equally uncertain. They appear to be very old. The timber growing on the walls, within the forts and ditches, has the appearance of that elsewhere.

"They must have been the efforts of a very numerous, industrious, and warlike people, and could not have been constructed without the use of iron tools. On searching, the mounds are found to contain a white substance resembling lime, which is supposed to have been human bones.

"Another kind of tombs are also found, though neither as large nor as frequent as the former, and are thus constructed: a level spot of ground is first chosen, and covered over with flat smooth stones, on which the corpses of the deceased are laid, which are separated from each other by flat stones set up edgewise, and in rows, at a distance sufficient to contain a human body in each partition. After the first layer or story is filled, the whole is floored over with the same materials as the bottom, and a second tier is deposited in the same manner as the first, and so on a third, fourth, and fifth, and perhaps a sixth story, and the monumental pile is finally completed with common stone, heaped up to a considerable height, terminating in a point.

"One of the most remarkable of these latter kind is found a few miles from a town in this country, called Lexington. Its base is sufficient to contain a dozen of human bodies, and is about five stories high.

"These cannot be as ancient as the former kind, the bones in them not being yet entirely dissolved. An arm bone was not long since found in the one near Lexington, full three inches longer than the arm of a man six feet high and of a proportionable thickness.

"To conclude, the distinguished bounties heaven conferred on this country, in soil, climate, healthfulness, and many other peculiarities, are real curiosities to the inhabitants of the northern states."



A comparison between the prospects of advantage in the unsettled and unimproved parts of Pennsylvania, and in the new countries at Niagara, Kentucke, &c.

MANY counties in New England, New York, New Jer-

fey and Pennsylvania, being so full of people as to make it necessary for them to move to some place where lands are plentier and cheaper, it is of grant consequence to the good people, who are about to move, to know which will be the best place to go to. A little comparison will be of use.

Niagara and Kentucke are so distant, that women and children must undergo excessive fatigue to arrive there, and many accidents must happen to horses and cattle on the way. It is also impossible to carry any furniture, without destroying the greater part of it. The new lands of Pennsylvania, especially those on Delaware, Schuylkill, Lehigh, and Susquehanna, are so nigh to the old counties of Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c. that a tender woman, or a family of children, can be taken there with great ease. Cattle and horses can also be easily driven there, and many articles of furniture and family stores may be transported at a very small expense.

The expense of going to Kentucke or Niagara, with a man's family and moveables, is so great, as to consume all the ready money that can be raised in these hard times. But from the many old and new roads in Pennsylvania, and the short distance between the thick settled counties, and Northampton, Luzerne, Northumberland, Huntingdon, &c. it is but a small expense to move a family from Jersey, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster county, &c. and the moyer has cash and stores to spare after the journey.

When a man is going to Niagara and Kentucke, he and his family are in momentary danger of destruction and a cruel death from the Indians; and, if they arrive safe, they live constantly in the same danger, and we see that very frequent instances happen, of whole families being cut off. As there is neither navigation nor carting from Niagara or Kentucke to any sea port, the price of produce is almost nothing. It is very certain, that wheat has been bought in Kentucke, at ten pence per bushel, and a dollar blanket at the same time, costs half a guinea there. Of what advantage is a rich tract of land, if a very coarse and small blanket takes the price of twenty bushels of

wheat to buy it? The inland navigation of Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill, &c. and the old roads, with the new ones making every year, give the farmer an opportunity to buy the same kind of blanket at ten shillings, or a dollar and a half, and enable the miller and store-keeper to give five or six shillings for his wheat, so that he gets his blanket for one tenth of the wheat, which a Kentucke or Niagara farmer pays. The latter has no vent for his produce, while the clearing of rivers, cutting of canals, improving old roads, making new ones, and building of mills, will increase every year the demand for the produce of the farmer who shall settle within thirty or forty miles of the navigable waters of Susquehanna, Schuylkill, Lehigh and Delaware.

The Kentucke and Niagara lands will be on the frontier for a century to come; of course, whenever there is a quarrel or an open war between the united states on the one part, and any of the Europeans or the Indians on the other part, they will be the Flanders (or scene of war) on which both parties will contend. The grain, cattle, wagons, horses, &c. of the inhabitants will be taken by the armies of both friends and foes; for armies must be fed and supplied. Agriculture will be checked, the houses will be burnt and plundered, and the whole neighbourhood will be thrown into confusion and distress. The new lands in Pennsylvania are not in this exposed situation on this side the Ohio and Allegeny, and especially on this side the Susquehanna, or Schuylkill, Lehigh and Delaware.

The emigrants to Kentucke and Niagara can never hope to see their parents, their brothers, and sisters, and other relations and friends, whom they leave behind; but the ride from the new lands of Pennsylvania will be very short and easy in a sleigh with a good snow, in the leisure season of winter.

The education of children is a matter of great concern with every serious man. There will be no possibility of getting schools established in those far distant countries, where people are so scattered—but in the Pennsylvania new settlements, so near the old counties of several states, it will be easy and certain,

Every body knows how active and spirited the people of Pennsylvania, and of the city of Philadelphia, are in making new improvements. It must be very certain, therefore, that new roads, through the Pennsylvania lands, will be made every season, and new measures will be constantly taken, to improve the water-carriage of the several rivers in the state. These things will give great comfort and advantage to the farmers and owners of lands, and will induce people to come upon our lands from other thick settled states, and from foreign countries. No less than twelve new improvements are made and making this year. First, a road has been cut from a little beyond the Wind-gap in the blue mountain, up the Delaware, to the New York line, seventy miles. Secondly, a road has been cut from that road, beginning about ten miles on this side of the New York line, and running nearly west to Tioga and Chemung, sixty-two miles. Thirdly, a road is cutting from that road to the great bend of Susquehanna. Fourthly, a road is cutting from the Shingle-gap of the blue mountain, in Northampton county, through a body of fine lands on the north of Lehigh and Tobiana. Fifthly, a road is cutting on the south side of Lehigh, between that river and Schuylkill, to Nescopeck. Sixthly, a sum of money, already raised by lottery, is to be laid out in improving the navigation of Schuylkill. Seventhly, a road has been begun, and a great part cut, between the east branch of Susquehanna, below Tioga, and the Loyal Sock creek, emptying into the west branch of Susquehanna. Eighthly, a sum of money, already raised by lottery, is to be laid out upon the Lancaster road. Ninthly, a capital canal is now cutting (by the people of Maryland) to open the navigation of the river Susquehanna, for large boats and rafts, into the Chesapeake bay. Tenthly, a road is cutting from the head of the north-west branch of Juniata to the Conemaugh, which runs into Allegheny. Eleventhly, a road between Shippenburg and Pittsburg. Twelfthly, a very important and extensive road from the west side of Susquehanna, beginning between the west branch of that river

and Juniata, and running through the heart of our state towards Toby's creek, quite to the Allegheny river and the donation lands, is now in agitation, and from the universal and great advantage of it, there is no doubt but it will be taken up by the new legislature before the spring.

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Philadelphia, Jan. 5, 1789.

*At a meeting of the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes, unlawfully held in bondage—ordered, that the following certificates, communicated by dr. Rush, be published.**

THERE is now in this city, a black man, of the name of James Derham, a practitioner of physic, belonging to the Spanish settlement of New Orleans, on the Mississippi. This man was born in a family in this city, in which he was taught to read and write, and instructed in the principles of christianity. When a boy, he was transferred by his master to the late dr. John Kearsly, jun. of this city, who employed him occasionally to compound medicines, and to perform some of the more humble acts of attention to his patients.

Upon the death of dr. Kearsly, he became (after passing through several hands) the property of dr. George West, surgeon to the sixteenth British regiment, under whom, during the late war in America, he performed many of the menial duties of our profession. At the close of the war, he was sold by dr. West to dr. Robert Dove, of New Orleans, who employed him as an assistant in his business :

NOTE.

* The abolition society in London, having requested the society for the abolition of slavery in Philadelphia, to transmit to them such accounts of mental improvement, in any of the blacks, as might fall under their notice, in order the better to enable them to contradict those who assert, that the intellectual faculties of the negroes are not capable of improvement equal to the rest of mankind, these certificates were accordingly forwarded to London, with the society's last letters, in addition to others heretofore sent.

in which capacity he gained so much of his confidence and friendship, that he consented to liberate him, after two or three years, upon easy terms. From dr. Derham's numerous opportunities of improving in medicine, he became so well acquainted with the healing art, as to commence practitioner at New Orleans, under the patronage of his last master. He is now about twenty-six years of age, has a wife, but no children, and does business to the amount of three thousand dollars a year.

I have conversed with him upon most of the acute and epidemic diseases of the country where he lives, and was pleased to find him perfectly acquainted with the modern simple mode of practice in those diseases. I expected to have suggested some new medicines to him; but he suggested many more to me. He is very modest and engaging in his manners. He speaks French fluently, and has some knowledge of the Spanish language. By some accident, although born in a religious family, belonging to the church of England, he was not baptised in his infancy; in consequence of which he applied, a few days ago, to bishop White, to be received by that ordinance into the episcopal church. The bishop found him qualified, both by knowledge and moral conduct, to be admitted to baptism, and this day performed the ceremony, in one of the churches in this city.

Philadelphia, November 14, 1788.

Account of a wonderful talent for arithmetical calculation, in an African slave, living in Virginia.

THERE is now living, about four miles from Alexandria, in the state of Virginia, a negro slave of seventy years old, of the name of Thomas Fuller, the property of Mrs. Elizabeth Coxe. This man possesses a talent for arithmetical calculation; the history of which, I conceive, merits a place in the records of the human mind. He is a native of Africa, and can neither read nor write. Two gentlemen, natives of Pennsylvania, viz. William Hartthorne and Samuel Coates, men of probity and respectable characters, having heard, in travelling through the neighbourhood, in which this slave lived, of his extraor-

dinary powers in arithmetic, sent for him, and had their curiosity sufficiently gratified by the answers which he gave to the following questions.

First. Upon being asked, how many seconds there are in a year and a half, he answered in about two minutes, 47,304,000.

Second. On being asked, how many seconds a man has lived, who is seventy years, seventeen days and twelve hours old, he answered, in a minute and a half, 2,210,500,800.

One of the gentlemen, who employed himself with his pen in making these calculations, told him he was wrong, and that the sum was not so great as he had said—upon which the old man hastily replied, “top, massa, you forget de leap year.” On adding the seconds of the leap years to the others, the amount of the whole in both their sums agreed exactly.

Third. The following question was then proposed to him: suppose a farmer has six sows, and each sow has six female pigs, the first year, and they all increase in the same proportion, to the end of eight years, how many sows will the farmer then have? In ten minutes, he answered, 34,588,806. The difference of time between his answering this, and the two former questions, was occasioned by a trifling mistake he made from a misapprehension of the question.

In the presence of Thomas Wistar and Benjamin W. Morris, two respectable citizens of Philadelphia, he gave the amount of nine figures, multiplied by nine.

He informed the first-mentioned gentleman that he began his application to figures by counting ten, and that when he was able to count an hundred, he thought himself (to use his own words) “a very clever fellow.”

His first attempt after this was to count the number of hairs in a cow's tail, which he found to be 2872.

He next amused himself with counting, grain by grain, a bushel of wheat and a bushel of flax-seed.

From this he was led to calculate with the most perfect accuracy, how many shingles a house of certain dimensions would require to cover it, and how many posts and rails were necessary to inclose, and how many

grains of corn were necessary to sow a certain quantity of ground. From this application of his talents, his mistress has often derived considerable benefit.

At the time he gave this account of himself, he said his memory began to fail him—he was grey-headed, and exhibited several other marks of the weakness of old age—he had worked hard upon a farm during the whole of his life, but had never been intemperate in the use of spiritous liquors. He spoke with great respect of his mistress, and mentioned in a particular manner his obligations to her for refusing to sell him, which she had been tempted to do by offers of large sums of money, from several curious persons.

One of the gentlemen (mr. Coates) having remarked in his presence, that it was a pity he had not had an education equal to his genius; he said, “no massa—it is bell I got no learning; for many learned men be great fools.”



Rejoinder to a reply to the enquiry into the justice and policy of punishing murder by death.

[See *American Museum*, Vol. IV. p. 547]

I HAVE read a reply, subscribed Philochoras, to an enquiry into the justice and policy of punishing murder by death, published some time ago in the Museum. The author of it has attempted to justify public and capital punishments, as well as war, by the precepts of the gospel. Let not my readers suppose that this author is a focinian—a sceptic—or a heathen—or that he is in any degree unfriendly to christianity. Far from it—he is a minister of the gospel,—and a man of a worthy private as well as public character.

This author has accused me of vanity in presuming to contradict the received opinions of mankind, and loads my arguments with the epithets of weakness—ignorance—and nonsense. He allows me some knowledge in my profession—but will not admit that I possess a single talent of a divine or legislator. In answer to these charges, I shall reply that I believe our author to be actuated in defending a vulgar error by a sincere desire of doing good. I acknowledge, further, that

he discovers some ingenuity, and a good deal of learning in his essay; but I cannot return the compliment he has paid me, by admitting that he possesses much exclusive knowledge in his profession. On the contrary, I believe him to be much better qualified, from his temper and principles, to execute with reputation and integrity, a military commission, than to explain the doctrines of the christian religion.

The objection to private punishments will receive the best refutation from the opinions of the citizens of Philadelphia, respecting the present penal law of Pennsylvania. Where is the man, besides our author, that is its advocate?—Has it answered any one end of punishment?—Have crimes been less frequent, since our streets have been obstructed by criminals, and has any one of the unfortunate subjects of these punishments discovered at any time a sign of contrition or amendment? On the contrary, have not our citizens learned to contemplate their sufferings with the same indifference, that they would view the spectacles of the ring, or the cock-pit? and is not the very atmosphere, which surrounds them, rendered contagious by the effluvia and mixture of their vices?*

Our author proceeds next to assert that the objection to the punishment of death for murder proceeded originally from the focinian objection to the great doctrine of the atonement. Here I must acknowledge my obligations to our author for having furnished me with a new argument in favour of my principles. I embrace with my whole soul the doctrine of the atonement. I contemplate with admiration the purity and perfection of that law, which made death necessary to satisfy its demands. In this demand, let the divine law stand alone. Let

NOTE.

* The quotation from Timothy, v. 20—“Them that sin, rebuke before all, that all may fear”—proves nothing in the present case. St. Paul speaks of ecclesiastical admonitions, addressed, in general terms, to a number of persons,—and not of corporal punishments, or of death, both of which, when publicly inflicted, operate very differently upon society from church censures.

no offences, committed against man, ever require such a costly sacrifice as human life. Let no human law ever usurp an equality with the pure and perfect law of God, by exacting the "shedding of blood" for the punishment or remission of any crime. The punishment of murder and other crimes by death, among the Jews, favours this idea of the exclusive demand of the divine law upon human life, as an expiation of sin. The government of the Jews was a theocracy. The crime of murder was therefore not only an offence against society, but a sin against God. It consequently required the punishment of death.

The arguments against the punishment of murder by death, from reason, remain on an immoveable foundation. Our author has contradicted, but has not refuted one of them. I affirmed in my former essay, that the punishment of murder by death had been abolished in several of the European nations. I wish, for the honour of our author's profession, he had doubted of this assertion with more of the meek and gentle spirit of a christian. To satisfy him upon this subject, I shall subjoin the following extracts from authorities which are now before me.—In the instructions to the commissioners, appointed to frame a new code of laws for the Russian empire, by Catharine II. the present empress of Russia, I find the following passage. I take great pleasure in transcribing it, as the sentiments it contains do so much honour not only to the female understanding, but to the human mind.

"Proofs from facts demonstrate to us, that the frequent use of capital punishment never mended the morals of a people. Therefore if I prove the death of a citizen to be neither useful nor necessary to society in general, I shall confute those who rise up against humanity. In a reign of peace and tranquility, under a government established with the united wishes of a whole people, in a state well fortified against external enemies, and protected within by strong supports; that is, by its own internal strength and virtuous sentiments, rooted in the minds of the citizens, there can be no necessity for taking away the life of a citizen. It is not the excess of

severity, nor the destruction of the human species, that produces a powerful effect upon the hearts of the citizens, but the continued duration of the punishment. The death of a malefactor is not so efficacious a method of deterring from wickedness, as the example, continually remaining, of a man who is deprived of his liberty, that he might repair, during a life of labour, the injury he has done to the community. The terror of death, excited by the imagination, may be more strong, but has not force enough to resist that oblivion which is so natural to mankind. It is a general rule, that rapid and violent impressions upon the human mind, disturb and give pain, but do not operate long upon the memory. That a punishment, therefore, might be conformable with justice, it ought to have such a degree of severity as might be sufficient to deter people from committing the crime. Hence I presume to affirm, that there is no man, who, upon the least degree of reflexion, would put the greatest possible advantages he might flatter himself with, from a crime, on the one side, into the balance against a life—protracted, under a total privation of liberty, on the other."

In a British review for the present year, I find a short account of the code of penal laws lately enacted by the emperor of Germany. This enlightened monarch has divided imprisonment into mild—severe—and rigorous. For the crime of murder he inflicts the punishment of rigorous imprisonment—which, from its duration and other terrifying circumstances that attend it, is calculated to produce more beneficial effects in preventing murder, than all the executions that have ever taken place in any age or country.

I derived my information of the abolition of capital punishments in Sweden and Tuscany, from two foreigners of distinction, who lately visited the united states. The one was an Italian nobleman,—the other was a captain in the Swedish navy—both of whom commanded every where respect and attachment for their abilities and virtues.

It is true, this happy revolution in favour of justice and humanity, in the instances that have been mentioned,

did not originate in a convocation or a synod. It may either be ascribed to the light of the gospel shining in "darknets which comprehended it not"—or to the influence of sound and cultivated reason,—for reason and religion have the same objects. They are in no one instance opposed to each other. On the contrary, reason is nothing but imperfect religion, and religion is nothing but perfect reason.

It becomes christians to beware how far they condemn the popular virtue of humanity,—because it is recommended by deists, or by persons who do not profess to be bound by the strict obligations of christianity.—Voltaire first taught the princes of Europe the duty of religious toleration. The duke of Sully has demonstrated the extreme folly of war, and has proved that when it has been conducted with the most glory, it never added an atom to national happiness. The marquis of Beccaria has established a connexion between the abolition of capital punishments, and the order and happiness of society. Should any thing be found in the scriptures, contrary to these discoveries, it is easy to foresee that the principles of the deists and the laws of modern legislators will soon have a just preference to the principles and precepts of the gospel.

Our author attempts to support his sanguinary tenets by an appeal to revelation. And here I shall make two preliminary remarks.

1. There is no opinion so absurd or impious, that may not be supported by solitary texts of scripture. To collect the sense of the bible upon any subject, we must be governed by its whole spirit and tenor.

2. The design of christianity, at its first promulgation, was to reform the world by its spirit, rather than by positive precepts.

Our Saviour does not forbid slavery in direct terms—but he indirectly bears a testimony against it, by commanding us to do to others what we would have them, in like circumstances, do to us. He did not aim to produce a sudden revolution in the affairs of men. He knew too well the power and efficacy of his religion for that purpose. It was unnecessary therefore to subject it to additional opposition,

by a direct attack upon the prejudices and interests of mankind, both of which were closely interwoven with the texture of their civil governments.

After these remarks, I shall only add, that the declaration of St. Paul before Festus, respecting the punishment of death*, and the speech of the dying thief on the cross†, only prove that the punishment of death was agreeable to the Roman law, but they by no means prove that they were sanctioned by the gospel. Human life was extremely cheap under the Roman government. Of this we need no further proof, than the head of John the Baptist forming a part of a royal entertainment. From the frequency of public executions among those people, the sword was considered as an emblem of public justice—but to suppose from this appeal to a sign of justice, or from our Saviour's parable of the destruction of the husbandmen, that capital punishments are approved of in the new testament, is as absurd as it would be to suppose that horseracing was a christian exercise, from St. Paul's frequent allusions to the Olympic games.

The declaration of the barbarians upon seeing the snake fasten upon St. Paul's hand, proves nothing but the ignorance of those uncivilized people. I deny the consent of all nations to the punishment of death for murder—but if it were true, it only proves the universality of the ignorance and depravity of man. Revenge, dissimulation, and even theft, prevail among all the nations in the world,—and yet who will dare to assert that these vices are just, or necessary to the order or happiness of society?

(Remainder in our next.)



The visitant. NO. VIII.

Remarks on the dress of the ladies.

I TOLD Flavilla the other day, I had a mind to write my next paper on dress. Do, says she; it will

NOTES.

* "For if I be an offender, and have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die." Acts xxv. 11.

† "We indeed" suffer "justly: for we receive the due reward of our deeds." Luke xxiii. 41.

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be a very excellent subject, and I hope you will treat it in a proper manner. You will not assume the air of a stern philosopher, and tell us, that the improvement of our minds should be our only care: you will permit us to bestow some attention upon our persons. Consider that there is something generous in our love of dress: for, to tell you a secret, we indulge that propensity, not for our own sake, but for the sake of the men. They, therefore, should be the last to declaim against it. One of the ancient philosophers, I have been informed, was so kind as to allow us royalty; but even he refused us force to support it. You cannot blame us, then, if we have recourse to art, and endeavour to accomplish in this manner, what we are not suffered to accomplish in the other.

After reflecting on Flavia's sentiments, I could not forbear thinking that there was a good deal of justice in them. Perhaps this might be partly owing to the secret influence, which, I feel, every thing spoken by a fine lady derives from the speaker. But I am persuaded that my assent did not proceed wholly from this principle. Impartial reason likewise concurred in determining my opinion.

It is a maxim among the critics, that, though the sentiments of a writer should be natural, yet they should represent nature in her most beautiful appearance, and drawn with all her graces and ornaments; that some circumstances should be placed in the most obvious light, others should be shaded, and others entirely concealed. From the judicious observation of these rules, results that exquisite perfection in composition, to which some have given the appellation of select nature. Why may not these reflections be applied to dress? There is a real resemblance between the subjects, and one is frequently illustrated by metaphors and similes borrowed from the other.

But treat the goddess like a modest fair,

Not over-dress, nor leave her wholly bare;

Let not each beauty ev'ry where be spy'd,

Where half the skill is decently to hide.

Pope.

Why should the pains, which a lady

takes in adorning her person, be ascribed to vanity and littleness of soul; while the poet is celebrated for his genius, invention, and taste, discovered in labours of a similar kind? For my own part, I examine dress by the rules of criticism, and where I am secure from the imputation of pedantry, cite Aristotle and Quintilian in support of my observations.

A second rule, established among the critics, is, that the language and composition should be suited to the subject; and for this reason, Longinus has censured an author, who wrote a treatise on the sublime in a groveling style. Every one of my readers anticipates me in applying this rule; and in acknowledging that its application is attended with peculiar propriety. If the dress should be suited to the subject, who will deny that the dress of the ladies should be elegant? They have the matter-piece of nature to adorn: its ornament deserves their attention.

Another reason why the ladies should be encouraged to distinguish themselves by their elegance of dress, is suggested to me by several laws, which I remember to have read, either obliging or alluring the men to marry. I do not recollect ever to have met with any expedient of this nature used with regard to the women. They seem always to have entertained just sentiments of that state. Where love his golden snafis employs, and fights

His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings.

Milton.

But as our sex have been sometimes very faulty in this particular, it is proper to entice them to their duty by every gentle and winning contrivance. That of dress has, I believe, a very considerable influence; and accordingly, in one of the laws enacted for promoting marriage, several alterations were ordered to be made in the garments of the unmarried ladies. If any one doubts the tendency of an handsome dress to excite agreeable emotions, let him reflect on the disgust, with which he beholds a flattern.

This speculation will, in all probability, be very disagreeable to fathers and husbands. Must we, say they, inculcate to our wives and daughters the needful lessons of frugality? Must

we point out to them the bad effects of profusion? And shall all our prudent instructions be lost by means of one, who flatters the giddy sex in their folly, and justifies the reluctance, with which they receive, and the stubbornness, with which they oppose, our saving maxims. Truly, *mr. Visitant*, we suspect that you are unacquainted with the economy and expenses of a family; and that your ears have never been stunned with unceasing clamours for jewels, and silks, and gauzes, and laces, and a thousand other articles of female extravagance.

Without discovering whether I have had experience in the economy and the expenses of a family, or not, I shall inform the husbands, that I am strongly inclined to congratulate them on the subject of their complaints; and that, in my opinion, what they murmur at, as a grievance, should be regarded by them as an instance of their good fortune. Your wife, *I hope*, has no ambition of making foreign conquests: the fair sex dres not for themselves: from what principle, then, does her attachment to dress proceed? From a tender concern to please you. She has heard of the inconstancy of man: she knows it may be a difficult task to preserve your affection, which, however, she is solicitous, above all things, to preserve: her fond passion represents you possessed of every accomplishment: she cannot believe you insensible to elegance: she will not permit herself to suspect that any elegance can give you so much pleasure, as the elegance of your wife: can she, then, be blamed—I make yourself judge—can she, then, be blamed, if she is anxious to appear lovely in your eyes? You are her greatest ornament: her proudest wish is to be yours. Where so much love—such an earnest desire of pleasing is the cause, will you repine at the effects? They cannot be dangerous: the same principle, that occasions them, will prevent their becoming destructive to your interests. When I have seen a married woman neglect to dress in a manner suitable to her age, and to the rank and fortune of her husband, I have always considered this circumstance as a melancholy symptom of an aversion, or, at least, of an indifference, subsisting between them,

Slothfulness and aversion in the married state may mutually produce each other; or they may be concomitant effects, arising from some other cause, which produces both. My reasoning, it is evident, does not extend, nor is it my design it should extend, to justify the conduct of some unnatural and inconsiderate wives, who, by their unbounded extravagance, reduce themselves, their husbands, and their children, to misery and ruin. My pen is not prostituted to write in defence of such.

The remonstrances of fathers must be heard with greater indulgence. Parental affection is more universal than conjugal affection; and therefore it is not likely that fathers will be so apt to complain without reason as husbands. The ladies frequently, tho' very erroneously, think it a matter of greater importance to gain, than to keep, a conquest; and therefore it is natural to suppose that daughters give greater occasion for complaints than wives. These considerations induce me to guard what I have said concerning dress, with some restrictions—but such as will not be less agreeable to the taste of my sensible fair readers, than to the frugality of their parents.

As dress deserves attention, because it adorns the beauties of the person, so the beauties of the person excite our love, because they are connected, or (which is the same thing) because we think them connected, with the beauties of the mind. However addicted we are supposed to be to sensual objects, yet if we trace the channels of our pleasures with accuracy, we shall find that they originally spring from mental sources. Now, if the beauties of the person are connected with those of the mind, and become motives of our love, by means of this connexion; it is evident, that where a lady, by her dress, betrays any thing unamiable or imprudent in her disposition, she counteracts her own purposes, and is disapproved by us for those very methods, which she takes to recommend herself to our esteem. The winning graces of the mind should never be sacrificed to the less powerful attractions of the person or dress; especially as these attractions derive all their influence from those graces. If

a lady dresses with greater splendor than is suitable to her rank and circumstances, she presents us with a contrast much to her disadvantage; her inability to support the cost of so much finery, is hinted at; and the praises, which we would otherwise give to her taste and elegance, are checked by our censures on her imprudence and vain ambition.

A lady appears to equal disadvantage, if she places her importance in her dress, and demands our admiration and respect, as a tribute to her gay attire. When she is altogether wrapt up in the contemplation of her own charms—when she surveys the several parts of her dress with a complacency impossible to be concealed—when, at every interval, she looks around her to observe whether the eyes of the company are not fixed on what she so much admires, how do we despise the empty trifler! We suppress the commendations, which she is anxious to hear; and we disdain the little soul, which is capable of feeling such a contemptible anxiety. On the other hand, we praise a lady who dresses with skill, and yet seems wholly insensible to the effects of her ingenuity. The less her dress is the object of her attention, the more it becomes the object of ours. We likewise admire the dignity of her sentiments, while we observe that she is above valuing herself on inferior accomplishments, or inferior embellishments.

I shall conclude, with admonishing the fair sex to distinguish between elegance and superfluous finery in dress. Here it will again be proper to apply a maxim established among the critics, viz. that the graces of composition should be chaste, and that the writer should use them with a sparing hand. In dress, as in poetry, a supernumerary croud of ornaments distracts the attention, breaks the general design into a number of incoherent parts, and renders it impossible for the mind to arrange them in such a manner, as, by the united result, to form the idea of a perfect whole. When the drapery of a picture is too rich, it lessens the dignity of the principal figure.

Philadelphia, March 21, 1768.

The Worcester Speculator*, No. 1.

Remarks on female delicacy.

FEMALE delicacy is a subject upon which my thoughts delight to ruminate, and upon which I shall now attempt to form a speculation. And although I am conscious of being unequal to a task which requires so delicate a hand, such refinement of sentiment, and such purity of thought, as well as such elegance of language, yet my fair readers will forgive the attempt, when I assure them, that I wish for no higher satisfaction on this side heaven, than to notice their advancement in mental and moral, as well as in external perfection, and to contribute to it; and to share in that happiness which such perfection will insure to themselves and to the rest of the world.

It ill becomes him, who is born of a woman, to speak degradingly of the sex. It less becomes him, who is not only born of a woman, but is indebted, in a considerable degree, to female attention and assiduity, to female conversation and example, and to female tenderness and delicacy, that his mind was early opened to intelligence, and his appetites and passions have been inured to control; that his sentiments have been refined, his manners polished, his steps withheld from danger, and directed to safety and wisdom, his bosom relieved of its cares, and his life illuminated with pleasures. And least of all does it become him to disparage the sex, who, to his personal obligations, can add his philanthropy; who professes to be a friend of mankind; who knows the influence which woman has upon man, and the hand she has, or might have, in promoting the virtue and happiness of families, of larger communities, and of the world.

Our omnipotent Creator, whose wisdom and benignity shine conspicuous in all his works, has formed the female sex, if I may be indulged the expression, with a delicate hand. The slender texture of their bodies,

NOTE.

* The printer, not being yet possessed of the whole of these valuable essays, is obliged to alter the arrangement of them, which, he hopes, will not prove unsatisfactory, either to the writer or the readers.

the softness of their features, the tunefulness of their voices, the general placidness of their tempers, and tenderness of their hearts, together with a similar niceness in their intellectual powers, denote a characteristic delicacy, with which their education and employments, their sentiments and views, their conversation and behaviour, and ours with and towards them, should exactly correspond. So that my idea of female delicacy is complex and comprehensive. It includes whatever is delicate in the structure of their frames, in the faculties of their minds, in the disposition of their hearts, in their sentiments, in their tastes, in their words, and in their actions. But while it excludes not that delicacy in their bodies and minds, which is merely natural, it regards principally that which is acquired; which is the effect of culture and education; which results from an early and assiduous care to preserve and establish the native innocence and purity of the heart, to correct and govern the passions, to refine and elevate the sentiments, and to render the conversation and manners more and more engaging. In short, the delicacy which I mean, and which I wish to recommend, is an inward sense of propriety, which regulates and beautifies the whole conduct; an unsullied and inflexible virtue and sweetness of temper beaming forth in every thing that is spoken, and in every thing that is done. This will heighten the delicacy of the features and air—for it is loveliness itself.

Every moral writer and thinker knows, and every moral liver feels, that there is something so beautiful in virtue as will attract affection, and something so deformed and ugly in vice, as will excite aversion in every rightly attuned breast.

“Vice is a monster of so frightful
“mein,
“As, to be hated, needs but to be
“seen.”

It argues therefore an indelicacy of mind, to cherish perverse humours, and give way to faulty propensities. The more delicate the taste of the soul is, the greater is its abhorrence of every thing that borders on vice, or favours of impiety. The heart, which is attuned to the refined exercises of virtue, of devotion, and religion, and

which cannot consent to any deficiency in its gratitude and obedience to God, or in justice and benevolence to man, discovers a delicacy superior to the most exquisite taste in economy, cookery and embroidery, or music, painting, and poetry. The mind that does not feel and acknowledge its obligations—that does not wish to possess and exercise all the virtues and graces which are prescribed for the adorning of human nature, and for the attainment of perfection and felicity—is as deficient in taste and delicacy, as it is in goodness.

Such are my ideas of female delicacy; and though they may be thought by some to be too refined or delicate, yet it must be owned that a behaviour in the sex, corresponding with such ideas—a course of conduct formed upon such maxims, will exalt their characters, add a lustre to all their other charms, and secure their hearts from seduction, their lives from blemish, and their bosoms from remorse. And it is easier to conceive than to describe the happy alteration which such sentiments and manners would produce in the other sex, both as to exalted morals and rational enjoyment. Vice and misery would be greatly diminished, virtue and happiness proportionably advanced.

Viewing the subject in a light of so much importance, I find I cannot comprehend all that might be said with advantage upon it, in one speculation. Perhaps, therefore, in some future number, I may suggest some cautions against a false delicacy, and point out some deficiencies in a few female characters, in that which is true. In the mean time, it is the wish of my heart, that wives, mothers, and daughters, would peruse, with candour and docility, the hints already offered, and, by reducing them to practice, try the experiment how amiable and happy they will render them.
Worcester, Massachusetts, July, 1788.



The friend. No. 1. *On essay writing.*
Written by the rev. T. Dwight, under
the signature of J. Littlejohn, esq.
Non sibi, sed toto genitum se credere
mundo.

AMONG the various compositions which have been esteemed

useful to mankind, few have pleased, or improved them, more than miscellaneous essays. The reasons are obvious. They occupy subjects in which most persons feel themselves interested; those subjects, and the method of treating them, being greatly diversified, gratify the love of variety: the style is generally agreeable by its familiarity and perspicuity, and the sentiments, by their application to the concerns of life: and as each essay is of a moderate length, and detached from the others, the mind is not cloyed by prolixity, nor wearied by that close attention, which long treatises, intimately connected in their parts, necessarily require. For these and other similar reasons, men, even of the first abilities, have chosen in this way to communicate their thoughts to the public, especially on the affairs of common life. At the same time, the public have given them full credit for descending from sublime speculations to the level of the general apprehension. Addison owes his principal reputation for fine writing to the *Spectator*, and Johnson derives his highest character from the *Rambler*.

Essays of this nature have also the peculiar advantage of coming to the reader in a very easy manner. The whole expense of them is moderate, and accrues so gradually as scarcely to be perceived. Hence they are purchased with much less inconvenience, than any other production of equal utility. In this method, knowledge and amusement are diffused through every condition of life; and the mind, which is capable of improvement, enjoys the means of it even in the most confined circumstances.

Many of the British collections of this kind possess a high degree of merit, and will probably never be excelled, perhaps never rivalled, by any succeeding efforts. Good sense, knowledge of the world, as well as of books, with admirable effusions of a humorous and an elegant imagination, abound in them. They are replenished with just maxims of criticism, and advantageous precepts for the conduct of life. But amid all the praise which is due to them, it may be justly observed, that the subjects, concerning which such compositions may be profitably written, are by no

means exhausted; and that, though many of the truths contained in them, are capable of universal application, many others are immediately directed to that state of society, and those circumstances of life, by which the writers were surrounded. This conduct, it is to be acknowledged, was dictated by the wisdom of the writers: for there were no subjects, concerning which their sentiments would have been so generally just, nor were there any, in which their readers would have felt a similar interest. No observations would have gained them equal applause, or given their readers equal satisfaction.

But a part of the pleasure and instruction, which a British reader, in the age of queen Anne, derived from the perusal of the *Spectator*, is lost to an American reader of the present age. The state of society in London was widely different from the state of society in an American village. So different is the state of things, presented to the view by real life here, from that which is presented there, that the most just and applicable observations, made on this subject there, would here, in many instances, find little, and in others no application. Yet from real life, almost all valuable observations, concerning the conduct of life, are drawn. Many facts, also, to which allusions are made in those writings, are unknown, or partially known, to the American reader. To him, therefore, the propriety of such allusions must be lost. If this be thought an imperfection in that celebrated paper, it is an imperfection incident to all valuable performances of this kind. The most useful sentiments concerning human life, are those, of which the most particular application can be made; but these, being accurately drawn from manners, must vary as manners vary, and to readers, in succeeding ages, or distant countries, must lose a part of their pertinence or beauty.

If the above observations are just, a sufficient field yet remains to those who wish to communicate their remarks to the public through this channel. Every age, every country, every stage, in the progress of society, opens such a field to the attentive observer of life. In every diversifica-

tion of manners, a sufficient variety of topics will present itself, to preclude any necessity of tedious repetitions. The human character, in its variegations, is a topic to the human eye literally boundless; and from it may be drawn sentiments, and methods of exhibiting them, ever new, various, pleasing, and important.

The present state of society, in this part of America, is replete with topics of this nature. The entire novelty of our circumstances is too manifest to require illustration. The equal division of property, the universal diffusion of knowledge, the moral cast of our manners, the absolute personal independence of every individual, confinement of reputation and importance to personal qualities, furnish writers of every class, especially writers of miscellaneous essays, with as fair a field of reflexion, as was perhaps ever furnished. If an essayist will merely open his eyes, and attend to what is passing, he cannot be at a loss for themes of observation, either pleasureable or improving. Every age may be considered as claiming the lucubrations of the ingenious: but such a state of things forms a peculiar claim to them. It furnishes the most happy supply of the necessary topics of entertainment, and exhibits the fairest prospect of usefulness in the character of the readers.

Several attempts of this kind have been made in different parts of America. In various instances, the writers appear to have been more deficient in the mode of conducting their writings, than in genius or knowledge. They have not drawn their remarks so much from life, as from books and speculation. Such remarks, however ingenious, will rarely be interesting. Most men feel that, and that only, which has some real existence, and look with indifference on the most beautiful mere speculation. Essayists will ever find themselves disappointed in the reception, with which their remarks on human life meet, unless they are drawn from life. Men must have seen the original, before they will be much pleased with the copy.

The reader will, before this time, have perceived that this paper is designed as the beginning of such a series of essays. The title, in the wri-

ter's opinion at least, will not unnaturally express their design; and, as he hopes, will not be an improper description of his own character. It is intended in its most universal sense. The writer wishes his readers to consider him as a friend to each of them, and to the whole human race; as a sincere friend, who would consult their interests rather than their inclinations; who, when those interests required it, would not hesitate to administer an honest reproof, or to communicate advice, which, to the ear of prejudice, would sound less softly than the silver voice of flattery.

At the same time, he would wish to be viewed as a familiar friend, who would advise, not dictate; and whose lessons will be communicated in the style of affability, and not of dogmatism.

In the course of these essays, the utmost latitude will be used, in consistence with the general design, and with the character the writer has assumed. He challenges the liberty of being grave or gay at pleasure, of laughing at folly, or stigmatizing vice, and of mingling scientific and critical observations with his remarks on life and manners. It will be his aim to present the public with new topics, or new modes of considering them, and especially to exhibit a series of sentiments, suited to the present state of society in this country. This field, although a most interesting one to Americans, has been hitherto, unless he is deceived, almost wholly unoccupied.

In the character of a friend to mankind, it will be rationally supposed, that he wishes for the assistance of the ingenious and benevolent, to accomplish the entertainment he designs them. Such assistance, indeed, he expects from his own immediate circle of friends, and pleases himself with the idea of presenting, occasionally, their speculations to the public. In the mean time, he invites the correspondence of all persons who have leisure to make, and patience to write, observations on life and manners; and who feel such an interest in the advancement of taste, science, and virtue, as to be willing to join their efforts for these valuable purposes.

Newhaven, March 23, 1786.

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New-York, Virginia, South and North-Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland: by the rev. Nicholas Collin, D. D. & M. A. P. S.

NUMBER 1.

IN the history of the united states, the present era is probably more important than any that has been or ever shall be. The declaration of independence, in 1776, was a bold measure; and its confirmation by the peace, in 1783, a glorious event. But if this independence is not secured by a solid union, fully adequate to the political and civil happiness of the states, it is at the best very doubtful, whether a longer dependence on Great-Britain would have been more calamitous than this premature political existence, fraught, in its very flamina, with disease and destruction. I shall not repeat the melancholy chime of anarchy, civil war, and foreign conquest, rung through the whole continent by the feeling and sagacious apprehensions of so many Americans, justly celebrated for political wisdom and patriotic virtue; but only beg leave to present one reflexion: neither the united states, nor any other part of the globe, are yet civilized enough to settle national disputes in the amicable way of reason and equity. Alas! the tinsels of ambition and avarice create frequent and furious contests, which are decided by the sword, that *ultima ratio* of kings and republics. In some future stage of civilization, a close union of the states will be less necessary; but till that happy period arrives, it is undoubtedly a sacred object with every man of sense and virtue.

The federal constitution has, for near a year, undergone the most critical investigation, in the public prints and the conventions of the states. Politicians have been entertained with a grand and interesting spectacle—thirteen sister-republics debating with all the force of argument, all the powers of oratory, on the form of a common government: this form embraced by great numbers as the guardian angel of America, sent from heaven to save

her from impending ruin: detested by others as a fiend come from the regions of darkness to enslave a vast continent: the constitution rejected by two; and adopted in some of the others, even great states, by small majorities, and with a pressing request of many capital amendments.

That an object of such awful magnitude should be agitated with anxious hopes and fears—that, held up in every point of view, it should to so many eyes, present an appearance somewhat different—is a natural and pleasing symptom, of that keen and solicitous love of liberty, which is the vital principle of republics. But such difference of opinions on first principles, is really very extraordinary: and the retaking by the left hand what was given by the right, is a mark of jealousy inconsistent with the most necessary energy of government. The federal constitution will, no doubt, like all other political institutions, require alterations in the process of time. The trial of such a complex machine, in operations partly novel, may also, very probably, point out some very important amendments. But if no essential fault can as yet be discovered, it must be very unwise to undo what has been done with so much difficulty—to frustrate the sanguine hopes and anxious desires of the people—to irritate the numbers that have suffered so long under the cruel tyranny of anarchy—to throw so many who pant for speedy relief, into utter despair—to lock up or banish the little circulating specie and credit, that barely keep alive our expiring trade—to confirm foreign nations in their contempt of our imbecility, and want of faith—to prevent all beneficial intercourse with any of them—and to urge those, who are creditors, to violent demands of public and private debts—to do all this, would be absolute folly and madness.

Though a majority in congress may be wise enough not to advise a reform of the new government, before it really becomes expedient, yet a persuasion that the present form is pernicious, unjust, and dangerous, must render great numbers of people dissatisfied—make many worthy men bad federal citizens—weaken the union; and impair its benefits—perhaps ena-

ble some daring spirits to raise insurrections.

While prejudiced electors fetter their representatives with injunctions to procure visionary amendments, it is to be feared, that many excellent persons will decline a trust so incompatible with their feelings—and that the mercenary and timid will sacrifice honour and conscience to popularity.

In a candid examination of the proposed amendments, we shall find that some are repugnant to an effectual confederacy; others of dubious utility; and the most specious, improper, until the union is firmly established, and experience has decided between opposite theories.

Philadelphia, October 21, 1788.

(To be continued.)



Declaration and resolves of the county of Suffolk, in Massachusetts, agreed to on the 6th day of September, in the year 1774.

WHEREAS the power, but not the justice, the vengeance, but not the wisdom of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity: and whereas this, then savage and uncultivated desert, was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valour of those our venerable progenitors: to us they bequeathed the dear-bought inheritance; to our care and protection, they consigned it; and the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring. On the fortitude, on the wisdom, and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions. If a boundless extent of continent, swarming with millions, will tamely submit to live, move, and have their being at the arbitrary will of a licentious minister, they basely yield to voluntary slavery, and future generations shall load their memories with incessant execrations. On the other hand, if we arrest the hand that would ransack our pockets—if we disarm the parricide

who points the dagger to our bosoms—if we nobly defeat that fatal edict which proclaims a power to frame laws for us in all cases whatsoever, thereby entailing the endless and numberless curses of slavery upon us, our heirs, and their heirs forever—if we successfully resist that unparalleled usurpation of unconstitutional power, whereby our capital is robbed of the means of life; whereby the streets of Boston are thronged with military executioners; whereby our coasts are lined and harbours crowded with ships of war; whereby the charter of the colony, that sacred barrier against the encroachments of tyranny, is mutilated, and in effect annihilated; whereby a murderous law is framed to shelter villains from the hands of justice; whereby the unalienable and inestimable inheritance which we derived from nature, the constitution of Britain, and the privileges warranted to us in the charter of the province, are totally wrecked, annulled, and vacated, posterity will acknowledge that virtue which preserved them free and happy; and while we enjoy the rewards and blessings of the faithful, the torrent of panegyrists will roll our reputations to that latest period, when the streams of time shall be absorbed in the abyss of eternity. Therefore we have resolved and do resolve,

1. That whereas his majesty George the third is the rightful successor to the throne of Great Britain, and justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and, agreeable to compact, of the English colonies in America—therefore, we, the heirs and successors of the first planters of this colony, do cheerfully acknowledge the said George the third to be our rightful sovereign, and that said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.

2. That it is an indispensable duty which we owe to God, our country, ourselves, and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to maintain, defend, and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled, and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.

3. That the late acts of the British

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parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the established form of government in this colony, and for screening the most flagitious violators of the laws of the province from a legal trial, are grots infractions of those rights, to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British constitution, and the charter of the province.

4. That no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the acts above-mentioned, but that they be rejected, as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.

5. That so long as the justices of our superior court of judicature, court of assize, &c. and inferior court of common pleas in this county, are appointed, or hold their places, by any other tenure than that which the charter and the laws of the province direct, they must be considered as under undue influence, and are therefore unconstitutional officers, and as such, no regard ought to be paid to them by the people of this county.

6. That if the justices of the superior court of judicature, court of assize, &c. justices of the court of common pleas, or of the general sessions of the peace, shall sit and act during their present disqualified state, this county will support and bear harmless all sheriffs and their deputies, constables, jurors, and other officers, who shall refuse to carry into execution the orders of said courts; and, as far as possible to prevent the many inconveniences which must be occasioned by a suspension of the courts of justice, we do most earnestly recommend it to all creditors, that they shew all reasonable and even generous forbearance to their debtors; and to all debtors, to pay their just debts with all possible speed, and if any disputes, relative to debts or trespasses, shall arise, which cannot be settled by the parties, we recommend it to them to submit all such causes to arbitration; and it is our opinion, that the contending parties, or either of them, who shall refuse so to do, ought to be considered as co-operating with the enemies of this country.

7. That it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, constables, and all other officers, who have public mo-

nies in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer, until the civil government of the province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, or until it shall otherwise be ordered by the proposed provincial congress.

8. That the persons who have accepted seats at the council board, by virtue of a mandamus from the king, in conformity to the late act of the British parliament, entitled an act for the regulating the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country, and have thereby given great and just offence to this people; therefore resolved, that this county do recommend it to all persons, who have so highly offended, by accepting said departments, and have not already publicly resigned their seats at the council board, to make public resignations of their places at said board, on or before the 20th day of this instant, September; and that all persons refusing so to do, shall from and after said day, be considered by this county as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country.

9. That the fortifications, begun, and now carrying on, upon Boston neck, are justly alarming to this county, and give us reason to apprehend some hostile intention against that town, more especially as the commander in chief has, in a very extraordinary manner, removed the powder from the magazine at Charlestown, and has also forbidden the keeper of the magazine at Boston, to deliver out to the owners the powder which they had lodged in said magazine.

10. That the late act of parliament, for establishing the roman catholic religion and the French laws in that extensive country, now called Quebec, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the protestant religion, and to the civil rights and liberties of all America; and, therefore, as men and protestant christians, we are indispensably obliged to take all proper measures for our security.

11. That whereas our enemies have flattered themselves, that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave, and hardy people, from

an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline, we therefore for the honour, defence, and security of this county and province, advise, as it has been recommended to take away all commissions from the officers of the militia, that those who now hold commissions, or such other persons, be elected in each town, as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity for that purpose, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants of those towns and districts, who are qualified, do use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do for that purpose, appear under arms at least once every week.

12. That during the present hostile appearances on the part of Great Britain, notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which we most sensibly relent, yet, nevertheless, from our affection to his majesty, which we have at all times evidenced, we are determined to act merely upon the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer.

13. That as we understand it has been in contemplation to apprehend sundry persons of this county, who have rendered themselves conspicuous in contending for the violated rights and liberties of their countrymen, we do recommend, should such an audacious measure be put in practice, to seize and keep in safe custody, every servant of the present tyrannical and unconstitutional government, throughout the county and province, until the persons so apprehended, be liberated from the hands of our adversaries, and restored safe and uninjured to their respective friends and families.

14. That, until our rights are fully restored to us, we will, to the utmost of our power, and we recommend the same to the other counties, to withhold all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies, and abstain from the consumption of British merchandize and manufactures, and especially of East-India teas and piece goods, with such additions, alterations, and exceptions on-

ly, as the general congress of the colonies may agree to.

15. That under our present circumstances, it is incumbent on us to encourage arts and manufactures among us by all means in our power, and that a committee be appointed to consider of the best ways and means to promote and establish the same, and to report to this convention as soon as may be.

16. That the exigencies of our public affairs demand that a provincial congress be called to concert such measures as may be adopted, and vigorously executed, by the whole people; and we do recommend it to the several towns in this county, to choose members for such a provincial congress, to be helden at Concord, on the second Tuesday of October, next ensuing.

17. That this county, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the continental congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, pay all due respect and submission to such measures as may be recommended by them to the colonies, for the restoration and establishment of their just rights, civil and religious, and for renewing that harmony and union between Great-Britain and the colonies, so earnestly wished for by all good men.

18. That whereas the universal uneasiness which prevails among all orders of men, arising from the wicked and oppressive measures of the present administration, may influence some unthinking persons to commit outrage upon private property; we would heartily recommend to all persons of this community, not to engage in any routs, riots, or licentious attacks upon the property of any person whatsoever, as being subversive of all order and government; but, by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country.

19. That, should our enemies by any sudden manœuvres, render it necessary to ask the aid and assistance of our brethren in the country, some one of the committee of correspondence, or a select man of such town or the

town adjoining, where such hostilities shall commence, or shall be expected to commence, shall dispatch couriers with written messages to the select men or committees of correspondence of the several towns in the vicinity, with a written account of such matter, who shall dispatch others to committees more remote, until proper and sufficient assistance be obtained; and that the expense of said couriers be defrayed by the county, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the provincial congress.



Declaration, non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement of the American congress, resolved on, October 24, 1774.

WE, his majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts's Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions at those grievances and distresses, with which his majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent; find that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration, adopted by the British ministry, about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies, and with them, the British empire. In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed for raising a revenue in America; for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America: and in prosecution of the same system, several

late, cruel, and oppressive acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston, and the Massachusetts-Bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall choose so to direct them.

To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his majesty's subjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: and therefore we do for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love of our country, as follows:

First. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandize, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

Second. We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next: after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

Third. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from

this day, we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandize, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

Fourth. The earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow subjects in Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said acts, and parts of acts, of the British parliament, herein after mentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.

Fifth. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents, and correspondents, in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, residing in Great Britain or Ireland, shall, directly or indirectly, ship any goods, wares or merchandize, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connexion with such merchant.

Sixth. That such, as are owners of vessels, will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

Seventh. We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and, to that end,

we will kill them as seldom as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere; and those of us, who are or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

Eighth. We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dress, than a black crape or riband on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black riband and necklace, for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals.

Ninth. Such, as are venders of goods, or merchandize, will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past. And if any vender of goods, or merchandize, shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his, or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Tenth. In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandize after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped or delivered up to the committee of the county or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of

such goods shall be reimbursed (out of the sales) the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston port-bill: and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Eleventh. That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; and when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the gazette; to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known, and universally condemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

Twelfth. That the committee of correspondence in the respective colonies do frequently inspect the entries of their custom houses, and inform each other from time to time of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

Thirteenth. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

Fourteenth. And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province, in North-America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

And we do solemnly bind ourselves

and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, piemento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colour, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorise the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed: and until that part of the act of the 12. G. 3. ch. 24. entitled, "an act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," by which any persons, charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed: and until the four acts passed the last session of parliament, viz, that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston—that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay—and that which is entitled, "an act for the better administration of justice," &c. and that "for extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.

In congress, Philadelphia, Oct. 24.

Signed, *Peyton Randolph*, president.

New-Hampshire.

John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.

Massachusetts-Bay.

Thomas Cushing, John Adams,
Samuel Adams, Robert T. Paine.

Rhode-Island.

Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.

Connecticut.

Eliphalet Dyer, Silas Deane.

Roger Sherman,

New-York.

Isaac Low, John Jay,
John Alsop, James Duane.

William Floyd, S. Boerum,
Henry Wisner, Philip Livingston.
New-Jersey.

James Kinsey, Richard Smith,
Wm. Livingston, John De Hart.
Stephen Crane,
Pennsylvania.

Joseph Galloway, Edward Biddle,
John Dickinson, John Morton,
Charles Humphreys, George Refs.
Thomas Mifflin.

New-Castle, &c.
Casar Rodney, George Read.
Thomas M'Kean,

Maryland.
Matthew Tilgman, William Paca,
Thomas Johnson, Samuel Chase.
Virginia.

Richard H. Lee, Richard Bland,
George Washington, Benj. Harrison,
P. Henry, jun. Edmund Pendleton
North-Carolina.

William Hooper, R. Caswell.
Joseph Hewes,

South-Carolina.
Henry Middleton, John Rutledge,
Thomas Lynch, Edward Rutledge.
Christ. Gadsden,

Documents respecting the battles of
Lexington and Concord.
Address of the provincial congress of
Massachusetts, to the inhabitants of
Great Britain.

Watertown, April 26, 1775.

Friends and fellow subjects,

HOSTILITIES are at length commenced in this colony, by the troops under the command of general Gage; and it being of the greatest importance that an early, true, and authentic account of this inhuman proceeding should be known to you, the congress of this colony have transmitted the same; and for want of a session of the hon. continental congress, think it proper to address you on the alarming occasion.

By the clearest depositions*, relative

NOTE.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

* We, Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderfon, all of lawful age, and of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the eighteenth of April instant, being on the road between

to this transaction, it will appear, that on the night preceding the 19th of A-

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Concord and Lexington, and all of us mounted on horses, we were about ten of the clock, suddenly surprised by nine persons, whom we took to be regular officers, who rode up to us, mounted and armed, each having a pistol in his hand, and after putting pistols to our breasts, and seizing the bridles of our horses, they swore, if we stirred another step, we should be all dead men, upon which we surrendered ourselves. They detained us until two o'clock the next morning, in which time they searched and greatly abused us, having first examined about the magazine at Concord, whether any guards were posted there, and whether the bridges were up, and said four or five regiments of regulars would be in possession of the stores soon. They then brought us back to Lexington, cut the horses' bridles and girths, turned them loose, and then left us.

Solomon Brown,
Jonathan Loring,
Elijah Sanderfon.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, Elijah Sanderfon, above named, do further testify and declare, that I was on Lexington common, the morning of the 19th of April, aforesaid, having been dismissed by the officers abovementioned, and saw a large body of regular troops advancing towards Lexington company, many of whom were then dispersing. I heard one of the regulars, whom I took to be an officer, say, "damn them, we will have them," and immediately the regulars shouted aloud, ran, and fired upon the Lexington company, which did not fire a gun before the regulars discharged on them. Eight of the Lexington company were killed while they were dispersing, and at a considerable distance from each other, and many wounded; and, although a spectator, I narrowly escaped with my life.

Elijah Sanderfon.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

I, Thomas Rice Willard, of lawful age, do testify and declare, that being in the house of Daniel Harrington, of said Lexington, on the 19th instant

April instant, a body of the king's troops, under the command of col.

Smith, were secretly landed at Cambridge, with an apparent design to

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in the morning, about half an hour before sun-rise, looked out at the window of said house, and saw (as I suppose) about four hundred regulars in one body, coming up the road, and marched towards the north part of the common, back of the meeting-house of said Lexington, and as soon as said regulars were against the east end of the meeting-house, the commanding officer said something, what I know not, but upon that the regulars ran till they came within about eight or nine rods of about an hundred of the militia of Lexington, who were collected on said common, at which time the militia of Lexington dispersed; then the officers made an huzza, and the private soldiers succeeded them: directly after this, an officer rode before the regulars to the other side of the body, and halloed after the militia of said Lexington, and said, "lay down your arms, damn you, why don't you lay down your arms?" and that there was not a gun fired till the militia of Lexington were dispersed: and further saith not.

Thomas Rice Willard.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

Simon Winslip, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex and province of Massachusetts-Bay, New England, being of lawful age, testifyeth and saith, that on the nineteenth of April instant, about four o'clock in the morning, as he was passing the public road in Lexington, peaceably and unarmed, about two miles and an half distant from the meeting-house, in said Lexington, he was met by a body of the king's regular troops; and, being stopped by some officers of said troops, was commanded to dismount. Upon asking why he must dismount, he was obliged by force to quit his horse, and ordered to march in the midst of the body, and being examined whether he had been warning the minute-men, he answered, no—but had been out, and was then returning to his father's. Said Winslip further testifies, that he marched with said troops till he came within about half a quarter of a mile of said meeting-house, when an officer com-

manded the troops to halt, and then to prime and load. This being done, the said troops marched on till they came within a few rods of captain Parker's company, who were partly collected on the place of parade, when said Winslip observed an officer at the head of said troops, flourishing his sword, and with a loud voice, giving the word—fire!—fire!—which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from said regular troops: and said Winslip is positive, and in the most solemn manner declares, that there was no discharge of arms, on either side, till the word fire was given by said officer as above.

Simon Winslip.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, John Parker, of lawful age, and commander of the militia in Lexington, do testify and declare, that on the 19th instant, in the morning, about one of the clock, being informed that there were a number of regular officers riding up and down the road, stopping and insulting people as they passed the road; and also was informed that a number of regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order to take the province stores at Concord, ordered our militia to meet on the common in said Lexington, to consult what to do, and concluded not to be discovered, nor meddle or make with said regular troops (if they should approach) unless they should insult or molest us; and upon their sudden approach, I immediately ordered our militia to disperse and not to fire. Immediately said troops made their appearance, and rushed furiously, fired upon and killed eight of our party, without receiving any provocation therefor from us. *John Parker.*

Lexington, April 24, 1775.

I, John Robins, being of lawful age, do testify and say, that on the 19th inst. The company under the command of captain John Parker, being drawn up (some time before sun-rise) on the green or common, and I being in the front rank, there suddenly appeared a number of the king's troops, about a thousand, as I thought,

take or destroy the military and other stores, provided for the defence

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at the distance of about sixty or seventy yards from us, huzzaing, and on a quick pace towards us, with three officers in their front on horse-back and on full gallop towards us, the foremost of which cried, throw down your arms, ye villains, ye rebels; upon which said company dispersing, the foremost of the three officers ordered their men, saying, fire, by God, fire, at which moment we received a very heavy and close fire from them, at which instant, being wounded, I fell, and several of our men were shot dead by me. Capt. Parker's men, I believe, had not then fired a gun: and further the deponent saith not.

John Robins.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

We, Benjamin Tidd, of Lexington, and Joseph Abbot, of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the 19th of April instant, about five o'clock, being on Lexington common, and mounted on horses, we saw a body of regular troops marching up to the Lexington company, which was then dispersing; soon after, the regulars fired, first a few guns, which we took to be pistols, from some of the regulars who were mounted on horses, and then the said regulars fired a volley or two, before any guns were fired by the Lexington company; our horses immediately started, and we rode off. And further say not,

Benjamin Tidd.

Joseph Abbot.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

We, Nathaniel Mulliken, Philip Ruffel, Moses Harrington, jun. Thomas and Daniel Harrington, William Grimes, William Tidd, Isaac Hastings, Jonas Stone, jun. James Wyman, Thaddeus Harrington, John Chandler, Joshua Reed, jun. Joseph Symonds, Phineas Smith, John Chandler, jun. Reuben Cock, Joel Viles, Nathan Reed, Samuel Tidd, Benjamin Lock, Thomas Winship, Simeon Snow, John Smith, Moses Harrington the third, Joshua Reed, Ebenezer Parker, John Harrington,

of this colony, and deposited at Concord; that some inhabitants of the

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Enoch Willington, John Horner, Isaac Green, Phineas Stearn, Isaac Durant, and Thomas Headley, jun. all of lawful age, and inhabitants of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New-England, do testify and declare, that on the 19th of April instant, about one or two o'clock in the morning, being informed that several officers of the regulars had the evening before been riding up and down the road, and had detained and insulted the inhabitants passing the same; and also understanding that a body of regulars were marching from Boston towards Concord, with intent, (as it was supposed) to take the stores belonging to the colony in that town, we were alarmed, and having met at the place of our company's parade, were dismissed by our captain, John Parker, for the present, with orders to be ready to attend at the beat of the drum. We further testify and declare, that about five o'clock in the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the parade, and soon found that a large body of troops were marching towards us. Some of our company were coming up to the parade, and others had reached it, at which time the company began to disperse. Whilst our backs were turned on the troops, we were fired on by them, and a number of our men were instantly killed and wounded. Not a gun was fired by any person in our company, on the regulars, to our knowledge, before they fired on us, and they continued firing until we all had made our escape.

Signed by each of the above deponents.

Lexington, 25th of April, 1775.

We, Nathaniel Parkhurst, Jonas Parker, John Munroe, jun. John Winship, Solomon Pierce, John Muzzy, Abner Meeds, John Bridge, jun. Ebenezer Bowman, William Munroe the third, Micah Hager, Samuel Saunderson, Samuel Hastings, and James Brown, of Lexington in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New En-

colony, on the night aforesaid, whilst travelling peaceably on the road be-

tween Boston and Concord, were seized, and greatly abused, by armed

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gland, and all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April instant, about one or two o'clock, being informed, that a number of regular officers had been riding up and down the road the evening and night preceding, and that some of the inhabitants, as they were passing, had been insulted by the officers, and stopped by them; and being also informed, that the regular troops were on their march from Boston, in order as (it was said) to take the colony stores, then deposited at Concord, we met on the parade of our company in this town; after the company had collected, we were ordered by capt. Parker (who commanded us) to disperse for the present, and to be ready to attend the beat of the drum, and accordingly the company went into houses near the place of parade. We further testify and say, that about five o'clock in the morning, we attended the beat of our drum, and were formed on the parade: we were faced towards the regulars, then marching up to us, and some of our company were coming to the parade with their backs towards the troops, and others on the parade, began to disperse when the regulars fired on the company before a gun was fired by any of our company on them. They killed eight of our company, and wounded several, and continued their fire, until we had all made our escape.

Signed by each of the deponents.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, Timothy Smith, of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April instant, being on Lexington common, as a spectator, I saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington company, then dispersing, and likewise saw the regular troops fire on the Lexington company, before the latter fired a gun; I immediately ran, and a volley was discharged at me, which put me in imminent danger of losing my life; I soon return-

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ed to the common, and saw eight of the Lexington men who were killed, and lay bleeding at a considerable distance from each other; and several were wounded: and further saith not,
Timothy Smith.

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

We, Levi Mead, and Levi Harrington, both of Lexington, in the county of Middlesex, and colony of Massachusetts-Bay in New England, and of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the morning of the nineteenth of April, being on Lexington commons, as spectators, we saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington company, and some of the regulars on horses, whom we took to be officers, fired a pistol or two on the Lexington company, which was then dispersing: these were the first guns that were fired, and they were immediately followed by several volleys from the regulars, by which eight men belonging to said company, were killed, and several wounded.

*Levi Harrington,
Levi Mead.*

Lexington, April 25, 1775.

I, William Draper, of lawful age, and an inhabitant of Colrain, in the county of Hampshire, and colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, do testify and declare, that being on the parade of said Lexington, April 19th instant, about half an hour before sunrise, the king's regular troops appeared at the meeting-house of Lexington. Capt. Parker's company, who were drawn up back of said meeting-house on the parade, turned from said troops, making their escape by dispersing; in the mean time, the regular troops made an huzza, and ran towards capt. Parker's company who were dispersing, and immediately after the huzza was made, the commanding officer of said troops (as I took him) gave the command to the said troops "fire! fire! damn you, fire!" and immediately they fired before any of captain Parker's company fired, I then being within three or four rods

men, who appeared to be officers of general Gage's army; that the town

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of said regular troops; and further says not, *William Draper.*

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

I, Thomas Fessenden, of lawful age, testify and declare, that being in a pasture near the meeting-house, at said Lexington, on Wednesday last, at about half an hour before sunrise, I saw a number of regular troops pass speedily by said meeting-house, on their way towards a company of militia of said Lexington, who were assembled to the number of about one hundred in a company, at the distance of eighteen or twenty rods from said meeting-house; and after they had passed by said meeting-house, I saw three officers on horse-back advance to the front of said regulars, when one of them, being within six rods of the said militia, cried out, "disperse, you rebels, immediately," on which he brandished his sword over his head three times; mean while the second officer, who was about two rods behind him, fired a pistol, pointed at said militia, and the regulars kept huzzaing till he had finished brandishing his sword, and when he had thus finished brandishing his sword, he pointed it down towards said militia, and immediately on which the said regulars fired a volley at the militia, and then I ran off as fast as I could, while they continued firing till I got out of their reach. I further testify, that as soon as ever the officer cried, "disperse, you rebels," the said company of militia dispersed every way as fast as they could, and while they were dispersing, the regulars kept firing at them incessantly. And further saith not, *Thomas Fessenden.*

Lincoln, April 23, 1775.

I, John Bateman, belonging to the fifty-second regiment, commanded by colonel Jones, on Wednesday morning, on the 19th day of April instant, was in the party marching to Concord, being at Lexington, in the county of Middlesex: being nigh the meeting-house in said Lexington, there was a small party of men gathered together in that place when our said troops marched by, and I testify and declare, that I heard the

of Lexington by these means was alarmed, and a company of the in-

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word of command given to the troops to fire, and some of said troops did fire, and I saw one of said small party lay dead on the ground nigh said meeting-house; and I testify that I never heard any of the inhabitants so much as fire one gun on said troops. *John Bateman.*

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, John Hoar, John Whithead, Abraham Gearfield, Benjamin Munroe, Isaac Parks, William Hosmer, John Adams, Gregory Stone, all of Lincoln, in the county of Middlesex, Massachusetts Bay, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday last we were assembled at Concord, in the morning of said day, in consequence of information received, that a brigade of regular troops were on their march to the said town of Concord, who had killed six men at the town of Lexington; about an hour afterwards we saw them approaching, to the number, as we apprehended, of about twelve hundred; on which we retreated to a hill about eighty rods back; and the said troops then took possession of the hill where we were first posted. Presently after this, we saw the troops moving towards the north bridge, about one mile from the said Concord meeting-house. We then immediately went before them, and passed the bridge, just before a party of them, to the number of about two hundred, arrived. They there left about one half of their two hundred at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards col. Barrett's, about two miles from the said bridge. We then, seeing several fires in the town, thought the houses in Concord were in danger, and marched towards the said bridge; and the troops that were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back over the bridge, and then took up some of the planks. We then hastened our march towards the bridge; and when we had got near the bridge, they fired on our men first, three guns, one after the other; and then a considerable number more; and then, and not before, (having orders from our com-

habitants mustered on the occasion; to Concord, marched into the said town of Lexington, and the said

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manding officers not to fire, till we were fired upon) we fired upon the regulars, and they retreated. On their retreat through the town of Lexington, to Charlestown, they ravaged and destroyed private property, and burnt three houses, one barn, and one shop.

Signed by each of the above deponents.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, Nathan Barrot, captain; Jonathan Farrar, Joseph Butler, and Francis Wheeler, lieutenants; John Barrot, ensign; John Brown, Silas Walker, Ephraim Melvin, Nathan Buttrick, Stephen Hosmer, jun. Samuel Barrot, Thomas Jones, Joseph Chandler, Peter Wheeler, Nathan Pierce, and Edward Richardson, all of Concord, in the county of Middlesex, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, of lawful age, testify and declare, that on Wednesday the nineteenth instant, about an hour after sun-rise, we assembled on a hill near the meeting-house in Concord aforesaid, in consequence of information that a number of regular troops had killed six of our countrymen at Lexington, and were on their march to said Concord; and about an hour afterwards we saw them approaching, to the number, as we imagine, of about twelve hundred; on which we retreated to a hill about eighty rods back, and the aforesaid troops then took possession of a hill where we were first posted. Presently after this we saw them moving towards the north bridge, about one mile from said meeting house: we then immediately went before them, and passed the bridge just before a party of them, to the number of about two hundred, arrived. They there left about one half of these two hundred at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards Colonel Barret's, about two miles from the said bridge. We then seeing several fires in the town, thought our houses were in danger, and immediately marched back towards said bridge, and the troops who were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back

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over the bridge, and then took up some of the planks. We then hastened our steps towards the bridge, and when we had got near the bridge, they fired on our men, first three guns one after the other, and then a considerable number more: upon which, and not before, (having orders from our commanding officer not to fire till we were fired upon) we fired upon the regulars, and they retreated. At Concord, and on their retreat through Lexington, they plundered many houses, burnt three at Lexington, together with a shop and barn, and committed damage more or less to almost every house from Concord to Charlestown.

Signed by the above deponents.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, Joseph Butler and Ephraim Melvin, do testify and declare, that when the regular troops fired upon our people at the north bridge in Concord, as related in the foregoing depositions, they shot one, and we believe two, of our people, before we fired a single gun at them.

*Joseph Butler,
Ephraim Melvin.*

Concord, April 23, 1775.

I, Timothy Minot, jun. of Concord, on the nineteenth day of this instant, April, after that I had heard of the regular troops firing upon Lexington men, and fearing that hostilities might be committed at Concord, thought it my incumbent duty to secure my family. After I had secured my family, some time after that, returning towards my own dwelling, and finding that the bridge on the north part of said Concord, was guarded by regular troops, being a spectator of what had happened at said bridge, declare, that the regular troops stationed on said bridge, after they saw the men that were collected on the westerly side of said bridge marched towards said bridge, then the troops returned towards the easterly side of said bridge, and formed themselves, as I thought, for regular fight: after that they fired one gun, then two or three more, before the men that were

company, on their approach, began to disperse; that, notwithstanding this,

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stationed on the westerly part of said bridge, fired upon them.

Timothy Minot, jun.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

I, James Barrett, of Concord, colonel of a regiment of militia in the county of Middlesex, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, about day-break, I was informed of the approach of a number of the regular troops to the town of Concord, where were some magazines belonging to this province: when there were assembled some of the militia of this and the neighbouring towns, I ordered them to march to the north bridge (so called) which they had passed and were taking up. I ordered said militia to march to said bridge and pass the same, but not to fire on the king's troops, unless they were first fired upon. We advanced near said bridge, when the said troops fired upon our militia, and killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others, which was the first firing of guns in the town of Concord: my detachment then returned the fire, which killed and wounded several of the king's troops.

James Barrett.

Lexington, April 23, 1775.

We, Bradbury Robinson, Samuel Spring, Thaddeus Bancroft, all of Concord; and James Adams, of Lexington, all in the county of Middlesex, all of lawful age, do testify and say, that on Wednesday morning last, near ten of the clock, we saw near one hundred of the regular troops, being in the town of Concord, at the north bridge in said town (so called) and having passed the same, they were taking up said bridge, when about three hundred of our militia were advancing toward said bridge, in order to pass said bridge, when, without saying any thing to us, they discharged a number of guns on us, which killed two men dead on the spot, and wounded several others: when we returned the fire on them, which killed two of them and wounded several, which

the regulars rushed on with great violence, and first began hostilities by

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was the beginning of hostilities in the town of Concord.

*Bradbury Robinson,
Samuel Spring,
Thaddeus Bancroft,
James Adams.*

Worcester, April 26, 1775.

Hannah Bradish, of that part of Cambridge, called Menotomy, and daughter of Timothy Paine, of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, esq. of lawful age, testifies and says, that about five o'clock on Wednesday last, afternoon, being in her bed-chamber, with her infant child, about eight days old, she was surprised by the firing of the king's troops and our people, on their return from Concord. She being weak and unable to go out of her house, in order to secure herself and family, they all retired into the kitchen, in the back part of the house. She soon found the house surrounded with the king's troops; that upon observation made, at least seventy bullets were shot into the front part of the house; several bullets lodged in the kitchen where she was, and one passed through an easy chair she had just gone from. The door of the front part of the house was broke open; she did not see any soldiers in the house, but supposed, by the noise, they were in the front. After the troops had gone off, she missed the following things, which, she verily believes, were taken out of the house by the king's troops, viz. one rich brocade gown called a negligee, one lutestring gown, one white quilt, one pair of brocade shoes, three shifts, eight white aprons, three caps, one case of ivory knives and forks, and several other small articles.

Hannah Bradish.

I, James Marr, of lawful age, testify and say, that in the evening of the eighteenth instant, I received orders from George Hutchinson, adjutant of the fourth regiment of the regular troops stationed at Boston, to prepare and march: to which order I attended, and marched to Concord, where I was ordered by an officer with about one hundred men, to guard a certain bridge there; while attend-

firing on said Lexington company, whereby they killed eight, and wounded several others; that the regulars

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ing that service, a number of people came along, in order, as I suppose, to cross said bridge, at which time a number of the regular troops first fired upon them. *James Marr.*

Medford, April 25, 1775.

I, Edward Thornton Gould, of his majesty's own regiment of foot, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the eighteenth instant under the orders of general Gage, I embarked with the light infantry and grenadiers of the line, commanded by colonel Smith, and landed on the marshes of Cambridge, from whence we proceeded to Lexington. On our arrival at that place we saw a body of provincial troops armed, to the number of about sixty or seventy men. On our approach, they dispersed, and soon after firing began; but which party fired first, I cannot exactly say, as our troops rushed on shouting and huzzaing, previous to the firing, which was continued by our troops so long as any of the provincials were to be seen. From thence we marched to Concord. On a hill near the entrance of the town, we saw another body of provincials assembled. The light infantry companies were ordered up the hill to disperse them. On our approach they retreated towards Concord. The grenadiers continued the road under the hill towards the town. Six companies of light infantry were ordered down to take possession of the bridge, which the provincials retreated over. The company I commanded was one. Three companies of the above detachment went forward about two miles. In the mean time the provincial troops returned, to the number of about three or four hundred. We drew up on the Concord side of the bridge. The provincials came down upon us, upon which we engaged and gave the first fire. This was the first engagement after the one at Lexington; a continued firing from both parties continued the whole day; I myself was wounded at the attack of the bridge, and am now treated with the

continued their fire, until those of said company, who were neither killed nor wounded, had made their escape; that col. Smith, with the detachment, then marched to Concord, where a number of provincials were again fired on by the troops, two of them killed and several wounded, before the provincials fired on them, and that these hostile measures of the troops produced an engagement that lasted through the day, in which many of the provincials, and more of the regular troops were killed and wounded.

To give a particular account of the ravages of the troops, as they retreated from Concord to Charlestown, would be very difficult, if not impracticable; let it suffice to say, that a great number of the houses on the road were plundered and rendered unfit for use; several were burnt; women in child-bed were driven, by the soldiery naked into the streets; old men, peaceable in their houses, were shot dead; and such scenes exhibited as would disgrace the annals of the most uncivilized nations.

These, brethren, are marks of ministerial vengeance against this colony, for refusing, with her sister colonies, a submission to slavery; but they have not yet detached us from our royal sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and, so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown, and dignity. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel ministry we will not tamely submit—appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free.

We cannot think that the honour, wisdom, and valour of Britons, will suffer them to be long inactive spectators of measures, in which they themselves are so deeply interested—measures pursued in opposition to the so-

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greatest humanity, and taken all possible care of, by the provincials at Medford.

Edward Thornton Gould, lieutenant's own regiment.

(All the above depositions are sworn to before justices of the peace, and duly attested by notaries public.)

lemon protests of many noble lords, and expressed sense of conspicuous commoners, whose knowledge and virtue have long characterized them as some of the greatest men in the nation—measures executing contrary to the interest, petitions and resolves of many large, respectable and opulent counties, cities, and boroughs in Great-Britain—measures highly incompatible with justice, but still pursued with a specious pretence of easing the nation of its burdens—measures, which, if successful, must end in the ruin and slavery of Britain, as well as the persecuted American colonies.

We sincerely hope, that the great Sovereign of the universe, who hath so often appeared for the English nation, will support you in every rational and manly exertion with these colonies, for saving it from ruin; and that in a constitutional connexion with the mother country, we shall soon be all together a free and happy people.

Per order,
Joseph Warren, President, P. T.



*The British account of the battles of
Lexington and Concord.*

Whitehall, June 15, 1775.

GENERAL Gage having received intelligence of a large quantity of military stores being collected at Concord, for the avowed purpose of supplying a body of troops to act in opposition to his majesty's government, detached, on the 18th of April at night, the grenadiers of his army, and the light infantry, under the command of lieutenant colonel Smith, of the 10th regiment, and major Pitcairne, of the marines, with orders to destroy the said stores; and the next morning eight companies of the 4th, the same number of the 23d, and 49th, and some marines, marched under the command of lord Percy to support the other detachment.

Lieutenant colonel Smith finding, after he had advanced some miles on his march, that the country had been alarmed by the firing of guns and ringing of bells, dispatched six companies of light infantry, in order to secure two bridges on different roads beyond Concord, who, upon their ar-

rival at Lexington, found a body of the country people drawn up under arms on a green close to the road; and upon the king's troops marching up to them, in order to enquire the reason of their being so assembled, they went off in great confusion, and several guns were fired upon the king's troops from behind a stone wall, and also from the meeting-house, and other houses, by which one man was wounded, and major Pitcairne's horse shot in two places. In consequence of this attack by the rebels, the troops returned the fire, and killed several of them; after which, the detachment marched on to Concord, without any thing further happening, where they effected the purpose for which they were sent, having knocked off the trunnions of three pieces of iron ordnance, burnt some new gun-carriages, and a great number of carriage wheels, and thrown into the river a considerable quantity of flour, gun-powder, musket balls, and other articles. Whilst this service was performing, great numbers of the rebels assembled in many parts, and a considerable body of them attacked the light infantry posted at one of the bridges, on which an action ensued, and some few were killed and wounded.

On the return of the troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had several men killed and wounded, by the rebels firing from behind walls, ditches, trees, and other ambushes; but the brigade under the command of lord Percy having joined them at Lexington, with two pieces of cannon, the rebels were for a while dispersed; but as soon as the troops resumed their march, they began again to fire upon them from behind stone-walls and houses, and kept up in that manner a scattering fire during the whole of their march of fifteen miles, by which means several were killed and wounded; and such was the cruelty and barbarity of the rebels, that they scalped and cut off the ears of some of the wounded men, who fell into their hands.

It is not known what number of the rebels were killed and wounded; but, it is supposed, that their loss was very considerable.

General Gage says, that too much praise cannot be given to lord Percy, for his remarkable activity during the whole day, and that lieutenant colonel Smith, and major Pucarme did every thing that men could do, as did all the officers in general; and that the men behaved with their usual intrepidity.

Return of the killed and wounded, prisoners and missing, on the 19th of April, 1775.

One lieutenant killed. Two lieutenant colonels wounded. Two captains wounded. Nine lieutenants wounded. One lieutenant missing. Two ensigns wounded. One serjeant killed, seven wounded, two missing. One drummer killed, one wounded, sixty-two rank and file killed, one hundred and fifty-seven wounded, twenty-four missing.

N. B. Lieut. Isaac Potter reported to be wounded, and taken prisoner.

Signed, *Thomas Gage.*



A speech to the six confederate nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, from the twelve united colonies, convened in council at Philadelphia, July 13, 1775.

Brothers, sachems, and warriors,

WE, the delegates from the twelve united provinces, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastles, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, now sitting in general congress at Philadelphia, send this talk to you our brothers. We are sixty-five in number, chosen and appointed by the people throughout all these provinces and colonies, to meet and sit together in one great council, to consult together for the common good of the land, and speak and act for them.

Brothers, in our consultation, we have judged it proper and necessary to send you this talk, as we are upon the same island, that you may be informed of the reasons of this great council, the situation of our civil constitution, and our disposition towards you our

Indian brothers of the six nations and their allies.

(Three strings, or a small belt.)

Brothers and friends, now attend.

When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk; assuring them that they and their children should be his children, and that if they should leave their native country and make settlements, and live here, and buy, and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain, and enjoy peace—And it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's forever, and at their sole disposal.

Trusting that this covenant should never be broken, our fathers came a great distance beyond the great water, laid out their money here, built houses, cleared fields, raised crops, and through their own labour and industry, grew tall and strong.

They have bought, sold and traded with England according to agreement, sending to them such things as they wanted, and taking in exchange such things as were wanted here.

The king of England and his people kept the way open for more than one hundred years, and by our trade became richer, and by a union with us, greater and stronger than the other kings and people who live beyond the water.

All this time they lived in great friendship with us, and we with them; for we are brothers—one blood.

Whenever they were struck, we instantly felt as though the blow had been given to us—their enemies were our enemies.

Whenever they went to war, we sent our men to stand by their side and fight for them, and our money to help them and make them strong.

They thanked us for our love, and sent us good talks, and renewed their promise to be one people for ever.

Brothers and friends, open a kind ear!

We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of king

George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

Many of his counsellors are proud and wicked men. They persuade the king to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good talks. A considerable number have prevailed upon him to enter into a new covenant against us, and have torn asunder and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of.

They now tell us, they will slip their hand into our pocket without asking, as though it were their own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives—also our plantations, our houses, and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. That our vessels may go to this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more. And, in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

Brothers, this is our present situation—thus have many of the king's counsellors and servants dealt with us. If we submit, or comply with their demands, you can easily perceive to what state we will be reduced. If our people labour on the field, they will not know who shall enjoy the crop. If they hunt in the woods, it will be uncertain who shall taste of the meat, or have the skins. If they build houses, they will not know whether they may sit round the fire, with their wives and children. They cannot be sure whether they shall be permitted to eat, drink, and wear the fruits of their own labour and industry.

Brothers and friends of the six nations, attend.

We, upon this island, have often spoke and intreated the king and his servants, the counsellors, that peace and harmony might still continue between us—that we cannot part with or lose our hold of the old covenant chain, which united our fathers and theirs—that we want to brighten this chain—and keep the way open as our fathers did—that we want to live with them as brothers, labour, trade, travel abroad, eat, and drink in peace.

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We have often asked them to love us, and live in such friendship with us, as their fathers did with ours.

We told them again that we judged we were exceedingly injured; that they might as well kill us, as take away our property and the necessities of life. We have asked, why they treat us thus? What has become of our repeated addresses and supplications to them? Who hath shut the ears of the king to the cries of his children in America? No soft answer—no pleasant voice from beyond the water has yet sounded in our ears.

Brothers, thus stands the matter between old England and America. You Indians know how things are proportioned in a family—between the father and the son—the child carries a little pack—England we regard as the father—this island may be compared to the son.

The father has a numerous family both at home and upon this island—He appoints a great number of servants to assist him in the government of his family. In process of time, some of his servants grow proud and ill-natured—they are displeased to see the boy so alert, and walk so nimbly with his pack—They tell the father, and advise him to enlarge the child's pack—they prevail—the pack is increased—the child takes it up again—as he thought it might be the father's pleasure—speaks but few words—those very small—for he was loth to offend the father. Those proud and wicked servants, finding they had prevailed, laughed to see the boy sweat and stagger under his increased load. By-and-by they apply to the father to double the boy's pack, because they heard him complain—and without any reason, said they—he is a cross child—correct him, if he complains any more. The boy intreats the father—addresses the great servants in a decent manner, that the pack might be lightened—he could not go any farther—humbly asks, if the old fathers, in any of their records, had described such a pack for the child—after all the tears and intreaties of the child, the pack is redoubled—the child stands a little, while staggering under the weight—ready to fall every moment—however, he intreats the father once more,

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though so faint he could only lisp out his last humble supplication—waits a while—no voice returns. The child concludes the father could not hear—those proud servants had intercepted his supplications, or stopped the ears of the father. He therefore gives one struggle, and throws off the pack, and says he cannot take it up again—such a weight would crush him down and kill him—and he can but die, if he refuses.

Upon this, those servants are very wroth—and tell the father many false stories respecting the child—they bring a great cudgel to the father, asking him to take it in his hand and strike the child.

This may serve to illustrate the present condition of the king's American subjects, or children.

Amidst these oppressions, we now and then hear a mollifying and reviving voice; from some of the king's wise counsellors, who are our friends, and feel for our distresses; when they heard our complaints and our cries, they applied to the king, also told those wicked servants, that this child, in America, was not a cross boy; it had sufficient reason for crying, and if the cause of its complaint was neglected, it would soon assume the voice of a man, plead for justice, like a man, and defend its rights, and support the old covenant chain of the fathers.

Brothers, listen!

Notwithstanding all our intreaties, we have but little hope the king will send us any more good talks, by reason of his evil counsellors; they have persuaded him to send an army of soldiers and many ships of war, to rob and destroy us. They have shut up many of our harbours, seized and taken into possession many of our vessels: the soldiers have struck the blow, killed some of our people, the blood now runs of the American children: they have also burned our houses and towns, and taken much of our goods.

Brothers! we are now necessitated to rise, and forced to fight, or give up our civil constitution, run away, and leave our farms and houses behind us. This must not be. Since the king's wicked counsellors will not open their ears, and consider our just complaints, and the cause of our weeping, and have given the blow, we are determined to

drive away the king's soldiers, and to kill and destroy all those wicked men we find in arms against the peace of the twelve united colonies upon this island. We think our cause is just; therefore hope God will be on our side. We do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honour and conquest; but to maintain our civil constitution and religious privileges, the very same for which our forefathers left their native land and came to this country.

Brothers, and friends!

We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear, and listen to what we are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass without molestation.

Brothers! we live upon the same ground with you. The same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you: let us water its roots, and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies.

Brothers, observe well!

What is it we have asked of you?—nothing but peace, notwithstanding our present disturbed situation—and if application should be made to you, by any of the king's unwise and wicked ministers to join on their side—we only advise you to deliberate with great caution, and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For if the king's troops take away our property, and destroy us, who are of the same blood with themselves—what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards?

Therefore we say, brothers, take care—hold fast to your covenant chain. You know our disposition towards you, the six nations of Indians,

and your allies. Let this our good talk remain at Onondaga, your central council house. We depend upon you to send and acquaint your allies to the northward, the seven tribes on the river St. Lawrence, that you have this talk of ours at the great council fire of the six nations. And when they return, we invite your great men to come and converse farther with us at Albany, where we intend to rekindle the council fire which your and our ancestors sat round in great friendship,

Brothers and friends !

We greet you all,

Farewell.

(The large belt of intelligence and declaration.)

Brothers !

We have said we wish you Indians may continue in peace with one another, and with us the white people. Let us both be cautious in our behaviour towards each other at this critical state of affairs. This island now trembles, the wind whistles from almost every quarter—let us fortify our minds, and shut our ears against false rumours—let us be cautious what we receive for truth, unless spoken by wise and good men. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the twelve united colonies, and you, the six nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it wise and expedient to kindle up a small council-fire at Albany, where we may hear each others voice, and disclose our minds more fully to each other,

(A small belt.)



Petition in favour of colonel Hayne, signed by all the ladies of Charleston, except four, and presented to lord Rawdon and col. Balfour.

My lord and sir,

WE should have reason to reproach ourselves with having omitted a proper occasion of manifesting the tenderness peculiarly characteristic of our sex, if we did not profess ourselves deeply interested and affected by the imminent and shocking doom of the most unfortunate Mr. Hayne, and if we did not intreat you, in the most earnest manner, gra-

ciously to avert, prolong, or mitigate it. We do not even think, much less do we intend to imply in the remotest degree, that your sentence is unjust ; but we are induced to hope, that every end it proposes, may be equally answered as if carried into execution : for to us it does not appear probable, that any, whom it is intended to influence and deter from similar delinquency, will be encouraged with the hope of impunity, by reason of any favour shewn him, as they must surely reflect, that it was owing to certain causes and circumstances, that will not apply to them. We presume to make this intercession for him, and to hope that it will not prove fruitless, from the knowledge of your dispositions in particular, as well as from the reflexion in general, that humanity is rarely separable from courage, and that the gallant soldier feels as much reluctance to cause, by deliberate decrees, the infliction of death on men in cold blood, as he does ardour in the day of battle and heat of action, to make the enemies of his country perish by the sword. He may rejoice to behold his laurels sprinkled with the blood of armed and resisting adversaries, but will regret to see them wet with the tears of unhappy orphans, mourning the loss of a tender, amiable, and worthy parent, executed like a vile and infamous felon. To the praises that men, who have been witnesses and sharers of your dangers and services in the field, may sound of your military virtues and prowess, we trust you will give the ladies occasion, to add the praises of your milder and softer virtues, by furnishing them with a striking proof of your clemency and politeness, in the present instance. May the unhappy object of our petition owe to that clemency and politeness—to our prayers and to his own merits in other respects—what you may think him not entitled to, if policy and justice were not outweighed in his behalf. To any other men in power, than such as we conceive you both to be, we should employ on the occasion more ingenuity and art, to dress up and enforce the many pathetic and favourable circumstances attending his case, in order to move your passions, and engage your favour ; but we think this will be need-

less, and is obviated by your own spontaneous feelings, humane considerations, and liberal reasoning: nor shall we dwell on his most excellent character, the outrages and excesses, and perhaps murders, prevented by him, to which innocent and unarmed individuals were exposed in an extensive manner; nor shall we here lay any stress on the most grievous shock his numerous and respectable connexions must sustain by his death, which will be aggravated by the mode of it; nor shall we do more than remind you of the complicated distress and sufferings, that must befall his young and promising children, to whom, perhaps, death would be more comfortable, than the state of orphanage they will be left in. All these things, we understand, have already been represented, and we are sure will have their due weight with men of your humane and benevolent minds. Many of us have already subscribed a former petition for him, and hope you will regard our doing it again, not as importunity, but earnestness; and we pray most fervently, that you will forever greatly oblige us, by not letting us do it in vain. *

We are, my lord and sir,
with all respect,

your very anxious petitioners
and humble servants.



PETER in HESSE.

A dialogue between col. Faucit, a British recruiting officer, and Peter, a Hessian peasant, in a public house in Hesse.

Faucit. **H**E! beer! bread! sausage!—There are three guineas, quite new, if you will sign this enlistment. To your health, comrade.

Peter. Your health, sir. Is it far to 'Merica? for I would choose to return by next christmas; I want to fire a musket for a wager.

Fauc. It is a voyage of fifteen days or three weeks. To chastise the rebels, is an affair of two months; and you may be back here by the next spring.

NOTE.

* It is but too well known that this petition proved ineffectual.—C.

Pet. How is it, then, that my cousin George has been away five years, and his mother has received no account from him, as he had promised?

Fauc. George, say you? he is married long since to a young girl of Pennsylvania; and they have children almost as big as you are.

Pet. Married! are there then girls there? and are they white or black?

Fauc. Very white, very pretty; and they have a great deal of wit.

Pet. Have they feet and hands?

Fauc. Certainly; pretty feet and white hands.

Pet. Are they wild or tame?

Fauc. They are something wild; but you know very well how a German ought to take in hand to correct his wife, and reduce her to reason.

Pet. Do they speak good German? do they sleep—do they dance as our girls? do they wear petticoats or breeches? do they know how to feed cattle and fowls? can they split wood, reap grain, make bread, beer-soup and four kraut?

Fauc. They can do all this, better than the Hessian girls. To your health. He! beer!

Pet. [Drinking.] Then I may marry there.

Fauc. Without doubt; and you will have no more to do, but to choose amongst the American girls. You shall take for wife her who shall seem the prettiest, or who shall bring you the best manor. Her father and brothers shall be your valets; and while you shall pass your time in drinking, eating, playing at nine pins, getting children, or sleeping, they will work on your fields; and if they are negligent, you will give them the cow-skin. He! boy! brandy!

Pet. Are the Americans made like us? have they a tail? are they hairy? have they paws or hands? have they nails or claws?

Fauc. They have claws, but we will cut them.

Pet. Are they bold or fearful, big or little, strong or weak?

Fauc. They are a little mischievous; but they are not so big as your little brother William; and they are so weak, that one Hessian would kill twenty with his fist, before they could load a musket. Let us drink the health of the landgrave.

Pet. To the health of his highness.

Fauc. You are very happy that this good prince sends you to America to make your fortune, while, if you were obliged to stay here, you would scarcely get a crown a month, labouring like a Bohemian, and you would be lashed for the least fault; they would put irons on you; they would oblige you to work on the highways, in the parks, in the mines, at the bridge, at the palace, at the fortifications.

Pet. Long live my lord, the landgrave. Put me down—give me the guineas—and I will sign the paper.

Fauc. Take them. You are a thousand times more happy than you deserve. Let us go. Go to bed. We set off to-morrow.

Pet. Why not to night?

Fauc. It is because you are so drunk that you cannot stand. Let us go. Scoundrel! go to your hammock.



PETER at NEW YORK.

A dialogue between Peter, lately enlisted in an Hessian regiment, and his cousin George, a soldier in the same regiment.

[George on duty on the wharf at New York.]

George **G**——D d——n me! that's Peter, the son of my uncle the cap-maker.

Peter. Certainly it is I, and who are you to know me so well?

Geo. How! my dear Peter, don't you know your cousin George?

Pet. How, know you with this plaister on your face! and these rags on your body! embrace me, my dear George! bring me to see your wife, your children,

Geo. My wife, my children! I have none.

Pet. How! are they dead?

Geo. I have never been married.

Pet. See how one is deceived when so far off. The brave col. Faucit is persuaded that you have married a pretty girl of this country; and that you have a large family—but if you are not married, you have, without doubt, a good house, and a good cellar; I would be glad to go and take a cup with you, to refresh myself after the sufferings of the voyage. For this cursed ship was so nar-

row that we were all jammed together like pickled herrings in a barrel.

Geo. I have neither a cellar, nor a house, and have nothing but water to offer you.

Pet. What, water! is it because there are no vines on your manor.

Geo. My dear Peter, I believe you are become a fool; I understand nothing of what you say about my wife, my children, my house, my cellar, my manor, my vines. Do not you see, that I am a poor soldier, half-starved, half-naked; and that I have no hope to be recompensed at the end of the war for my fatigues, and the dangers I have run?

Pet. How! it is not then for your amusement that you walk here with a musket on your shoulder.

Geo. No, certainly; I am on duty, and to leave you no doubt with regard to the servitude in which they hold me; look at my face; it is all murdered with strokes, which I received yesterday, because my musket was not as bright as the knocker on the door of a quaker.

Pet. How this poor colonel was misinformed!

Geo. But you, what have you come to do here!

Pet. I am come to chastize the rebels, and to marry a young girl of Pennsylvania who is pretty and fair, who has fine hands, little feet, and who makes excellent beer-soup, and delicious four-krant.

Geo. In good faith!

Pet. It is a settled affair, and what is more, her father and brothers shall be my valets. I shall flog them as long as I shall please, and while they work on my fields, I will drink, eat, and be as happy as an alderman.

Geo. What do they call your intended?

Pet. I know nothing about it; but it was col. Faucit that promised me all this.

Geo. Unlucky man! they have deceived you, as well as me; you will never again see your country; you are a miserable slave, a prisoner ordered to defend this city. I was deceived as you have been; they have failed in their promises on every point, and we have not the certainty, nor even the hope of being recompensed at the end of the war, as the Ameri-

can soldiers, in receiving rations and pay which we have so well deserved.

Pet. [crying] ah ! my dear little wife, I shall never then see you.

Geo. An American soldier has the certainty of becoming a happy citizen, and we have that of being, after the war, still more miserable than we are now. We shall have no other resource, but to get off on the first opportunity.

(A serjeant separates them, giving them blows with his cane to make them learn the Hessian discipline.)

—◆◆◆◆◆—
A curious fact.

AS some persons were hunting a few weeks ago, during the late severe weather, in the county of Cape May, they discovered by the barking and unusual behaviour of their dogs, at a small distance a head, that they had found some kind of game burrowed in the ground ; upon advancing to the place, and examining, with their rammers, a hole which the dogs seemed to attentive to, they found a number of snakes retired in a large cavity, to take up their winter quarters ; it being so singular and admirable a circumstance, and they not being at that time prepared to dislodge them, a day was appointed for that purpose, when the inhabitants of the neighbourhood assembled, to the number of fifty ; after the contents of this extraordinary dominion were disclosed, to their very great admiration and surprise, were exhibited to view forty rattlesnakes, and sixty black snakes, all promiscuously coiled up together.

Leaving it to naturalists to remark on this truly curious phenomenon, I will just add that judge Wilkins, of Woodbury, Gloucester county, was witness to an instance of the above species of snakes being found burrowed together some years ago in said county, but not in so large a number.

Burlington county, A. B.
1st. mo. 9th. 1789.



American antiquities. No. 1.*

I HAVE the felicity to belong to a society of critics and antiquarians, who have made it their business and

NOTE.

* *These essays are a joint production of col. Humphreys, mr. Trumbull, &c. &c.—C.*

delight, for some years past, to investigate the ancient as well as natural history of America. The success of their researches, in such an unlimited field, pregnant with such wonderful and inexhaustible materials, has been equal to their most sanguine expectations. One of our worthy associates has favoured the public with a minute and accurate description of the monstrous, new invented animal, which had, till his elaborate lucubration, escaped the notice of every zoologist. Another has regaled his readers with a most notable catfish. A third has brought them acquainted with a hermit, who surpasses all other hermits in longevity, as much as his biographer does all other historians in point of veracity. Others have spared no pains to feast the public curiosity with an ample supply of great bones from the Wabash ; and at the same time to quench the thirst for novelty from the burning spring on the Ohio. It has happily fallen to my lot to communicate a recent discovery, still more valuable to the republic of letters. I need scarcely premise, that the ruins of fortifications, yet visible, and other vestiges of art in the western country, have sufficiently demonstrated, that this delightful region had once been occupied by a civilized people. Had not this hypothesis been previously established, the fact I am about to relate, would have placed it beyond the possibility of doubt. For upon digging into the ruins of one of these fortifications, the labourers were surprised to find a casemate, a magazine, and a cistern almost entire ; pursuing their subterranean progress, near the north-east corner of the bastion, in a room that had evidently been occupied by the commandant, they found a great number of utensils more curious and elegant than those of Palmyra or Herculaneum. But what rendered their good fortune complete, was, the discovery of a great number of papers, manuscripts, &c. whose preservation, through such a long lapse of years, amidst such marks of hostility and devastation, must be deemed marvellous, indeed ; perhaps little short of miraculous. This affords a reflexion, that such extraordinary circumstances could scarcely have taken place to answer only vulgar purposes.

Happening myself to come upon the spot immediately after this treasure had been discovered, I was permitted to take possession of it, in the name and for the use of our society. Amongst these reliques of antiquity, I was overjoyed to find a folio manuscript, which appeared to contain an epic poem complete; and as I am passionately fond of poetry, ancient as well as modern, I set myself instantly to cleanse it from the extraneous concretions with which it was in some parts enveloped, defaced, and rendered illegible. By means of a chemic preparation, which is made use of for restoring old paintings, I soon accomplished this desirable object. It was then I found it was called "THE ANARCHIAD, a poem, on the restoration of chaos and substantial night, in twenty-four books."

As it would swell this letter beyond the limits I had prescribed, to give a critical analysis of this inimitable work; I must content myself with observing, that the excellency of its fable, the novelty and dignity of its characters, the sublimity of sentiments, and the harmony of numbers, give it the first rank in merit, amongst the productions of human genius. I might also add, that it appears, from incontestible proofs, this work was well known to the ancients; and that, as it is the most perfect, it has undoubtedly been

the model for all subsequent epic productions. Perhaps in a future essay, I shall attempt to prove that Homer, Virgil, and Milton, have borrowed many of their capital beauties from it. At present, to shew that the matter is not fabulous, as well as to give a specimen of the author's forcible style and happy manner of expressing himself, I shall cite a few lines from the 8th book, which is denominated the Book of Vision. So lively are the descriptions, so glowing the images, so familiar and present is every object placed to our view, that the reader will, I dare say, be as much astonished as I have been myself, to find that a poet, who lived so many centuries ago, should have described, with such amazing precision, events that happened in our own times. The prophetic bard seems to have taken for the point of vision, one of the lofty mountains of America, and to have caused, by his magic invocations, the years of futurity to pass before him. He begins with unfolding the beati-fying scenes when those plagues to society, law and justice, shall be done away; when every one shall be independent of his neighbour; and when every rogue shall literally do what is right in his own eyes. Let us now hear the poet speak for himself in his own words.

Extract from the Anarchiad.

"In visions fair, the scenes of fate unroll,
And Massachusetts opens on my soul.
There Chaos, Anarch old, asserts his sway,
And mobs in myriads blarken all the way:
See Day's stern port, behold the martial frame
Of Shays' and Shattuck's mob-compelling name:
See the bold Hampshirites on Springfield pour,
The fierce Tauntonians croud the alewife shore.
O'er Concord fields, the bands of discord spread,
And Wor'ster trembles at their thundering tread:
See from proud Egremont, the wood-chuck train
Sweep their dark files, and shade with rags the plain.
Lo, the court falls; th' affrighted judges run,
Clerks, lawyers, sheriffs, ev'ry mother's son.
The stocks, the gallows, lose th' expected prize,
See the jails open, and the thieves arise.
Thy constitution, chaos, is restor'd;
Law sinks before thy uncreating word;
Thy hand unbars th' unfathom'd gulph of fate,
And deep in darkness whelms the new-born state."

I know not whether it is necessary to remark, in this place, what the critical reader will probably have already

observed, that the celebrated English poet, Mr. Pope, has proved himself a notorious plagiarist, by copying

the preceding ideas, and even couplets, almost entire, into his famous poem, called the Dunciad. I will conclude by intreating the public may be acquainted, that several other extracts from these curious manuscripts will be published, should the preceding specimen meet with the applause which I am confident it merits. The blessings of paper money and confusion, as now experienced in Rhode Island, are predicted in the most awful and beautiful manner. The vision then extends to Connecticut, where we shall leave it, unless a future opportunity of resuming the subject, should render a further disclosure expedient.

Newhaven, October 23, 1786.



NUMBER II.

Extracts from the Anarchiad, on paper money.

THE subject of paper money forms so beautiful an episode in the Anarchiad, that it would be unpardonable not to make extracts from it. All the episodes ought to have some reference to the promotion of the principal action, as the underplots, in a regular drama, should conspire to the developement of the main plot. Such

is the superlative advantage of this very poetical digression. For it will scarcely be denied, in any part of the united states, that paper money, in an unfunded and depreciating condition, is happily calculated to introduce the long expected scenes of misrule, dishonesty, and perdition. On this point, the citizens of the union must be considered as competent judges, because they are inhabitants of the only country under heaven, where paper (of that predicament) is, by compulsory laws, made of equal value with gold and silver.

The society of critics and antiquarians who have spared neither expense nor trouble, in recovering those valuable remains of antiquity from oblivion, cannot help flattering themselves that their disinterested labours will be rewarded with the plaudits of a grateful public. They only think it necessary to engage, on their part, that nothing shall appear, sanctioned by them, unfavourable to freedom, literature, or morality.

It is to be remarked that the following speech is addressed, by the old anarchy, to a council of war, consisting of his compeers, his general officers and counsellors of state.

Hail, fav'rite state! whose nursing fathers prove
Their fairest claim to my paternal love!
Call'd from the dock, with pop'lar votes elate,
The mighty *jack, or guides the helm of state:
Nurs'd on the waves, in blust'ring tempests bred,
His heart of marble, and his brains of lead,
My foes subdued, while knav'ry wins the day,
He rules the senate with inglorious sway,
Proud, for one year, my orders to perform,
Sails in the whirlwind, and enjoys the storm.

Yet not alone the per'ous watch he keeps;
His mate, great †O—n, bustles while he sleeps;
There ‡G—d—n stands, his head with quibbles fill'd,
His tongue in lies, his hand in forg'ry skill'd;
To him, my darling knave, my lore I teach,
Which he to C—s lends in many a pompous speech.

Oh roguery! their being's end and aim,
Fraud, tendry, paper-bills, whate'er thy name;
That medium still, which prompts th' eternal sigh,
By which great villains flourish, small ones die.
Plant of infernal seed, without hell's heat,
Say in what mortal soil thou deign'st to cheat?
Fair from the general court's unpardon'd sin,
Ap'st thou the gold, Peruvian mines within?

NOTES.

* Gov. C—s. † Lt. gov. O. ‡ Goodwin.

Wak'd to new life, by my creative pow'r,
 The prefs thy mint, and dunghill rags thy ore.
 Where grow'lt thou not ? if vain the villain's toil,
 We ought to blame the culture, not the foil ;
 Fix'd to that isle, it no where passes free,
 But, fled from congress, C——s, dwells with thee.

Hail realm of rogues, renown'd for fraud and guile,
 All hail, ye knav'ries of yon little isle,
 There prowls the rascal, cloth'd with legal pow'r,
 To snare the orphan, and the poor devour ;
 The crafty knave his creditor besets,
 And, advertising paper, pays his debts :
 Bankrupts their creditors with rage pursue,
 No stop—no mercy—from the debtor crew.
 Arm'd with new tests, the licens'd villain, bold,
 Presents his bills, and robs them of their gold :
 Their ears, though rogues and counterfeiter's lose,
 No legal robber fears the gallows-nose.

Look thro' the state, th' unhallow'd ground appears
 A den of dragons, and a cave for bears,
 A nest of vipers mix'd with adders foul,
 The screeching night-bird and the greater owl.
 For now unrighteousness, a deluge wide,
 Pours round the land an overwhelming tide :
 And dark injustice, wrapp'd in paper sheets,
 Rolls a dread torrent through the wasted streets.
 While nets of law th' unwary fry draw in
 To damning deeds, and scarce they know they sin.
 New paper struck, new tests, new tenders made,
 Insult mankind, and help the thriving trade.
 Each weekly print, new lists of cheats proclaims,
 Proud to enroll their knav'ries and their names ;
 The wiser race, the snares of law to shun,
 Like Lot from Sodom, from R—I— run.



NUMBER III.

Extract from the Anarchiad,

Book XXIII.

BOW low, ye heav'ns, and all ye lands draw near,
 The voice prophetic of great Anarch hear !
 From eastern climes, by light and order driv'n,
 To me, by fate, this western world was giv'n ;
 My standard rear'd, the realm imperial rules,
 The last asylum for my knaves and fools.
 Here shall my best and brightest empire rise,
 Wild riot reign, and discord greet the skies.
 Awake, my chosen sons, in folly brave,
 Stab independence, dance o'er freedom's grave ;
 Sing choral songs, while conqu'ring mobs advance,
 And blot the debts to Holland, Spain, and France ;
 Till ruin come, with fire and sword and blood,
 And men shall ask, where your republics stood ?

Thrice happy race ! how blest are discord's heirs !
 Blest while they know what anarchy is theirs ;
 Blest while they feel, to them alone 'tis giv'n
 To know no sov'reign, neither law nor heav'n.
 From all mankind by traits peculiar known,
 By frauds and lies distinguish'd for mine own,

Wonder of worlds! like which to mortal eyes,
None e'er have risen, and none e'er shall rise!
Lo, the poor Briton, who, corrupted, fold,
Sees God in courts, or hears him chink in gold,
Whose soul proud empire oft has taught to flay,
Far as the western world and gates of day;
Tho' plagu'd with debts, with rage of conquest curst,
In rags and tender acts he puts no trust;
But in the public weal, his own forgets,
Finds heav'n for him who pays the nation's debts;
A heav'n like London his fond fancy makes
Of nectar'd porter and ambrosial fleaks.

Not so, Columbia, shall thy sons be known,
To prize the public weal above their own;
In faith and justice least, as last in birth,
Their race shall grow a by-word through the earth:
Long skill'd to act the hypocritic part,
Grace on the brow, and knav'ry at the heart,
Perform their frauds with sanctimonious air,
Despise good works, and balance sins by pray'r,
Forswear the public debt, the public cause,
Cheat heav'n with forms, and earth with tender laws,
And leave the empire, at its latest groan,
To work salvation out by faith alone.

Behold the reign of anarchy begun,
And half the business of confusion done.
From hell's dark caverns, discord sounds alarms,
Blows her loud trumpet, and calls my Shays to arms;
O'er half the land the desp'rate riot runs,
And madd'ning mobs assume their rusty guns.
From councils feeble, bolder faction grows,
The daring corsairs, and the savage foes;
O'er western wilds the tawny bands, ally'd,
Insult the states of weakness and of pride;
Once-friendly realms, unpaid each gen'rous loan,
Wait to divide, and share them for their own.

Now sinks the public mind; a deathlike sleep
O'er all the torpid limbs begins to creep;
By dull degrees, decays the vital heat,
The blood forgets to flow, the pulse to beat,
The pow'rs of life, in mimic death withdrawn,
Clos'd the fix'd eyes with one expiring yawn;
Expos'd in state to wait the fun'ral hour,
Lie the pale relics of departed pow'r,
While conscience harrowing up their souls with dread,
Their ghost of empire stalks without a head.

No more stands forth to check the rising feud,
Their great defender of the public good,
Retir'd, in vain his sighs their fate deplore;
He hears, unmov'd, the distant tempest roar:
No more to save a realm dread Greene appears,
Their second hope, prime object of my fears:
Far in the south, from his pale body riv'n,
The deathful angel wings his soul to heav'n.

Here shall I reign, unbounded and alone,
Nor men, nor demons shake my baseless throne;
Till comes the day—but late oh may it spring—
When their tumultuous mobs shall ask a king;
A king in wrath shall heav'n, vindictive, send,
And my confusions and my empire end."

With arms where bick'ring fires innum'rous shine,
 Like the torn surface of the midnight brine;
 In sun-bright robes, that dazzled as he trod,
 The stature, motion, armour of a god,
 Great HESPER rose; the guardian of the clime—
 O'er shadowy cliffs he stretch'd his arm sublime,
 And check'd the Anarch old—"Malicious fiend,
 Eternal curses on thy head descend!
 Heav'n's darling purpose can thy madness mar,
 To glut thy eyes with ruin, death and war!
 I know thee, Anarch, in thy cheerless plight,
 Thou eldest son of Erebus and Night!
 Yes, bend on me thy brows of hideous fowl,
 Roll thy wild eye-balls, like the day-struck owl;
 In Zion blow the trump, resound it far,
 Fire the red beacons of intestine war;
 The jealous breasts inflame: set hell at work,
 And crown the labours of E——s B——ke:
 Yet know for this, thyself to penance call'd,
 Thy troops in terrors, their proud hearts appall'd,
 Ev'n Shays, that moment when eternal night
 Rolls dark'ning shadows o'er his closing sight,
 Shall feel, 'twere better on a plank to lie,
 Where surging billows kiss the angry sky;
 'Twere better thro' a furnace fiery red,
 With naked feet on burning coals to tread;
 Than point his sword, with parricidious hand,
 Against the bosom of his native land.

"Where is the spirit of bold freedom fled?
 Dead are my warriors, all my sages dead?
 Is there—Columbia bending o'er her grave—
 No eye to pity, and no arm to save?"

"Sister of Freedom, heav'n's imperial child,
 Serenely stern, beneficently mild,
 Blest Independence, rouse my sons to fame,
 Inspire their bosoms with thy sacred flame!
 Teach, ere too late, their blood-bought rights to prize,
 Bid other GREENES and WASHINGTONS arise!
 Teach those who suffer'd for their country's good,
 Who strove for freedom, and who toil'd in blood,
 Once more in arms to make the glorious stand,
 And bravely die, or save their natal land.

"Yes, they shall rise, terrific in their rage,
 And crush the factions of the faithless age:
 Bid Law again exalt th' impartial scale,
 And Public Justice o'er her foes prevail:
 Restore the reign of order and of right,
 And drive thee, howling, to the shades of night."

They ended parle, and both for fight address'd,
 On Anarch's helm a comet blaz'd his crest,
 Infernal arm: the shadowy demon steel'd,
 And half the Andes form'd his ample shield,
 Thro' parting clouds high gleam'd his deathful spear,
 And shudd'ring earth proclaim'd the onset near—
 Unmov'd, great Hesper drew th' immortal sword,
 And rush'd in vengeance——

The society of critics and antiquarians cannot sufficiently express their regret upon finding the sequel of this description so much defaced that they

are not able to decide the issue of this astonishing conflict. The fragments still legible are truly sublime. And we have reason to conjecture, that the combat ended with some disadvantage to the old Anarch.



A morning hymn—By his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of New Jersey.

FROM night, from silence, and from death,
Or death's own form, mysterious sleep,
I wake to life, to light, and health ;
Thus me doth Israel's watchman keep.

Sacred to H I M, in grateful praise,
Be this devoted, tranquil hour ;
While him, supremely good and great
With rapt'rous homage I adore.

What music breaks from yonder copse ?
The plummy songster's artless lay ;
Melodious songsters, nature-taught !
That, warbling, hail the dawning day.

Shall man be mute, while instinct sings ?
Nor human breast with transport rise ?
O for an universal hymn,
To join th' orchestra of the skies !

See yon' refulgent lamp of day,
With unabating glory crown'd,
Rejoicing in his giant strength,
To run his daily destin'd round.

So may I still perform thy will,
Great Sun of nature and of grace !
Nor wander, devious, from thy law ;
Nor faint in my appointed race.

What charms display th' unfolding flow'rs ?
How beauteous glows th' enamel'd mead ?
More beauteous still the heaven-wrought robe
Of purest white and fac'd with red.

The sun exhales the pearly dew,
Those brilliant sky-shed tears, that mourn
His nightly loss ; till from earth's cheek
They're kiss'd away, by pitying morn.

For laps'd mankind what friendly tears,
Rent on our weal, did angels shed ?
Bound, bound, our hearts, to think those tears
Made frustrate all, when J E S U S bled !

Arabia wafts from yonder grove
Delicious odours in the gale ;
And with her breeze-borne fragrance greets
Each circumjacent hill and dale.

As incense may my morning song,
A sweetly-smelling favour rise,
Perfum'd with Gilead's precious balm,
To make it grateful to the skies.

And when from death's long sleep I wake,
To nature's renovating day,
Clothe me with thy own righteousness,
And in thy likeness, Lord, array.



*The existence of a Deity—Written by the rev.
Joseph Lathrop, A. M.*

WHEN I lift up my wond'ring eyes,
And view the grand and spacious skies,
"There is a God!" my thoughts exclaim,
Who built this vast, stupendous frame.

The sun by day with glorious light,
The moon with softer rays by night,
Each rolling planet, glowing star,
Wisdom and pow'r divine declare.

The lightning's blaze, the thunder's roar,
The clouds, which watry blessings pour,
The winter's frost, the summer's heat,
This pleasing, awful truth repeat.

The forest and the grassy mead,
Where wild beasts roam, or tame ones feed,
Corn, springing from the lifeless clod,
Confess the agency of God.

My body form'd with nicest art,
My heaving lungs, and beating heart,
My limbs, obsequious to my will,
Shew forth my maker's pow'r and skill.

The various passions of the mind,
The pow'rs of reason more refin'd,
Bold fancy's flight, each lively sense
Prove a supreme intelligence.

A God so great and always near,
Shall be the object of my fear ;
His goodness, wisdom, truth, and love,
Shall my best passions ever move.

My care shall be, his sacred will
To understand and to fulfil :
His service shall my life employ,
His favour is my highest joy.



The genius of America—An ode: inscribed to an excellency George Washington, Esq. on his return to Mount Vernon, December, 1782.

—**THINE** all the fame that war bestows;
All that peace can give, be thine;
Far expell'd thy country's foes,
Olives with thy laurels twine!
Now the work of death is o'er,
Pale-cy'd danger quits our shore;

Sheathe the sword, unbrace the drum ;
 See the great deliverer come ;
 Wake, my bards, your choral lay,
 Hallow this auspicious day,
 And hail, as freedom's joyful ardours burn,
 In glory and in peace, my Washington's return !

Thus from yonder fleecy cloud,
 Streak'd with many a bright'ning ray,
 Lifts her grateful voice aloud,
 The genius of America.
 Smiles adorn her native bloom,
 Graceful plays her snow-white plume ;
 Waving gently o'er her head,
 See the starry banner spread ;
 A golden sickle decks her side,
 Her hand a volume open'd wide ;
 While at her feet, her useless quiver slung,
 Her arrows all unbarb'd, her mighty bow unstrung.

Exalt, she cries, the plausive strain,
 To all my heroes, great and free ;
 And chief of the illustrious train,
 Immortal Washington ! to thee.
 You heard the trumpet's hostile sound ;
 You saw the meditated wound ;
 And as became the wife and brave,
 Arose your country's rights to save ;
 Your bosoms throb'd with new alarms ;
 Instant you sprang to glorious arms,
 By danger undismay'd, unaw'd by death,
 On freedom's sacred fane, to hang the laurel wreath.

Fair freedom smiles—the work is done—
 The laurel wreath adorns her fane—
 By me, she greets my Washington,
 And pays this consecrated strain ;
 Nor thou refuse the hallow'd lay,
 Thy country's genius still shall pay ;
 For not alone th' ensanguin'd field,
 Rich harvests of renown shall yield,
 But, pleas'd, beside thy calm retreat,
 The civic virtues fix their seat,
 While tho' thy groves, and o'er thy crystal springs
 Contentment still shall smile, and honour wave her wings.

There frequent shall the great and good,
 Who made, like thee, mankind their care,
 Who tyranny, like thee, withstood,
 Their happy spirits bid repair ;
 There sages, heroes, patriots old,
 Shall frequent sacred converse hold,
 Of arts, to grace the rescu'd land
 Of arms, and thy unconquer'd band ;
 There oft thy ravish'd eye shall see
 The victim of Thermopylae ;
 And there the chiefs of Marathon's fam'd field,
 Where freedom's dauntless sons bade slav'ry's millions yield.

There too the Decii's awful forms
 Shall glow, with former ardours fir'd,
 For whom e'en death itself had charms,
 When their lov'd Rome their lives requir'd ;
 There the great Fabius, pleas'd, shall see,
 His glories bloom again in thee ;
 There Cincinnatus joy to lead
 Thy step along the tranquil mead,
 And, all thy arduous labours pass'd,
 Bid thee the rural pleasures taste,
 Bid thy dread sword a pruning hook appear,
 And to a peaceful share, transform thy light'ning spear.

Methinks, e'en now, I view his smiles,
 To see thy brave companions claim
 The chief reward of all their toils,
 Distinction from his honour'd name,
 And, laid their warlike weapons by,
 Again to rustic arts apply.
 In contrast strong, there the stern shade
 Of Brutus, lifts the reeking blade ;
 The name of friend no more avails ;
 With unrelenting soul he hails
 The bold assertors of his country's cause,
 Lo ! Cæsar prostrate lies, who trampled on the laws.

From where Helvetia's mountains rise,
 Her Telle shall gratulations bear ;
 For, fled from soft Hesperian skies
 Fair Freedom fix'd her dwelling there ;
 From Belgium, long-contested land,
 The Nassa's come, a shining band :
 For thee with fond officious care
 A victor's wreath, their hands prepare ;
 Like thee, the rage of pow'r they dar'd,
 Like thee, their gen'rous breasts they bar'd,
 Like thee, asserted Freedom's equal reign,
 Threw off a tyrant's yoke, and broke base Slav'ry's chain.

E'en from Albion's far-fam'd isle
 A virtuous few shall glad repair ;
 There venerable Locke shall smile,
 And Hampden love to visit there ;
 There Sidney hold the free debate,
 And Russel glory in his fate :
 Immortal spirits ! vain the aim
 Of sycophants to blast your fame,
 Vain all their deep malignant rage,
 Tho' it has blotted Learning's page ;
 Vain their base arts to prop a tot'ring throne,
 Their despot's right divine, their "*millions made for one.*"

But who are those that hither haste
 Along the bright ethereal plain,
 With honest wounds each bosom grac'd ?
 They are my sons in battle slain.
 More than human seem their forms :
 Redoubled ardour Warren warms ;
 Mercer points to fields afar,
 Where first roll'd back the waves of war ;

Foreign intelligence.

Stockholm, September 26.

THE decisive epoch of the entrance of the Danish troops on the Swedish territories, took place yesterday. Three thousand troops of Denmark passed the boundaries of Sweden. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the war is commenced; since, if we except the arrival of these forces, there has not been the least act of hostility between the two kingdoms; nor can any Swedish subject complain of having suffered.

Gottenburg, Oct. 25.

An express arrived yesterday from the court of Copenhagen, with orders for the prince of Hesse to retire with all his troops, out of the Swedish territories.

Paris, October 25.

It is said that several thousand Prussians are gone into Stralsund and other garrisons of Pomerania, to relieve the Swedish troops, which are going over to Sweden, now invaded by the Danes, as the king of Prussia is resolved to support his kinsman, the king of Sweden.

Nov. 9. On Thursday last the assembly of the notables took place at Versailles; and on Friday the six committees proceeded to business.

On Sunday last the deputies of states of Provence, which had not been invoked till last year, for an interval of 147 years, had an audience of the king.

London, October 11.

By advices from Vienna we are informed, that general field marshal Laudon took Novi on the 18th, and Gradiska on the 25th of September. This has given animation to the army of Croatia, who are now forming designs against Banjaluka.

The surrender of Choczim remains no longer a doubt.

These events will make the prince of Saxe Cobourgh master of Moldavia.

It is reported in the city, that in the late battle between the Austrians and the Turks, in the Bannat, the former lost 15,000 men, and the latter 3,000; and that the Turks remain masters of the field.

VOL. V. No. I.

Oct. 29. A messenger has been dispatched to Berlin, with the cabinet decision of this week. Peace or war now hang equal in the political scale. All depends on the conduct of the king of Prussia.

On Sunday evening, Basilico, the British messenger, arrived from Berlin, with dispatches for our court: the important information has since transpired, that the king of Prussia had marched 12,000 troops into the Duchy of Holstein; and that these are shortly to be joined by 10,000 Hanoverians.

This morning two houses of rendezvous were opened in Whitechapel, for the entering sailors into his majesty's service.

Nov. 11. Thursday morning early his majesty's disorder appeared to have taken a new turn, with very unfavourable symptoms; with some exceptionable intervals, his majesty rested rather composedly till toward the morning, but was afterwards much worse.

Sunday morning his majesty's disorder returned with alarming violence, and the most fatal effects are apprehended from the crisis.

All is sorrow and dreadful apprehension at Windsor; not a trumpet permitted to sound, nor a drum to beat; but the unhappy signals mournfully expected.

Nov. 13. We are extremely sorry to inform our readers, that the very favourable symptoms, which for some days past had given such pleasing hopes of his majesty's speedy recovery, have since changed into appearances that furnish no small ground for alarm.

If the king should continue a few days longer in his present situation, a regency will, it is said, be appointed, at the head of which will be his royal highness the prince of Wales.

It has been endeavoured, for obvious reasons, at Windsor Castle, to conceal the real nature of the king's disorder. Those reasons can exist no longer; for it is with the utmost concern we must declare, that his majesty is deemed irrecoverable.

On the 20th of last month the Polish diet unanimously resolved to augment their army up to 100,000 men.

Advice is received in Norway, that 12,000 Danish troops, commanded by the prince of Hesse, had arrived with-

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in twelve miles of Gottenburg, with intention to invest that place. That the Prussian minister at the court of Denmark had declared, that unless the Danish troops should be withdrawn from Sweden, the king his master would immediately march 30,000 men into Denmark. In consequence of this declaration, the king of Denmark had ordered his troops to quit the Swedish territory by the 15th inst.



American intelligence.



Savannah, (Georgia) November 20.

Three negroes, we are informed, were killed, one day last week, at Mr. Walthour's plantation in Liberty county, and some carried off from thence, by Indians, supposed to be those known by the name of Siminolis.

Augusta, November 21.

We are informed that the Creek Indians have taken a fort and twelve prisoners, and killed 108 persons, on the frontiers of the state of Franklin. This account is very alarming to the frontiers of Georgia, and, without immediate assistance, a great part of the inhabitants will seek refuge in the different states.

New York, Jan. 8.

The following resolution was agreed to in a committee of the whole house, at Albany, on the 22d ultimo, viz.

Resolved, as the opinion of this committee, that a committee be appointed to prepare a draft of an application of the legislature of this state to congress, requesting them, as early as possible, to call a convention, for proposing amendments to the constitution of the united states.

Providence, Jan. 3.

The general assembly of this state, now sitting, have again negatived the proposal for calling a state convention.

Philadelphia, January 22.

A gentleman in this city has just received a letter from his correspondent in New York, by which we learn, that a vessel which left London the 21st of November, arrived a few days since at Boston, and brought an account of the death of George the third.

Jan. 23. The German society of New York, at their general meeting on the 7th instant, patriotically and unanimously resolved, that it ought to be the object of every member to unite in giving encouragement to American manufactures, in preference to those of other countries. This society, influenced by the noblest spirit of patriotism, will undoubtedly pursue every measure calculated to carry this valuable purpose into effect; and there is every reason to hope, that the acknowledged industry of the Germans, and their constancy and perseverance in accomplishing system which they once adopt, will surmount every obstacle, which fashion or caprice may throw in the way. It may be presumed (at least it is fervently hoped) that their laudable example will soon be followed, not only by all the other national societies, but by all the Americans, as the most efficacious method to promote the interest of our country, to secure its independence, and to prevent foreign nations from flourishing by our weakness and wicked attachment to their fashions and luxuries.

Jan. 24. On Monday the 5th inst. a conference was held between the senate and assembly of the state of New York, on the amendments proposed to the bill for putting the new constitution into operation. After debating the matter a whole day, the assembly resolved they would not agree to the amendments—and the senate resolved that they would not concede. In consequence of which, the bill was lost. New York, therefore, will have no agency in the choice of those important officers, the president and vice-president; nor will she be represented in that body, where most important interests will be at stake, the senate of the united states.

The new year was ushered in the borough of Wilmington, in Delaware, by an exhibition, though less splendid, yet, perhaps more patriotic than any that has taken place since the late revolution. At a meeting of a number of the principal citizens in and about said borough, held on the first of January, 1788, an agreement was entered into, to meet at the academy, on that day two months, clad in complete suits of

merican manufacture. The meeting was held accordingly—many persons appeared—and a satisfactory specimen was displayed of the abilities of this country to assert her absolute independence, respecting foreign manufactures of wearing apparel. All the dresses were warm, and many elegant, and such as would do credit to old manufacturing countries; the industry, skill, and fancy exhibited in spinning the materials, and mixing the colours of the several articles of dress, as well as in making them up, are an additional proof of the domestic virtues and the patriotic spirit of the fair daughters of America. And we can offer to their country-women throughout the continent no better new-year's

wish, than that they, as well as their husbands and brothers, may emulate the example of the borough of Wilmington. From calculations made at the meeting, it appears that home-made cloth comes considerably lower than such as is imported, of the same quality.

Jan. 25. We learn from New York, that the sum already subscribed, for the building intended for the accommodation of the new congress, amounts to nine thousand pounds. The room for the senate is nearly completed. The whole building will cost near fifteen thousand pounds, and will be one hundred and fifty feet long.

* * * *Intelligence omitted in this number shall be inserted in our next.*

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A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For F E B R U A R Y 1789.

Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries, &c. written in Pennsylvania, anno 1751,

By Benjamin Franklin, esq.

1. **T**ABLES of the proportion of marriages to births, of deaths to births, of marriages to the number of inhabitants, &c. formed on observations made upon the bills of mortality, christenings, &c. of populous cities, will not suit countries; nor will tables formed on observations made on full-settled old countries, as Europe, suit new countries, as America.

2. For people increase in proportion to the number of marriages, and that is greater in proportion to the ease and convenience of supporting a family. When families can be easily supported, more persons marry, and earlier in life.

3. In cities, where all trades, occupations, and offices are full, many delay marrying, till they can see how to bear the charges of a family, which charges are greater in cities, as luxury is more common: many live single during life, and continue servants to families, journeymen to traders, &c. Hence cities do not, by natural generation, supply themselves with inhabitants: the deaths are more than the births.

4. In countries full settled, the case must be nearly the same; all lands being occupied and improved to the height, those who cannot get land, must labour for others that have it; when labourers are plenty, their wages will be low; by low wages a family is supported with difficulty; this difficulty deters many from marriage, who, therefore, long continue servants and single. Only as the cities take supplies of people from the country, and thereby make a little more room in the country, marriage is a little more encouraged there, and the births exceed the deaths.

5. Great part of Europe is full set-

tled with husbandmen, manufacturers, &c. and therefore cannot now much increase in people. America is chiefly occupied by Indians, who subsist mostly by hunting. But as the hunter, of all men, requires the greatest quantity of land from whence to draw his subsistence, (the husbandman subsisting on much less, the gardener on still less, and the manufacturer requiring least of all) the Europeans found America as fully settled as it well could be by hunters; yet these having large tracts, were easily prevailed on to part with portions of territory to the new comers, who did not much interfere with the natives in hunting, and furnished them with many things they wanted.

6. Land being thus plenty in America, and so cheap as that a labouring man who understands husbandry, can, in a short time, save money enough to purchase a piece of new land, sufficient for a plantation, whereon he may subsist a family; such are not afraid to marry; for if they even look far enough forward, to consider how their children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they see that more land is to be had at rates equally easy, all circumstances considered.

7. Hence marriages in America are more general, and more generally early than in Europe. And if it is reckoned there, that there is but one marriage per annum among one hundred persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in Europe they have but four births to a marriage, (many of their marriages being late) we may here reckon eight; of which, if one-half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, our people must at least be doubled every twenty years.

8. But notwithstanding this increase, so vast is the territory of North America, that it will require many ages to settle it fully; and till it is fully settled, labour will never be cheap here,

where no man continues long a labourer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among the new settlers, and sets up for himself, &c. Hence, labour is no cheaper now, in Pennsylvania, than it was thirty years ago, though so many thousand labouring people have been imported from Germany and Ireland.

9. The danger, therefore, of these colonies interfering with their mother country, in trades that depend on labour, manufactures, &c. is too remote to require the attention of Great Britain.

10. But in proportion to the increase of the colonies, a vast demand is growing for British manufactures; a glorious market, wholly in the power of Britain, in which foreigners cannot interfere, which will increase, in a short time, even beyond her power of supplying, though her whole trade should be to her colonies * * *.

11. It is an ill-grounded opinion, that, by the labour of slaves, America may possibly vie in cheapness of manufactures with Britain. The labour of slaves can never be so cheap here, as the labour of working men is in Britain. Any one may compute it. Interest of money is in the colonies from six to ten per cent. Slaves, one with another, cost thirty pounds sterling per head. Reckon then the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the insurance or risque on his life, his clothing and diet, expenses in his sickness, and loss of time, loss by his neglect of business, (neglect is natural to the man who is not to be benefited by his own care or diligence) expense of a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time to time, almost every slave being, from the nature of slavery, a thief; and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool in England, you will see that labour is much cheaper there, than it ever can be by negroes here. Why, then, will Americans purchase slaves? Because slaves may be kept as long as a man pleases, or has occasion for their labour; while hired men are continually leaving their master (often in the midst of his business) and setting up for themselves.

12. As the increase of people de-

pends on the encouragement of marriages, the following things must diminish a nation, viz. 1. The being conquered. For the conquerors will engross as many offices, and exact as much tribute or profit on the labour of the conquered, as will maintain them in their new establishment; and this, diminishing the subsistence of the natives, discourages their marriages, and so gradually diminishes them, while the foreigners increase. 2. Loss of territory. Thus the Britons being driven into Wales, and crowded together in a barren country, insufficient to support such great numbers, diminished, till the people bore a proportion to the produce; while the Saxons increased on their abandoned lands, till the island became full of English. And, were the English now driven into Wales by some foreign nation, there would, in a few years be no more Englishmen in Britain than there are now people in Wales. 3. Loss of trade. Manufactures exported, draw subsistence from foreign countries for numbers; who are thereby enabled to marry and raise families. If the nation be deprived of any branch of trade, and no new employment is found for her people occupied in that branch, it will soon be deprived of so many people. 4. Loss of food. Suppose a nation has fishery, which not only employs great numbers, but makes the food and subsistence of the people cheaper: if another nation becomes master of the seas, and prevents the fishery, the people will diminish in proportion to the loss of employ, and dearth of provision, make it more difficult to subsist a family. 5. Bad government and insecure property. People not only leave such a country, and settling abroad, incorporate with other nations, lose their native language and become foreigners; but the industry of those that remain, being discouraged, the quantity of subsistence in the country is lessened, and the support of a family becomes more difficult. So heavy taxes tend to diminish people. 6. The introduction of slave. The negroes brought into the English sugar-islands, have greatly diminished the whites there; the poor are by the means deprived of employment, while a few families acquire vast estate

which they spend on foreign luxuries ; and, educating their children in the habit of those luxuries, the same income is needed for the support of one, that might have maintained one hundred. The whites, who have slaves, not labouring, are enfeebled, and therefore not so generally prolific ; the slaves being worked too hard, and ill fed, their constitutions are broken, and the deaths among them are more than the births : so that a continual supply is needed from Africa. The northern colonies, having few slaves, increase in whites. Slaves also pejo- rate the families that use them : the white children become proud, disgusted with labour, and, being educated in idleness, are rendered unfit to get a living by industry.

14. Hence the prince that acquires new territory, if he finds it vacant, or removes the natives to give his own people room ; the legislator that makes effectual laws for promoting of trade, increasing employment, improving land by more or better tillage, providing more food by fisheries, securing property, &c.—and the man that invents new trades, arts, or manufactures, or new improvements in husbandry ; may be properly called the fathers of their nations, as they are the cause of the generation of multitudes, by the encouragement they afford to marriage.

15. As to privileges granted to the married, (such as the *jus trium liberorum* among the Romans) they may hasten the filling of a country that has been thinned by war or pestilence, or that has otherwise vacant territory ; but cannot increase a people beyond the means provided for their subsistence.

16. Foreign luxuries and needless manufactures, imported and used in a nation, do, by the same reasoning, increase the people of the nation that furnishes them, and diminish the people of the nation that uses them. Laws, therefore, that prevent such importations, and, on the contrary, promote the exportation of manufactures to be consumed in foreign countries, may be called (with respect to the people that make them) generative laws, as, by increasing subsistence, they encourage marriage. Such laws likewise strengthen a country doubly, by

increasing its own people, and diminishing its neighbours.

17. Some European nations prudently refuse to consume the manufactures of East India :—They should likewise forbid them to their colonies ; for the gain to the merchant is not to be compared with the loss, by this means, of people to the nation.

18. Home luxury in the great, increases the nation's manufacturers employed by it, who are many, and only tends to diminish the families that indulge in it, who are few. The greater the common fashionable expense of any rank of people, the more cautious they are of marriage. Therefore luxury should never be suffered to become common.

19. The great increase of offspring in particular families, is not always owing to greater fecundity of nature, but sometimes to examples of industry in the heads, and industrious education : by which the children are enabled to provide better for themselves, and their marrying early is encouraged from the prospect of good subsistence.

20. If there be a sect, therefore, in our nation, that regard frugality and industry as religious duties, and educate their children therein, more than others commonly do : such sect must consequently increase more by natural generation, than any other sect in Britain.

21. The importation of foreigners into a country that has as many inhabitants as the present employments and provisions for subsistence, will bear, will be in the end no increase of people ; unless the new-comers have more industry and frugality than the natives, and then they will provide more subsistence, and increase in the country ; but they will gradually eat the natives out. Nor is it necessary to bring in foreigners to fill up any occasional vacancy, in a country ; for such vacancy (if the laws are good), will soon be filled by natural generation. Who can now find the vacancy made in Sweden, France, or other warlike nations, by the plague of heretism forty years ago ; in France by the expulsion of the protestants ; in England, by the settlement of her colonies ; or in Guinea, by a hundred years exportation of slaves, that has blackened half America ? The thia-

ness of the inhabitants in Spain, is owing to national pride, and idleness, and other causes, rather than to the expulsion of the Moors, or to the making of new settlements.

22. There is, in short, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Was the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and over-spread with one kind only; as, for instance, with fennel; and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might, in a few ages, be replenished from one nation only, as for instance, with Englishmen. Thus there are supposed to be upwards of one million of English souls in North America (though it is thought scarce eighty thousand have been brought over sea) and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufacturers at home. This million doubling, suppose but once in twenty-five years, will, in another century, be more than the people of England, and the greatest number of Englishmen will be on this side the water. What an accession of power to the British empire by sea as well as land! What increase of trade and navigation! What numbers of ships and seamen! We have been here but little more than a hundred years, and yet the force of our privateers in the late war, united, was greater both in men and guns, than that of the whole British navy in queen Elizabeth's time.

23. In fine, a nation well regulated is like a polypus; take away a limb, its place is soon supplied; cut it in two, and each deficient part shall speedily grow out of the part remaining. Thus, (if you have room and subsistence enough) as you may, by dividing, make ten polypuses out of one; you may, of one, make ten nations, equally populous and powerful; or rather, increase a nation tenfold in numbers and strength. * * * * *

NOTE.

† Some passages in this piece are inapplicable to the present situation of American affairs, and might without much impropriety be altered or omitted: but obvious reasons induce the printer to publish this and vari-

General remarks on the discoveries made in the North.

THE globe of this earth, as far as we hitherto know it, contains a much greater quantity of land elevated above the surface of the sea, in the northern part, than do the opposite polar regions in the south, which, to those who have explored them, have constantly exhibited nothing but a wide extensive sea. In all probability the northern regions, taken collectively, are warmer, particularly in summer, than the southern. In fact, the great depth of the sea absorbs the solar rays; which, likewise, are not capable of imparting warmth to the prodigiously-extensive, and withal denser sea, so easily as they do to the much-more rarified fluid of the atmosphere. The land, on the contrary, reflects the rays of the sun in every direction; in consequence of which, they cross each other; and observations have shewn, that it is by its collected beams only, that the sun is capable of generating a considerable degree of warmth. This is confirmed by the experience of all navigators in the northern regions, who, when between the 70th and 80th degrees of latitude, frequently speak of a heat powerful enough to melt the pitch with which the ship is paid. On the other hand, in the south, the temperature of the air is much colder; and in those parts, they never enjoy the comforts of a warm day.

In the cold countries, there are a great many different species of talc and mica: as likewise a great quantity of the steatites and lapis ollaris; particularly in Greenland and Hudson's-Bay, as likewise at Spitzbergen. Volcanic productions are found in great abundance in Greenland, Iceland, the western coast of North America, the Catherine and Kurile islands, and in Kamtschatka. Of metals, there has been found native copper in Hudson's-Bay, and in the copper island near Kamtschatka. Bear or Cherry-Island contains a considerable quanti-

NOTE.

ous other essays, in the same predicament, in their original state; as they by this means throw an important light on the views and wishes of the past generation.—C.

ty of lead, and likewise some native silver. In Greenland, a silver and even gold earth are said to have been discovered.

The coast of Greenland consists entirely of high, sharp-pointed rocks on both sides. In Hudson's-Bay, however, these mountains begin to be less steep; and in some parts of it, there are even, flat, level shores. Iceland is, throughout, as well as Spitzbergen, a high, rocky country. Nova-Zembla has the same appearance. The whole northern coast of Siberia is flat and low. The eastern coast of Asia, as far as to the extreme point of Kamtschatka, is for the most part high and rocky. The American coast, on the contrary, is low and flat; but to the south of Alaska, it begins to be higher.

Hudson's-Bay, Baffin's-Bay, and all the little seas from Labrador to Cape Farewell, are evidently made by the sea having broken in upon the land. This likewise appears from the lofty top of Cape Farewell, and the high rocks on the eastern side of Resolution and Salisbury-Islands, and of all the islands in Hudson's-Bay, which terminate in flats to the westward, as though the earth had been washed away from them by a flood rushing on them from the east. Greenland has an inlet to the eastward of it, and, to the westward, an island, viz. Iceland. Spitzbergen has a promontory in the south-west, and, to the south-east, an island. All the shores of the Icy-sea along Siberia, are flat; and the seas that lie to the northward of this country are very shallow. What we had to observe, with respect to the physical influence of the situation of the sea between Asia and America, near Kamtschatka, has been already touched upon.

The seas, in these regions, are very cold, and partly covered with ice. The observation, that the ocean freezes here even so early as in August or September, and that in winter it is covered over, in the space of one night, with ice several inches thick, is now fully confirmed. The ice, therefore, is not the production of the rivers running into the ocean, but of the ocean itself. The large masses are impelled by the wind, one over the other, and thus form thick and

lofty clumps of ice. But various are the ways in which ice is formed. We can never say, this is the method which nature pursues in producing a certain effect; for she has a variety of means to accomplish her intentions, which man is not able to discover otherwise than by slow degrees. In the beginning of winter, the ocean is not so cold as at the commencement of summer, subsequent to the tedious long winter in those parts. The winds in the Icy-Sea are very boisterous, and, when they blow over the large fields of ice there, intolerably cold. Easterly winds, also, are more common in the arctic circle than any other. The same, too, has been remarked before in the antarctic polar regions. Fogs are, in these climates, very common, and consequently render the navigation there very dangerous. These fogs, by their pressure, keep down all the vapours which would otherwise rise up into the atmosphere; for which reason they have frequently an offensive smell. Thunder and lightning are very rare in these parts; partly by reason that the northern lights, which often are very frequent, consume and waste the electrical exhalations, and partly because, in a region covered with eternal snow, from whence but a trifling quantity of snow melts away in the space of several days, the electric matter cannot possibly rise from the earth in any considerable quantity, and collect in order to form the matter of thunder and lightning. The trifling portion, which appears in tempests, is thrown into the air from the volcanos in these regions. The abundance of mists and vapours, which are in part frozen, and fill the whole atmosphere, serves likewise to make one phenomenon more frequent and common here than it is elsewhere. Parrhelia, and mock moons, are seen very frequently in the north; inasmuch that they have been remarked by many travellers. These very vapours, which in the atmosphere so greatly abound, serve also the beneficial purpose of exhibiting the joyous light of the sun, in these dreary and melancholy regions, almost a fortnight sooner above the horizon than could possibly be done, were the atmosphere in a different state: consequently they contribute to shorten the

disimal nights in these countries, and to enliven nature, rendered absolutely torpid by the decaying blasts of winter.

It must be all, the animated, organized creation is scattered with a sparing hand in these dreary climates. The surface of the earth is covered with but few plants; and even those which nature has in her bounty bestowed upon it, cling close to it, fearing, as it were, to raise their heads from the bosom of their mother into the air, totally deprived, as it is, of warmth, and shrinking from the deadly blasts of the north and east winds. Nay, the earth itself is unprepared and unfit to receive and harbour the plants committed to her care. Bare and naked rocks, with a calm intrepidity, present their callous fronts to the attacks of the all-ravaging frost; during the greatest part of the year, indeed, they are covered by a thick bed of snow; consequently they are preserved for a long time without mouldering, and undestroyed. Rain, wind, and heat, alternating with frost, but, above all, the effects of heat, and the fixed air floating in the atmosphere, contribute to dissolve and destroy by degrees the hardest and most solid rocks in temperate and warm climates. The fixed air, accompanied by heat, penetrates deep into the substance of the stones, and dissolves small particles of them, which the rains and wind wash away and carry to a distance, and by this means make the surface of the earth continually more and more capable of receiving and harbouring plants, and all kinds of vegetables. In this earth, from a small seed brought to it by the wind, at first there is generated a diminutive moss, which, spreading by degrees, with its tender and minute texture, which however resists the most intense cold, extends over the whole a verdant velvet carpet. In fact, these mosses are the midwives and nurses of the other inhabitants of the vegetable kingdom. The bottom parts of the mosses, which perish and moulder away yearly, mingling with the dissolved, but as yet crude parts of the earth, communicate to it organized particles, which contribute to the growth and nourishment of other plants: they likewise yield salts, and unguinous phlogistic

particles, for the nourishment of future vegetable colonies. The seeds of other plants, which the sea and winds, or else the birds in their plumage, bring from distant shores, and scatter among the mosses, are kindly, and with a truly maternal care, screened by them from the cold, imbued with the moisture which they have stored up for this very purpose, and nourished with their oily exhalations; so that they grow, increase, and at length bear seeds, and afterwards dying, add to the unguinous, nutritive particles of the earth, and at the same time diffuse over this new earth and mosses, more seeds, the earnest of a numerous posterity. Here let us stop for a moment to consider these productions of the vegetable world in a nearer point of view. They are, as we have already observed, planted with a sparing hand in these northern regions; not because nature acts the part of a step-mother by them, but because the severity of the cold, in these climates, disturbs and puts a stop to her operations, and consequently makes her employ ages to produce effects, for which she has scarcely a few years allowed her, under the benign influence of the sun, in milder regions. Yet, even here, is nature the same indulgent parent. On the few dwarfish plants that are to be found in these regions, the animals thrive astonishingly: even the liver-worts (*lichen rangiferinus et islandicus*) possess uncommonly nutritive qualities, and make the animals, which feed on them, fat in a short time. On the very shores, scurvy grass, and other plants of this class, present themselves to seafaring persons infected with putrid fevers, and, with their invigorating juices, put a stop in the space of a few days to the ravages of the scurvy.

And, however unpromising these regions may appear, yet neither the sea nor land are destitute of objects, which, besides an organic structure, have the power of voluntary motion, and of consciousness. From the corals to the mammalia, every class of animals has its representative in this otherwise inhospitable climate. Nova-Zembla, Spitzbergen, and Greenland, have even their reindeer, their white bears, and grey foxes: and the country lying to the northward of

Hudson's-Bay, is inhabited by the bison ox. Hares, mice, and glut-tions, also, are indigenous in some of these regions. The sea swarms with various sorts of whales and dolphins; while its shores, and the dreary fields of ice that float upon it, serve as a habitation to the numerous species of seals, to which the depth of the ocean, in the immense number of its inhabitants, presents an abundance of food. Of all these northern regions, the northern coast of Siberia alone is constantly inhabited by mankind, if we except America as far as Hudson's-Bay and Greenland. The bodies of this race of men are contracted, as it were, by the cold. They are of a brownish-red complexion; their hair is lank, stiff, and black. Their food is fish, seals, and whales; and train-oil is their greatest delicacy. Their ideas, according to our way of thinking, are very confined; yet they manifest, in the formation of many of their implements, and articles of house-furniture, a skill, a dexterity, and capacity, which, at first sight, one would not be apt to imagine they possessed. The complaints we frequently hear of their perfidiousness and cruelty, are entirely groundless. The Europeans, indeed, have often, by acts of violence, by murder, and the perpetration of the greatest cruelties, drawn upon themselves the vengeance of these kind-hearted, hospitable people, and at length taught them mistrust. They fulfil the duties of parents with tenderness, resolution, and care, and in circumstances in which thousands of Europeans would neglect their charge. Amidst dangers, amidst the most piercing frosts, snow, and winds, they venture out to sea in small leathern boats to provide food for their children. In short, the more we attend to these objects, the more evidently we shall perceive, in all parts, the traces of the providence, goodness, and wisdom, of a Supreme Being, who dispenses his benefits over the whole universe, and manifests the utmost sagacity and intelligence in the accomplishment of his purposes; all which, in persons of susceptible and feeling hearts, excite the warmest sentiments of gratitude and adoration; and affecting them with the tenderest emotions, draw from

their eyes tears of heartfelt joy and admiration. "O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that he doeth for the children of men!"



Remarks on the different success, with respect to health, of some attempts to pass the winter in high northern latitudes. By John Aikin, M.D.

THOUGH the cure of diseases may, perhaps, most safely be confined to the members of a profession devoted by education and habit to this sole object, yet the preservation of health, must, in some measure, be committed to the care and judgment of every individual. The discussion, therefore, of any means to obtain this end, divested, as it may be, of technical language and abstruse speculation, cannot fail of being generally interesting. The most remarkable and useful account of success in this important point, perhaps, any where to be met with, has been afforded by that celebrated and much regretted navigator, captain Cook; an account which was justly thought worthy of the most honourable approbation a philosophical society could bestow. From similar sources, relations of voyages and travels by plain, unprejudiced men, I have collected some other facts, probably at present forgotten, or disregarded, which appear to me capable of suggesting several striking and important observations relative to the preservation of health in particular circumstances.

Towards the beginning of the last century, several voyages of discovery were made in the northern seas; and the Greenland whale fishery began to be pursued with ardour by various European nations. These two circumstances have given rise to various instances of wintering in the dreary and desolate lands of high northern latitudes, and the surprising difference of success attending these attempts, must strike every reader.

The first remarkable relation of this kind that I have found, is that of the wintering of captain Monck, a Dane, in Hudson's Bay, latitude 63. 20'. He had been sent on a voyage of discovery with two ships, well provided with necessaries, the crews of which amounted to sixty-four per-

fons. The ships being locked up in the ice, they landed, and erected huts for passing the winter, which they occupied in September, 1619. At the beginning of their abode here, they got abundance of wild-fowl, and some other fresh provisions; but the cold soon became so intense, that nothing farther was to be procured abroad, and they were obliged to take to their ship-stores. The severity of the cold may be conceived from their seeing ice three hundred and sixty feet thick; and from their beer, wine and brandy being all frozen to the very centre. The people soon began to be sickly, and their sickness increased with the cold. Some were affected by gripes and looseness, which continued till they died. At the approach of spring they were all highly scorbutic, and their mouths were so extremely sore, that they were unable to eat any thing but bread soaked in water. At last, their bread was exhausted; and the few survivors chiefly subsisted on a kind of berry dug out from beneath the snow. When the spring was far advanced, no fresh vegetables could yet be found. In June, the captain crawled out of of his hut, and found the whole company reduced to two men besides himself. These melancholy relicts supported themselves in the best manner they were able, and recovered their strength by feeding on a certain root they discovered, and some game caught in hunting. At length they embarked in the smaller ship, and after undergoing numberless dangers and hardships, returned home in safety.

In the same immense bay, but as far south as latitude 52, captain James, an Englishman, wintered with his crew. His residence was on an island covered with wood; but the cold was notwithstanding most intense. In the depth of winter they were able to procure very little fresh provision by the chase, and all became grievously afflicted with the scurvy, except the captain, master, and surgeon. Weak and sick as they were, however, it was necessary for them to labour hard out of doors, during the greatest inclemency of the season; for believing their ship so damaged, as to be incapable of carrying them home, they undertook the laborious task of building a pinnace from the timber growing

on the island. At the return of spring, the young greens sprouted up much sooner and more plentiful here, than where Monck wintered; and it became very hot before they left the place. They lost only two men out of a crew of twenty two.

In the year 1633, two trials were made by the Dutch of establishing wintering-places at their northern fisheries; the one at Spitzbergen, the other on the coast of Greenland, in latitudes about 77 or 78. Seven sailors were left at each, amply furnished with every article of clothing, provision and utensils thought necessary or useful in such a situation. The journals of both companies are preserved.

That of the men in Greenland takes notice, that on September 18th, the allowance of brandy began to be served out to each person. On October 9th, they began to make a constant fire to sit by. About this time, it is remarked, that they experienced a considerable change in their bodies, with giddiness in their heads. They now and then killed a bear; but their common diet was salt meat.

In March they were all very ill of the scurvy; and on April 16th, the first man died, and all the rest were entirely disabled, but one person. This poor wretch continued the journal till the last day of April, when they were praying for a speedy release from their miseries. They were all found dead.

The journal of those who were left at Spitzbergen recites, that they sought in vain for green herbs, bears, and foxes, in that desolate region; and killed no other game than one fox, the whole time. The scurvy appeared among them as early as November 24th; and the first man died January 14th. The journal ends February 26th; and these too were all found dead.

Not many years after these unfortunate attempts, an accident gave rise to an experiment, the event of which was so entirely the reverse of these, that it merits very particular notice. On the same side of Spitzbergen, between lat. 77 and 78, a boat's crew, belonging to a Greenland ship, consisting of eight Englishmen, who had been sent ashore to kill deer, were left behind, in consequence of some mis-

takes, and reduced to the deplorable necessity of wintering in that dreadful country, totally unprovided with every necessary. From their narrative, drawn up in that style of artists simplicity, which affords the strongest presumption of veracity, I shall extract the most material circumstances.

At their wintering place was fortunately a large substantial wooden building, erected for the use of the coopers belonging to the fishery. Within this they built a smaller one, which they made very compact and warm. Here they constructed four cabins, with comfortable deer skin beds; and they kept up a continual fire, which never went out for eight months. They were tolerably supplied with fuel from some old casks, and boats, which they broke up for the purpose. Thus provided with lodging, their principal care was about their subsistence. Before the cold weather set in, they killed a good number of deer, the greatest part of which they cut up, roasted and stowed in barrels; reserving some raw for their Sundays' dinners. This, I imagine, must have been frozen, as it began to freeze sharply before they were settled in their habitation. This venison, with a few sea-horses and bears, which they killed from time to time, constituted their whole winter's provision, except a very unfavourable article they were obliged to make out with, which was whale's frittlers, or the scraps of fat, after the oil has been pressed out. These, too, having been wetted and brown in heaps, were mouldy. Their usual course of diet, then, for the first three months, was one meal of venison every day in the week, except Wednesdays and Fridays, when they kept fast on whale's frittlers. At the end of this period, on examining their flock, they found it would not hold out at this rate, and therefore for the ensuing three months they retrenched their venison meals to three days in the week, and appeased their hunger, as well as they could, on the other four days, upon the mouldy frittlers. At the approach of spring, they had the good fortune to kill several white bears, which proved excellent food; and, together with wild fowl and foxes which they caught, rendered it unnecessary any longer to stint themselves to so rigorous an allowance; so that they eat

two or three meals of fresh meat daily, and soon improved in strength and vigour. Their only drink during this whole time, was running water procured from beneath the ice on the beach, till January; and afterwards, snow-water melted by hot irons. The cold in the midst of winter was extreme. It raised blisters in the flesh; and when they went abroad, they became sore all over, as if beaten. Iron on being touched stuck to their fingers, like bird-lime. The melancholy of their situation was aggravated by the absence of the sun from the horizon, from October 14th to February 2d, of which period, twenty days were passed in total darkness, except the light of lamps, which they continued to keep constantly burning. With all this, it does not appear that any of them were affected with the scurvy, or any other disorder; and the degree of weakness, which seems implied by the mentioning their recovering strength in the spring, may be sufficiently accounted for, merely from their short allowance of nutritious food. At the return of the ships on May 25th, they all appear to have been in health: and all of them returned in safety to their native country.

The last relation I shall adduce, is one of late date, considerably resembling the foregoing in several of its circumstances, but still more extraordinary.

In the year 1743, a Russian ship of East Spitzbergen, in latitude between seventy-seven and seventy-eight, was so enclosed with ice, that the crew, apprehensive of being obliged to winter there, sent four of their men in a boat to seek for a hut, which they knew to have been erected near that coast. The hut was discovered; but the men, on returning to the shore, found all the ice cleared away, and the ship no longer to be seen; and indeed it was never more heard of. I pass over their first transports of grief and despair, and also their many ingenious contrivances to furnish themselves with the necessaries they stood most in need of. Their diet and way of life are the circumstances peculiarly connected with my subject. After sitting up their hut as comfortably as they could, and laying in drift wood, collected on the shore, for fuel, they

turned their attention chiefly to the procuring of provision. Three species of animals, which they caught and killed by various devices, constituted their whole variety of food. These were, reindeer, white bears, and foxes. The flesh they eat almost raw, and without salt; using, by way of bread to it, other flesh, dried hard in the smoke. Their drink was running water in the summer, and melted ice and snow in the winter. Their preservatives against the scurvy, were, swallowing raw frozen meat broken into bits, drinking the warm blood of reindeer just killed, eating scurvy-grass, when they could meet with it, and using much exercise. By these means, three of them remained entirely free from this disease, during the whole of their abode. The fourth died of it, after lingering on to the sixth year. It is remarked, that this person was of an indolent disposition, and could not conquer his aversion to drinking the reindeers' blood. The three survivors, after remaining six years and three months on this desolate and solitary island, were happily rescued by a ship driven casually upon the coast, and returned home in safety. They were strong and healthy at their return, but by habit had contracted an inability of eating bread, or drinking spiritous liquors.

To the above relations, I shall add the following short quotations relative to the same subject.

In a note to the account of the four Russians, it is said, "counsellor Müller says, the Russians about Archangel should be imitated; some of whom every year winter in Nova Zembla without ever contracting the scurvy. They follow the example of the Samoides, by frequently drinking the warm blood of reindeer just killed. The hunting of these animals requires continual exercise. None ever keep their huts during the day, unless the stormy weather, or too great quantity of snow, hinders them from taking their usual exercise."

[*To be continued.*]



An enquiry into the influence of physical causes upon the moral faculty. Being the substance of an oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, held in Phila-

delphia on the 27th of February 1786; by Benjamin Rush, M. D. and professor of chemistry in the university of Pennsylvania.

THE subject upon which I am to have the honour of addressing you is, 'an enquiry into the influence of physical causes upon the moral faculty.'

Our books of medicine contain many records of the effects of physical causes upon the memory—the imagination—and the judgment.

Persons who labour under the derangement, or want of these powers of the mind, are considered, very properly, as subjects of medicine; and there are many cases upon record that prove, that their diseases yielded to the healing art.

It is perhaps only because the disorders of the moral faculty have not been traced to a connexion with physical causes, that medical writers have neglected to give them also a place in their systems of nosology, and that so few attempts have been hitherto made to lessen or remove them by physical as well as rational and moral remedies.

In treating of the effects of physical causes upon the moral faculty, it might help to extend our ideas upon this subject, to reduce virtues and vices to certain species, and to point out the effects of particular causes, upon each particular species of virtue and vice; but this would lead us into a field too extensive for the limits of the present enquiry. I shall only hint at a few cases; and have no doubt but the ingenuity of my auditors will supply my silence by applying the rest.

It is immaterial, whether the physical causes that are to be enumerated, act upon the moral faculty through the medium of the senses—the passions—the memory—or the imagination. Their influence is equally certain, whether they act as remote, predisposing, or occasional causes.

1. The effects of climate upon the moral faculty claim our first attention. Not only individuals, but nations, derive a considerable part of their moral, as well as intellectual character, from the different portions they enjoy of the rays of the sun. Inactivity—levity—timidity—and indolence ten-

pered with occasional emotions of benevolence, are the moral qualities of the inhabitants of warm climates; while selfishness, tempered with sincerity and integrity, form the moral character of the inhabitants of cold countries. The state of the weather, and the seasons of the year also, have a visible effect upon moral sensibility. The month of November, in Great Britain, rendered gloomy by constant fog and rains has been thought to favour the perpetration of the worst species of murder; while the vernal sun, in middle latitudes, has been as generally remarked for producing gentleness and benevolence.

2. The effects of diet upon the moral faculty are more certain, though less attended to, than the effects of climate. 'Fullness of bread,' we are told, was one of the predisposing causes of the vices of the cities of the plain. The falls so often inculcated among the Jews were intended to lessen the incentives to vice: for pride—cruelty—and sensuality, are as much the natural consequences of luxury as apoplexies and palsies. But the *quality* as well as the quantity of aliment has an influence upon morals; hence we find the moral diseases that have been mentioned, are most frequently the offspring of animal food. The prophet Isaiah seems to have been sensible of this, when he ascribes such salutary effects to a temperate and vegetable diet. 'Butter and honey shall he eat,' says he, 'that he may know to refuse the evil, and to choose the good.'—But we have many facts which prove the efficacy of a vegetable diet upon the passions. Dr. Arbuthnot assures us, that he cured several patients of irascible tempers, by nothing but a prescription of this simple and temperate regimen.

3. The effects of certain drinks upon the moral faculty are not less observable than upon the intellectual powers of the mind. Fermented liquors of a good quality, and taken in a moderate quantity, are favourable to the virtues of candour, benevolence, and generosity; but when they are taken in excess, or when they are of a bad quality, and drank even in a moderate quantity, they seldom fail of rousing every latent spark of vice into action. The last of these facts

is so notorious, that when a man is observed to be ill-natured or quarrelsome in Portugal, after drinking, it is common in that country to say, that 'he has drank bad wine.' While occasional fits of intoxication produce ill temper in many people, habitual drunkenness (which is generally produced by distilled spirits) never fails to eradicate veracity and integrity from the human mind. Perhaps this may be the reason why the Spaniards, in ancient times, never admitted a man's evidence in a court of justice who had been convicted of drunkenness. Water is the universal sedative of turbulent passions—it not only promotes a general equanimity of temper, but it composes anger. I have heard several well attested cases, of a draught of cold water having suddenly composed this violent passion, after the usual remedies of reason had been applied to no purpose.

4. Extreme hunger produces the most unfriendly effects upon moral sensibility. It is immaterial whether it acts by inducing a relaxation of the solids, or an acrimony of the fluids, or by the combined operation of both those physical causes. The Indians in this country whet their appetites for that savage species of war, which is peculiar to them, by the stimulus of hunger: hence, we are told, they always return meagre and emaciated from their military excursions.

5. Idleness is the parent of every vice. It is mentioned in the Old Testament as another of the predisposing causes of the vices of the cities of the plain. Labour of all kinds favours and facilitates the practice of virtue. The country life is a happy life; chiefly because its laborious employments are favourable to virtue and unfriendly to vice. It is a common practice, I have been told, for the planters in the southern states to consign an house slave, who has become vicious from idleness, to the drudgery of the field, in order to reform him. The bridewells and work-houses of all civilised countries prove, that labour is not only a very severe, but the most benevolent of all punishments, in as much as it is one of the most suitable means of reformation. Mr. Howard tells us in his history of prisons, that in Holland

it is a common saying, 'make men work, and you will make them honest.' And over the rasp and spin-house at Grœningen, this sentiment is expressed (he tells us) by a happy motto—

"Vulnorum semina—otium—labore ex-hauriendum."

7. The effects of excessive sleep are intimately connected with the effects of idleness upon the moral faculty :—hence we find that moderate, and even scanty portions of sleep, in every part of the world, have been found to be friendly, not only to health and long life, but in many instances to morality. The practice of the monks, who often sleep upon a floor, and who generally rise with the sun, for the sake of mortifying their sensual appetites, is certainly founded in wisdom, and has often produced the most salutary moral affects.

8. Too much cannot be said in favour of cleanliness, as a physical mean of promoting virtue. The writings of Moses have been called by military men the best 'orderly book' in the world. In every part of them we find cleanliness inculcated with as much zeal as if it was part of the moral, instead of the levitical law. Now, it is well known, that the principal design of every precept and rite of the ceremonial parts of the Jewish religion, was to prevent vice and promote virtue. All writers upon the leprosy take notice of its connexion with a certain vice. To this disease gross animal food, particularly swine's flesh, and a dirty skin, have been thought to be predisposing causes—hence the reason, probably, why pork was forbidden, and why ablutions of the body and limbs were so frequently inculcated by the Jewish law. Sir John Pringle's remarks, in his oration upon captain Cook's voyage, delivered before the royal society in London, are very pertinent to this part of our subject. 'Cleanliness (says he) is conducive to health, but it is not so obvious that it also tends to good order and other virtues. Such (meaning the ship's crew) as were made more cleanly, became more sober,—more orderly—and more attentive to duty.'

9. Odours of various kinds have been observed to act in the most sensi-

ble manner upon the moral faculty. Brydone tells us, upon the authority of a celebrated philosopher in Italy, that the peculiar wickedness of the people who live in the neighbourhood of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, is occasioned chiefly by the smell of the sulphur and of the hot exhalations which are constantly discharged from those volcanoes. Agreeable odours seldom fail to inspire serenity, and to compose the angry spirits. Hence the pleasure, and one of the advantages of a flower garden,

10. As sensibility is the avenue to the moral faculty, every thing which tends to diminish it, tends also to injure morals. The Romans owed much of their corruption to the sights of the contests of their gladiators, and of criminals with wild beasts. For these reasons executions should never be public. Indeed, I believe there are few public punishments of any kind that do not harden the hearts of spectators, and thereby lessen the natural horror which all crimes at first excite in the human mind.

11. Cruelty to brute animals is another means of destroying moral sensibility. The ferocity of savages has been ascribed in part to their peculiar mode of subsistence. Mr. Hogarth points out in his ingenious prints, the connexion between cruelty to brute animals in youth, and murder in manhood. The emperor Domitian prepared his mind by the amusement of killing flies, for all those bloody crimes which afterwards disgraced his reign. I am so perfectly satisfied of the truth of a connexion between morals and humanity to brutes, that I shall find it difficult to restrain my idolatry for that legislature, that shall first establish a system of laws to defend them from outrage and oppression.

12. The last mechanical method of promoting morality that I shall mention, is to keep sensibility alive, by a familiarity with scenes of distress from poverty and disease. Compassion never awakens in the human bosom, without being accompanied with a train of sister virtues. Hence the wise man justly remarks, that 'by the sadness of the countenance, the heart is made better.'

It will be sufficient only to mention light and darkness; to suggest facts in favour of the influence of

each of them upon moral sensibility. How often do the peevish complaints of the night in sickness give way to the compoling rays of the light of the morning ! Othello cannot murder Desdemona by candle light ; and who has not felt the effects of a blazing fire upon the gentle passions ?

It is to be lamented, that no experiments have as yet been made, to determine the effects of all the different species of airs, which chemistry has lately discovered, upon the moral faculty. I have authority, from actual experiments only to declare, that dephlogisticated air, when taken into the lungs, produces cheerfulness—gentleness—and serenity of mind.

It might help to enlarge our ideas upon this subject, to take notice of the influence of the different stages of society—of agriculture, and commerce—of soil and situation—of the different degrees of cultivation of taste, and of the intellectual powers—of the different forms of government—and lastly, of the different professions and occupations of mankind, upon the moral faculty ; but as these act indirectly only, and by the intervention of causes that are unconnected with matter, I conceive they are foreign to the business of the present enquiry.

Let it not be suspected from any thing that I have delivered, that I suppose the influence of physical causes upon the moral faculty, renders the agency of divine influence unnecessary to our moral happiness. I only maintain, that the operations of the divine government are carried on in the moral as in the natural world,—by the instrumentality of second causes,

I will go one step further, and add in favour of divine influence upon the moral principle, that in those extraordinary cases, where bad men are suddenly reformed, without the instrumentality of physical—moral—or rational causes, I believe that the organization of those parts of the body, which form the link that binds it to the soul, actually undergoes a physical change.*

NOTE.

* St. Paul was suddenly transformed from a persecutor into a man of a

I shall not attempt to defend myself against the charge of enthusiasm in this place ; for the age is at length arrived, so devoutly wished for by Dr. Cheyne, in which men will not be deterred in their researches after truth by the terror of odious or unpopular names.



Rejoinder to a reply to the enquiry into the justice and policy of punishing murder by death.—P. 65.

OUR author does not distinguish between the sense of justice, so universal among all nations, and an approbation of death, as a punishment for murder. The former is written by the finger of God upon every human heart ; but, like his own attribute of justice, it has the happiness of individuals and of society for its objects. It is always missed, when it seeks for satisfaction in punishments that are injurious to society, or that are disproportioned to crimes. The satisfaction of this universal sense of justice, by the punishments of imprisonment and labour, would far exceed that which is derived from the punishment of death, for it would be of longer duration, and it would more frequently occur, for, upon a principle laid down in the first essay upon this subject, scarcely any species of murder would then escape with impunity !

The conduct and discourses of our Saviour should outweigh every argument that has been or can be offered in favour of capital punishment for any crime. When the woman, caught in adultery, was brought to him, he evaded inflicting the bloody sentence of the Jewish law upon her. Even the maiming of the body appears to be offensive in his sight, for, when Peter drew his sword, and smote off the ear of the servant of the high priest,

NOTE.

gentle and amiable spirit. The manner in which this change was effected upon his mind, he tells us in the following words :—' Neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but the new creature.—From henceforth let no man trouble me ; for I bear in my body the marks of our Lord Jesus.' Galatians vi. 15. 17.

he replaced it by miracle, and at the same time declared, that "all they who take the sword, shall perish with the sword." These facts are sufficient to establish the contrariety of capital punishments to the spirit of the gospel; but there is one passage in the history of our Saviour's life, which would of itself overset the justice of the punishment of death for murder, if every other part of the bible had been silent upon the subject. When two of his disciples, actuated by the spirit of vindictive legislators, requested permission of him to call down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans, he answers them, "the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." I wish these words composed the motto of the arms of every nation upon the face of the earth. They inculcate every duty that is calculated to preserve—restore—or prolong human life. They militate alike against war—and capital punishment,—the objects of which are the unprofitable destruction of the lives of men. How precious does a human life appear from these words in the sight of heaven! Pause, legislators, when you give your votes for inflicting the punishment of death for any crime. You frustrate, in one instance, the design or the mission of the Son of God into the world, and thereby either deny his appearance in the flesh, or reject the truth of his gospel. You moreover strengthen by your conduct the arguments of the deists and Socinians, against the peculiar doctrines of the christian revelation. You do more—Ye preserve a bloody fragment of the Jewish institutions. "The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."—Excellent words!—I require no others to satisfy me of the truth and divine original of the christian religion, and while I am able to place a finger upon this text of scripture, I will not believe an angel from heaven, should he declare that the punishment of death for any crime was inculcated, or permitted by the spirit of the gospel.

The world has certainly undergone a material change for the better within the last two hundred years. This change has been produced chiefly, by the secret and unacknowledged

influence of christianity upon the hearts of men. It is agreeable to trace the effects of the christian religion in the gradual extirpation of slavery—in the diminution of the number of capital punishments, and in the mitigation of the horrors of war. There was a time when masters possessed a power over the lives of their slaves. But christianity has deposed this power, and mankind begin to see every where, that slavery is alike contrary to the interests of society and the spirit of the gospel. There was a time when torture was part of the punishment of death, and when the number of capital crimes amounted in England to one hundred and sixty-one. Christianity has abolished the former, and reduced the latter to not more than six or seven. It has done more. It has confined, in some instances, capital punishment to the crime of murder only and in some countries it has abolished it altogether. The influence of christianity upon the modes of war has been still more remarkable. It is agreeable to trace its progress,

1st. In rescuing women and children from being the objects of the desolations of war in common with men.

2dly. In preventing the destruction of captives taken in battle, in cold blood.

3dly. In protecting the peaceable husbandmen, from sharing in the carnage of war.

4thly. In producing an exchange of prisoners, instead of dooming them to perpetual slavery.

5thly. In avoiding the invasion or destruction, in certain cases, of private property.

6thly. In declaring all wars to be unlawful, but such as are purely defensive.

This is the only tenure by which war now holds its place among christians. It requires but little ingenuity to prove that a defensive war cannot be carried on successfully, without offensive operations. If this be true, then this last degree of it upon our author's principles, must be contrary to the spirit of the gospel. Already the princes and nations of the world discover the struggles of opinion or conscience in the preparations for war.

Witness, the many national disputes which have lately been terminated in Europe by negotiation, or mediation. Witness, too, the establishment of the constitution of the united states without force or bloodshed. These events indicate an improving state of human affairs. They lead us to look forward, with expectation, to the time, when the weapons of war shall be changed into implements of husbandry, and when rapine and violence shall be no more. These events are the promised fruits of the gospel. If they do not come to pass, the prophets have deceived us. But if they do—war must be as contrary to the spirit of the gospel—as fraud—or murder—or any other of the vices which are reprov'd, or extirpated by it.*

He is not the only Jew, who is one outwardly. When our Saviour dwelt among men, the scribes and pharisees complained that he revealed himself to publicans and sinners. The christian descendants of those Jewish priests make the same objections to the discovery of truth beyond the walls of their sanhedrim. "These people are cursed, for they know not the law," appears, unfortunately, to be as much the language of ecclesiastical pride in the present day, as it was near eighteen hundred years ago.

I hope our author, by commanding silence upon all lay interpretations of the scriptures, does not mean to revive the doctrine of the exclusive right of the clergy to read, or explain the bible. It has been remarked, that the greatest discoveries in medicine have not been made by regular physicians. I suspect something of the same kind applies to divines. Systems of divinity are unfriendly to boldness and freedom of enquiry. For this reason, I do not think a religious

NOTE.

* The spirit of christianity, which our author describes as a vulgar deistical species of humanity, has found its way into schools and families, and has abolished, in both, corporal and ignominious punishments. In the instructions to the masters and mistresses of the sundry schools, I observe with great pleasure a direction "to use corporal punishment as seldom as possible."

opinion should be hastily rejected, only because it comes from a man who never read Calvin's institutes or Turretine's body of divinity.

I am now more sanguine than ever, in my expectations of the gradual introduction of a wise and humane spirit into our systems of criminal jurisprudence. I derive my hopes from the similarity of the opposition to this attempt, to that which the defence of the claims of the Africans met with, about 18 years ago, from a number of the citizens of Pennsylvania. I well recollect the ridicule and reproach which were thrown upon a few characters in Philadelphia for their exertions in spreading knowledge and humanity upon this subject through our country. Pride—interest—and learning—rose in arms against them. Even the church itself was not idle. The old and new testament poured forth volleys of texts, in favour of the commerce and slavery of the negroes. I wish for the honour of christianity that I could forget, that the most learned and zealous defence of this inhuman traffic, came from a minister of the gospel. But all this formidable opposition was in vain. Reason and religion triumphed over ignorance and prejudice. From the success which attended this enterprise of humanity, I still anticipate a victory equally honourable, of reason and religion over the present cruelty and folly of the criminal laws of the united states.

The author of the enquiry into the influence of public punishments on criminals and society, and of the enquiry into the justice and policy of punishing murder by death.



Geological remarks on certain maritime parts of the state of New York. In a letter to Stephen Van Wyck, Esq. By Samuel Latham Mitchell, M. D.

Plandome, Queen's-county, August 12, 1787.

Dear sir,

DURING my residence in the country this summer, it has been a principal part of my business to increase my knowledge of physics, and to become a practical naturalist. I have on these accounts, walked over

a considerable tract of land, to examine with all possible minuteness, the phenomena which it afforded. My enquiries have been particularly directed to the discovery of something useful, and, where this could not be attained, I have permitted myself to contemplate whatever of curious struck my notice. It has happened, in the course of such pursuit, that I have seen a sort of white clay which probably might be advantageously employed in the manufacture of porcelain—of a yellow argillaceous matter, that certainly would be serviceable to the workers in leather—and a bright red ochre of iron, which is easily miscible with tar and oil, forms a good pigment for houses, and doubtless could be applied to valuable purposes by painters. I have found, besides, a quantity of martial pyrites, in several places, and of calciform iron ore in many others, scattered along the shores; but the bad quality of the former, and the scanty quantity of the latter, render it unadvisable to erect a furnace to extract the metal. Several chalybeate springs gush out, whose water have been drank by valentinarians, and may be profitable hereafter in medical cases, where such practice is proper.

I have met also with small portions of the ferruginous tubercular or bog ore of iron, on breaking which, small quartz pebbles were found inclosed, proving it to be a substance of secondary formation; and here likewise I may mention, that the petrifications of wood and bark, which I have found, were always in an argillaceous ground, tinged with iron, and sometimes mixed with flinty sand or gravel; but in these concretions, which are very frequent, I never have been able to find the least vestige of shells, bones, or other animal relics, although these abound along the coast, where such matters are plentiful.

During the time I made these remarks, and became possessed of specimens of each of the fossils enumerated, I was struck forcibly with a set of appearances very different.

I observed that the fossils found hereabout, in North Hamstead, are chiefly granitical, and the largest rocks are composed of quartz, shoerl, and mica, in varied proportions, more

or less intimately blended together, with now and then an admixture of feldspath; in many places lie nodules of opaque quartz, either pure, or sometimes united to micaceous, and at others blended with calcareous matter; and pieces of shapeless quartz have occurred, on one part of which crystals could be seen. Nodules of red jasper are frequently found, and I have seen it curiously conjoined to quartz; chert, rag-stone, and marble sometimes occur, but rarely; shists may be found, but not plentifully; shoerlaceous rocks are often met with, sometimes unmixed with any thing, but generally combined with quartz, mica, or garnet, and more rarely with silicious sand; the shoerl is always crystalized, and its colours are black, reddish, and greenish. I have seen hereabout a few pieces of free-stone, formed evidently by a cohesion of sea-sand; and on high grounds have discovered steatites and amianthus, and in low lands fibrous asbestos in large collections. In a number of places, great bodies of sea-shells may be found far above high-water mark; but these of Cowneck, as well as those of Matinicoek, Newtown, and Rockaway, have evidently been carried up by the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, for in certain interstices one can discover coals and ashes, and near them have been picked up, the stone axes and arrowpoints formerly in use among the Indians, whose bones may be easily found by digging. No volcanic productions, such as lava, slag, or pumice-stone, ever came under my observation.

I further observed, that the arm of the sea, which separates Long Island from the main land, although several miles in width, and deep enough to float large ships, yet was so interspersed with shoals, reefs, rocks, and islands, that the navigation was crooked and difficult. Several of these are mere hills of rocky matter rising above the surface of the water, and some of them are wholly bare, while others are covered with sufficient soil to support a few trees, and some smaller species of vegetables; their substance is of grey granite, intermingled with large spots of white and reddish quartz, sometimes pure, and sometimes mixed with spar, mica, and feldspath, and

intersected with veins of different breadth, that often run in winding and serpentine courses, and are filled with the materials just named; the strata are vertical, or not much declining from the perpendicular, and their direction is from north-east to south-east, nearly.

Others of the islands are less solid, but have their shores covered with all quantities of a like rocky matter, that is broken into smaller fragments; they have generally, as well as the former, bold shores, and their high banks of earth, undermined from time to time by the spring tides, are tumbling down—or, soaked by the rains, are walling away.

On the adjacent part of the continent, the fossils are nearly of the same kinds, but the coast is in many places secured from further loss, by a firm lining of granite rock, disposed in perpendicular layers, or at most in an angle of eighty degrees to the horizon, and rising often in that manner, suddenly from the sea, or sinking as abruptly below it; the fissures are, in many cases, wide, and filled with the same sort of materials, as in the islands, and a similar course of the rocks from north-east to south-west is plainly to be seen, and even continues so for many miles to the northward and westward. In many places, I found separate masses of alumen plumosum, of several variously coloured, and of black mica, scattered along the shore; but here I neither saw volcanic, metallic, or secondary fossils of any sort, except one of the concretions of quartz gravel in ferruginous clay*. The coast of Long Island is generally sandy throughout, but interspersed with rocks and stones; that of the opposite continent exceeding solid and rocky, most of the moveable matter being washed away.

From the survey of the fossils in

these parts of the American coast, one becomes convinced that the principal share of them is granitic†, composed of the same sorts of materials with the highest Alps‡, Pyrenees, Caucasus, and Andes, and, like them, destitute of metals and petrifications.

The occurrence of no horizontal strata, and the frequency of vertical layers, lead us further to suppose that these are not secondary collections of minerals, but are certainly in a state of primeval arrangement.

The steatites, amianthus, soapstone, felspar, mica, garnet, jasper, schist, asbestos, and quartz, must all be considered as primitive fossils, and by no means of an alluvial nature.

What inference remains now to be drawn from this statement of facts, but that the fashionable opinion of considering these maritime parts of our country as flats hove up from the deeps by the sea, or brought down from the heights by the rivers, stands unsupported by reason, and contradicted by experience?

A more probable opinion is, that Long Island, and the adjacent continent, were, in former days, continuous, or only separated by a small river, and that the strait, which now divides them, was formed by successive inroads of the sea from the eastward and westward, in the course of ages. This conjecture is supported by the facts which follow, to wit: 1. The fossil bodies on both shores have a near resemblance. 2. The rocks and islands lying between, are formed of similar materials. 3. In several places, particularly at White Stone and Hell Gate, the distance from land to land is very small. 4. Wherever the shore is not composed of solid rock, there the water continues to make great encroachments, and to cause the high banks to tumble down, as is true, not only here, but

NOTE.

On the disposition of iron to form concretions, see in the Swedish Memoirs for 1776, a paper by Mr. Gadd, of which there is an abstract in Crelle's *Mischliches Journal*, 2. Th. *Verbindung mit dem Mortel*, &c. 176, 8vo. Longo.—I have lately seen a curious instance of it around a piece of iron, found in the salt-water.

OL. V.

NOTES.

† Dr. Shaw mentions the same sort of rocks as abounding in Arabia Petraea. See likewise *Verbesserungen und Anmerkungen, &c. von der Erden, und Steinen*. By J. H. Pott. Potsdam. 1751, 4to. S. 47.

‡ Saussure, *voyage dans les Alpes*—and Kirwan's *Geological Observations*.

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at Montock, Newtown, and elsewhere, at this very day. 5. The rocky piles in the Sound, called Executions, and Stepping Stones, and those named Hurtleberry Island, Pea Island, Heart Island, and many more, that lie up and down, are strong circumstances in favour of this opinion; for, from several of them, all the earthy matter, as far as the highest tides can reach, has long since been carried away; and, from the rest, the sand and gravel continue to be removed by daily attrition; as is true also of the Brothers, Ryker's, Blackwell's, and other islands. 6. There is a tradition among the race of men, who, previous to the Europeans, possessed this tract of country, that at some distant period in former times, their ancestors could step from rock to rock, and cross this arm of the sea on foot, at Hell Gate.

I have the honour to be,
With sincere esteem,
Yours, &c.
S. L. MITCHILL.



An address, delivered in the assembly-room of New-York, on the festival of St. John, the baptist, June 24, 1788; in the presence of the officers and brethren of St. Andrew's and Holland lodges, and a number of visiting brethren of the ancient and honourable order of free masons. By doctor James Tillary, of St. Andrew's lodge.

Right worshipful MASTER of St. ANDREW'S LODGE, WARDENS and BRETHREN,

WHEN I ventured to promise, at the desire of this lodge, to prepare an address in some degree suited to the happy festival which we are now called upon to celebrate, it did not then occur to me that the most enlightened of the craft were alone qualified to do justice to such a theme.

Little versed as I am in the great mysteries of masonry—very little accustomed to studied composition—and still less to public speaking, I soon felt all the force of that incompetency which I am now about to discover;—and at this moment feel the whole weight of that diffidence which the

presence of so many distinguished masons cannot fail to inspire—Waving therefore all pretensions to abilities—and leaving to abler pens the enviable though arduous task to impart instruction, I shall rely on your candour and indulgence, whilst, for a few minutes, I confine my unambitious endeavours solely to your amusement. The subject, brethren, which claims our present attention, is doubtless of infinite importance; and to handle it aright, of considerable difficulty too. I shall content myself with making a few reflexions on the most obvious, which I humbly conceive to be the most useful, of its constituent parts. It will readily be admitted that there is nothing more natural nor more commendable, than for a man who betakes himself to the study of a profession, to be anxious to know the origin of it, and the events from whence it more immediately sprang. In this interesting view, then, of our subject, the first thing that arrests attention, and commands the reverence of a freemason, is the antiquity of the craft. To establish this important part of our institution, (which by the way, scarcely admits of a controversy) the venerable records, holy writ, bear ample and decisive testimony: and the knowledge of the fact, while it argues in the strongest manner the purity of our society, may at the same time afford the most solid satisfaction to every inquisitive and well disposed brother. We have a very clear and comfortable assurance that the principles of the divinity art originated at a time, and proceeded from an occasion, when the Almighty Architect of heaven and earth condescended to enter into friendly communion with the great founders of it. What an animated thought is this! and how well calculated to fill every good mason with zeal for the honour and dignity of the craft. The circumstances attending on this holy league, and the glorious edifice which sprung from it, are historiatiated in various parts of that erring volume, with which I am persuaded there are none within the walls unacquainted. When we fleet on the important purposes, which God in his inscrutable and infinite

wisdom, designed to accomplish by this stupendous temple, we shall not wonder at the high rank of those exalted characters who superintended, or the eminence of those artists who effected the completion of it. The hallowed dome stood triumphantly, confessed the mediatorial type of the new covenant, from whence, as from the source and fountain of wisdom, were to issue, for the benefit of all succeeding ages, those divine precepts—those glorious doctrines, in their own nature so admirably calculated to enlighten the understanding, and rectify the heart. Freemasonry, therefore, so clearly deducible from such an heavenly source, cannot be justly viewed in any other light, than, as “a moral order, instituted by virtuous men, with the raise-worthy design of recalling to our remembrance the most sublime truths, in the midst of the most innocent and social pleasures, founded on liberality, brotherly love, and charity:” and hence it is, that the most conspicuous masons, from the earliest ages, have always considered it as the most acceptable part of their labour to our great Architectural Head, to be constant in the exercise of every duty, by which the peace and true happiness of mankind could in any measure be promoted. Here, brethren, were I disposed to indulge my fancy, the spacious field presents itself indeed; a field in which the most luxuriant and adventurous genius might find abundant scope to his imagination, and exercise to his judgment; but of this, neither your time nor my talents will allow. Let it suffice, therefore, to observe, without too critically exploring our ancient charges, to be seen in the constitutions of the fraternity, that conscientious masons view the obligations of the craft, as designed to inculcate and enforce all the social and moral duties which we owe to each other, and all those delightful habits which have a native tendency to ennoble the christian, and give true dignity to the man. A good mason, in his walk through life, will be diligent in the exercise of his lawful profession—quiet and chaste in his demeanor—peaceable and obedient to the ruling powers—and submissive to all the dispensations of providence. As a husband and a father, he will be tender

and affectionate—as a neighbour, benevolent, and prompt in doing good offices of kindness—and as a man, he will be grateful to his benefactors, compassionate and just to all with whom he may any way be connected. He will never forget the force of that great scriptural injunction which commands him to do unto all men, as he would desire them to do unto him. He will constantly keep in his mind that awful declaration, delivered by the highest of all possible authority, which, while it offers a reasonable encouragement for well-doing, denounces vengeance against the hard-hearted and unmerciful—the words are few and emphatic—“with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again”—Important information!—worthy—thrice worthy to be held in perpetual remembrance by every real brother and sincere christian.

Whoever seriously contemplates the extensive and blessed influences which the principles and practice of our venerable order diffuse through life, cannot wonder at the universality of it; and truly there is scarcely any view in which it appears more amiable. It may with strict justice and propriety be said, that the institution of freemasonry is reserved for the glorious purposes of advocating and asserting the cause of humanity wherever it extends.

It is an art happily modelled with the great and noble design of uniting the understanding and the hearts of men of all nations in one general confraternity. To what part of the civilized world soever a masonic brother may have occasion to travel—how little soever he may be acquainted with the customs or the language of its inhabitants—he will hardly ever arrive at any, where the heart-cheering, the expressive language of masonry is not spoken, and its sublime doctrines taught. By mason's art he can at once enter into an agreeable intimacy with men born in the most distant parts of the habitable globe—by it, too, is he enabled to interchange the most cordial and endearing sentiments which can warm the human soul; and, through it, he not only challenges the rights of common hospitality, but is sure to receive every

affectionate attention, which his particular situation may require.

By mason's art he is taught to consider himself as one of the great family of mankind; and by that under all the various circumstances which may arise from this broad connexion, he will consider it his duty to shape his conduct to his fellow men, according to the dimensions prescribed by the great model of masonry and standard of reason. Impressed with right notions of duty in this relative situation, a good mason will rejoice in possessing the power to comfort the afflicted; to relieve the oppressed—to support the indigent—to instruct the ignorant—or in any manner to administer to the necessities of his fellow men, in such measure as God shall give him ability or opportunity. In seeking to indulge those benign and social propensities of our nature, when a distressed supplicant implores his assistance, he will never think it of importance to be informed of his country—whether a Frenchman or a Briton; nor of his religion—whether a christian or a jew; nor of his politics—whether federal or antifederal. When the dejected sufferer appears—regardless of his country, his profession, and all other accidental matters, he will follow the example of an ancient tender hearted philanthropist, and exclaim—"I myself am a man, fashioned like unto that poor son of adversity, and subject to the same calamities—I think no situation, incident to humanity, unworthy of my notice, or undeserving of my kindness." Under the guidance of this merciful disposition, he will instantly turn to him the consoling eye of pity, and, as far as circumstances will justify him, he will freely extend the beneficent hand of help. This, brethren, is the godlike conduct which our excellent institution so strongly recommends to all its votaries; and while virtue is known on earth, this conduct shall be esteemed and approved—while heaven is just, it shall be honoured and rewarded!—(*Remainder in our next.*)



Thoughts on a loan-office. Addressed to the legislature and citizens of Pennsylvania.

IN the course of the debates upon the bank, the enemies of that insti-

tution have often spoken in favour of a loan-office, while the friends of the bank, with equal prejudice, have assented to its usefulness. I beg leave to suggest a few thoughts upon this subject, which, if they should be opposed to the opinions of both parties, I hope will be received with candour, as the sentiments of a man interested in the welfare and happiness of Pennsylvania.

I shall begin by asserting that a loan-office, in the present situation of Pennsylvania, is unnecessary, and will be injurious to the state.

In the infancy of Pennsylvania, when all her inhabitants were first settlers—when she imported every thing, and exported nothing—when private loans were impracticable from the want of superfluous cash in individuals—then a loan-office was necessary. It furnished both the means of improving the estates of our ancestors, and a medium of commerce; for, at that time, Pennsylvania had nothing to offer in exchange for the gold and silver of foreign countries.

But the case is widely different now. A great part of the state is under cultivation. Our exports are numerous, and our resources for private credit are more than sufficient to answer all the just demands of the state in loans, provided they could be drawn forth by liberty and justice in our government.

In the present state of the cultivation and commerce of Pennsylvania, I object to a loan-office, for the following reasons:

1. Where lands have risen, from improvement or situation, to their full value, it is impossible for them to pay an interest of six per cent. per annum, under the present degrees of industry and agriculture in Pennsylvania. The Germans know this well; and hence we find they never contract to pay interest on the bonds they give for the purchase of lands. In those cases, where the interest and principal of money borrowed from the state, have been paid, it has happened that the land has appreciated, by the progress of settlements, or by improvements, so that a sale of a third or fourth part of the land has paid the whole debt. It is remarkable, that this debt has generally been discharged by the first or

second successor to the person who has contracted the debt.

2. The state is the most gentle of all creditors; hence her debts are ill paid. This evil must necessarily increase, now the debtors have acquired the keeping of her books—the inspection of her accounts—and the whole power of settling with their creditor, when, and in what manner they please. In the various combinations and accommodations of parties, fifty men in a county, indebted to the state, will always be able to return such a proportion of members of assembly as shall make it impossible for a legislature to pass a law to compel them to pay their debts, at the period, or in the currency, agreed upon, at the time of the contracting of them. A republic can never be just, till a great majority of her citizens are virtuous. This may be the case some years hence in Pennsylvania—but who will dare to say that this is the case now? Till this change shall be produced in our morals, who would risk a loan office in Pennsylvania?

3. A loan-office is a real injury in most cases to the man who borrows money. As he cannot be punished for not paying his interest yearly, he becomes careless about paying it at all. The sudden acquisition of a large sum of cash, moreover, often leads him to acts of extravagance. Besides—from the time he mortgages his plantation, he despairs of clearing it of its incumbrance, and hence, as he ceases to look upon it as his own, he neglects to repair and improve it. This negligence is so universal among our farmers, that it is easy in most cases to tell whether they are in debt or not, only by looking at the state of their farms. Broken fences—open barns—and scanty crops, always indicate that a farmer is in debt.

4. The experience of individuals, who have lent money on interest to our farmers, should teach the state an useful lesson upon the subject of a loan-office. With all the vigilance which self-interest produces, how few individuals ever received their interest or principal from these people, except through the hands of a sheriff, or in a depreciated state?

I am so perfectly satisfied that the lending of money at six per cent. per

annum, is injurious to the borrower or lender, or to both, that I should be glad to see a law passed for raising interest to ten, or reducing it to four per cent. The first would check usury altogether;—the last, being a sum equal to the usual profits of the present mode of agriculture in Pennsylvania, would probably be paid with punctuality. Even five per cent. is above the profits, not only of agriculture, but of commerce itself. Most of the bankruptcies that have happened in this city, have been produced by the multiplication of five per cent. upon old English debts. Before the peace, failures were unknown. The reason is obvious:—During the war, all the trade of Pennsylvania was carried on in ready money, and with nations who had not been in the habits of trusting us.

Interest should always be in proportion to the profits of commerce, or the degrees of industry and ingenuity with which agriculture is conducted. The present state of commerce and agriculture in Pennsylvania will not pay six per cent. per annum for money. Could the English mode of agriculture be introduced among our farmers, they would be able to pay ten per cent. much easier than they can now pay five. This revolution in our agriculture alone would justify a loan-office in Pennsylvania.

But it has been said that the appreciation of the value of lands, will, in time, pay both principal and interest of money lent upon loan by the state, and as we have a great tract of land to settle, that is at present of but little value, a loan-office is necessary in order to promote its settlement and improvement. If these lands were in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, or on this side the Susquehanna, I should have no objection to lending money upon them out of a loan-office. But who will insure the payment of debts to the state by the counties beyond the Allegany mountains? What has been the experience of the state with respect to the amount of taxes due from those distant counties? If, notwithstanding these objections to places beyond the Allegany, an office should be opened for that purpose, I hope nothing but gold and silver

will be lent. This cannot be depreciated like paper money, and the state will not be corrupted by the circulation of a currency which it will be the interest of so many people to depreciate.

Let us revive private credit—let us remove all fear of a tender law, by calling in the late emission of paper money—let us learn to revere the contracts and promises of government—and let us encourage industry, by protecting the rich, as well as the poor—and in a few years, private bonds will supply the want of public loans. There will then be no danger to individuals in lending money in the distant counties of the state—for, as self-interest is more quick-sighted than the eyes of government, there would be less danger of fraud in contracts between individuals, than between the borrowers of money and the state. The industrious man would hereby be encouraged, and the lazy, only, suffer from the want of money.

At the present moment, I am persuaded, while thousands are crying out what they shall do for money—there are nearly as many enquiring what they shall do with their money. Six per cent. is so much more than the ordinary rents of farms or houses, that it is only necessary to secure to our monied men the punctual and just payment of that interest, in order to bring into general use and circulation, perhaps half a million of specie. I do not fast this immense sum upon mortgage would benefit either the state or individuals. I mention it, only to shew, that a confidence in government would supply all the advantages, without many of the evils of a loan-office.

The whole world does not furnish a greater absurdity than the people of Pennsylvania crying out for a loan-office or paper money. What does England or France, the two richest countries in Europe, manufacture and export comparable to our staff of life? Let us be honest, and we shall be able to borrow as much as will do us good, upon private credit; and let us be frugal, and we shall be able to build houses, and even to pave our streets with gold and silver. If we are honest and frugal, we shall stand in no need of a loan-office; and if we are not,

a loan-office will only accelerate our destruction.

When I hear some men talk of the prosperity and happiness that were produced formerly in Pennsylvania by means of a loan-office and paper money, I cannot help thinking that they might, with equal propriety, celebrate the health and rapid growth of their bodies when they lived upon breall-milk, and wore nothing but petticoats.

TIMOLEON.

Philadelphia, Jan. 1787.



Sketch of the character of the S. Carolinians—their luxury and dissipation—fatal effects of luxury—hospitality of South Carolina. By the late Dr. Ladd.

DISSOLUTE pleasures, and luxury of every kind, form a grand feature of the national character of the Carolinians. I censure not the profusion of their tables; it is the profusion of heaven; but to the pleasures of the table, they are too much addicted. Here, and in every species of luxurious indulgence, they seem galloping hard after the dissolute Europeans; and small are the powers requisite to discern, that they are not very far behind them.

I intend not to trouble my friend with a dry dissertation on luxury, or an examination, whether, considered abstractedly, it be criminal or vicious. Among individuals, it may frequently be both: when it is no crime, it is always a vice; and a vice, with respect to society, of the most dangerous nature. The ravages of war will deface a country: but the effects of luxury are more fatal, are more deadly, than the ravages of war—It corrupts the morals, enfeebles the mind, and diseases the body—destruction is sure in his aim and rapid in his march. At length the unexpected catastrophe arrives: the ruined people look round them with amazement, and wonder at their situation. Such are the effects of luxury in a nation; it is the bane of society! It is the bane of government! It is treason against the state! It is big with the ruin of nations!—These are gloomy reflexions; but, arising naturally from the subject, they intrude themselves on the mind, and it is impossible to avoid them.

Bacchus is a deity much respected in this country ; and no objection can be made to the sway of so amiable, and mirth-inspiring a divinity, when limited by prudence and moderation. But as that can seldom happen, the objections against this custom, become serious and weighty : —It is a species of luxury the most dangerous, because leading directly to all others ; but it is a species for which Carolinians are most excusable. Without the assistance of wine, in all warm climates, the mind is enervate, the spirits become languid, and the imagination effete. It is known to all physicians, that wine, by its tonic quality, obviates debility, induced by climate ; and that the effects of putrid miasmata are destroyed, by its antiseptic power. Hence the use of wine, in warm and sickly climates, becomes obvious ; and hence a rational cause why the inhabitants of those climates are so generally addicted to the bottle.

With the introduction of luxury in this country, religion has visibly declined. There are in every state, symptoms of approaching ruin. Where effeminacy prevails, religion, whether true or false, is in rapid decay ; the state is in danger ; destruction is at hand.

Such has ever been the downfall of empires, since the commencement of the world ; they have all had their rise, their progress, and decline. But who, without melancholy, can observe the first state in our union, hastening to early destruction ; falling like untimely fruit ; and withering immaturity ?

As the Carolinians are not a religious people, so they are not superstitious ; their enlarged understandings, and elevated ideas, have protected them on that side. Theatrical amusements have been introduced and encouraged among them. These, though they form a species of refined luxury, are, of many others, the least dangerous ; their political damage is not so great ; as, while they form the manners of the people, seldom do they impoverish the country : actors are generally profuse in living : they seldom deprive a country of its cash. Hence money in their hands is not lost ; quite the reverse, it is put in circulation.

In countries where slavery is encouraged, the ideas of the people are of a peculiar cast ; the soul becomes dark and narrow ; and assumes a tone of savage brutality. Such at this day are the inhabitants of Barbary, and the West-Indies. But, thank God ! nothing like this has yet disgraced an American state. We may look for it in Carolina, but we shall be disappointed. The most elevated and liberal Carolinians abhor slavery ; they will not debase themselves by attempting to vindicate it ; he who would encourage it, abstracted from the idea of bare necessity, is not a man, he is a brute in human form. For, “ disguise thyself as thou wilt, O slavery, still thou art a bitter draught ;” it is interest, louder than the voice of reason, which alone exclaims in thy favour.

Among their neighbours, the Carolinians stand accused of haughtiness, and insolent carriage. Nothing is apparently more true than this charge ; nothing is really more false. Surrounded by slaves, and accustomed to command, they acquire a forward, dictatorial habit, which can never be laid aside. In order to judge of their dispositions, we must study them with attention. Courtesy, affability, and politeness, form their distinguishing characteristics ; for these, for the exercise of hospitality, and all the social virtues, I venture to assert, that no country on earth has equalled Carolina.



An essay on the appointment of public officers ; humbly submitted to all persons concerned in electing or appointing them.

THE perfection of government requires that every public office, in all the legislative, judicial, and executive departments, should be filled with the most suitable and fit persons.

Good government manifestly depends much more on the goodness of the men who fill the public offices, than on the goodness of the form of government, constitution, or even laws of the state ; for the errors of all these, under the administration of good men, will be mended or made tolerable, either by the authority of

the legislature, or favourable construction: but weak and wicked men will pervert the best of laws to the purposes of favour or oppression.—And one principal thing which makes one form of government better than another, is, that there is a greater and a more natural chance of the appointment of suitable men to public offices in the one than in the other, and this makes the power of appointment, or right of election, a right of the highest importance to the community; it therefore requires the greatest wisdom in human policy, to vest this great authority in such persons, as will most probably exercise it with the most discretion and least corruption.

As the appointment of suitable men to public offices is of the utmost importance to the well-being of the state, and consequently implies a most sacred trust and duty in the electors; it may not be amiss to designate such outlines of character, as are most essentially necessary in a public officer, and especially when his office is of high rank, and very weighty concern to the community.

1. Integrity ought to hold the first place. The *integer vitæ scelerisque purus* of the poet, is of mighty consequence in every society. A man of strict honesty and uprightness in his private life and dealings, is easily known and distinguished among men. Let this be an essential part of the character of the man, for whom you give your vote, to serve in any public office of trust and importance.

2. A good reputation, free from scandal. A man attainted of scandalous crimes, either by conviction on record, or by general opinion of his neighbours, appears with great disadvantage, in the sacred seats of public councils of law, justice, or equity. I have heard of a judge, who was generally supposed to have corrupted his neighbour's wife, and having once a very impudent offender before him, was severe in his censures of the offence, and opening the law book, read there the description of the offence and punishment; the delinquent said, with a most malignant sneer, he could wish his honour would turn over a few pages more, and see what the law said to whoremasters.

3. Religion and sincere piety. I

don't think it of much consequence of what particular profession of religion he may be, whether episcopalian, presbyterian, quaker, lutheran, calvinist, moravian, &c. if he is reputed to be devout, sincere, and faithful to the religion he does profess. But a loose liver, or an apostate in religion, I cannot think fit to be trusted in the state, because a man who is not true to his God, will not probably be so to his country; for when the highest possible obligation cannot bind a man, it is not to be expected that he will be governed by lesser and more subordinate ones: when the grand first principle of all true morals is wanting, the practice must become too uncertain to be trusted in matters of weight and high moment.

4. Sufficient abilities, adequate to the office that is to be filled. There must be a congruity between the business to be done, and the abilities of the man appointed to do it.

5. Gravity, wisdom, and sound judgment. A grave and wise man gives weight and dignity to any department in which he is employed, inspires confidence that the business under his direction will be well managed, and what is more than this, will really do it well.

6. Decision, close attention, and perseverance. Some men are undecided in their judgment, variable in their attention, act by fits and starts, and often leave their business half done. It is very dangerous to admit men of this disposition into public offices, where a coincidence of sundry departments is often necessary, and a failure of one will sometimes put a full stop to all the rest.

7. A great command of his passions. A man who is known to be a slave to any favourite passion, or who is too strongly devoted to gaming, the bottle, or his mistress, is not thought a safe person to trust private business with, especially business of consequence, which requires a watchful diligence, discretion, and caution; much less can such a man be fit for a public trust.

8. Public offices should be filled with men of steady attendance. There is great complaint of tardy or totally deficient attendance, especially in the members of aggregate bodies, such as

congress, councils, assemblies, &c. by which means the public business is much and often very injuriously retarded.

I hope we do not live in an age so degenerate, as to render the above characters difficult to be found. The importance of them must be obvious to every person concerned in electing or appointing public officers, and I hope will induce them to make such a choice as shall satisfy the high trust reposed in them, and such as shall effectually secure the honour and safety of the state.

Philadelphia, Sept. 24, 1781.



Three letters on the trade and commerce of America.

LETTER I.

THE alarming state of the trade of this country, is such, at present, as demands the attention, not only of every legislature, but of every citizen of the united states. What every one feels the effects of, either in his personal conveniency or in his property, necessarily becomes interesting and important to all.

A book has been published not long since in London*, wherein, I think, it is made clearly to appear, that it is at least, as much for the interest of Britain to promote commerce with America, as it is for the convenience of the latter to trade with Britain. But the infatuation which usually attends the councils of that nation, seems also to have prevailed in this instance. Could England have been content to cultivate an amicable intercourse with America, upon fair and equitable terms, there is no doubt but she might still have derived advantages from this country in the way of trade, infinitely greater than she could have hoped for or have expected from subjugation, or in any other way before the revolution.

The passions—the prejudices of America for English manufactures—English fashions—and, in short, for every thing that is English—notwithstanding the severe ill-usage she had recently met with from her, were

NOTE.

* Remarks on lord Sheffield's observations on the commerce of the American states: by an American.
Vol. V.

in favour of Britain. Such was the forgiving and even christian temper of the people of this country, that they were disposed, not only to forgive, but even to love their enemies; those very enemies, who, without provocation, had treated them in so unnatural, so cruel a manner. Such was the returning disposition of America, that, had it been properly met by the country with whom she had been at variance, the contest that had taken place between them, like the quarrels which happen between two friends, might only have tended to unite and bind them together the more closely. A return of a similar disposition in England, might have been the means of uniting the two countries together, in the bonds of everlasting friendship. But we have found, that, however forgiving the temper of Americans, who received the injury, may have been, there are injuries, which those who inflict them, can never be able to bring themselves to forgive. England, it is true, has made us some proffer of her trade; but she has taken care to do it on such terms, as shall reduce us to the utmost poverty and indigence, by robbing us of all our money. Fortunately for this country, she has lost her opportunity, and the time is past. Experience, dear-bought experience, teaches us that there is nothing we have so much reason to dread, as too close a connexion with England. In a political view, we have no business to be more closely connected with one European country than another; but our business is to be on equally good terms with them all. But the facility with which an intercourse may be formed with Britain, in preference to the rest, by means of a sameness of language, and by means of the affinities and connexions still subsisting between us, increases the danger to which we stand exposed. But placed at this great distance from each of them, we shall be mad if we ever take part in any of their quarrels. Like some angust person, placed in an elevated situation, we may look down upon them, with compassion, and take a comprehensive view of the whole of their petty differences and disputes; but we have no occasion to interfere further than as arbitrators, if we should be called up-

on, to stand as an umpire between them.

As a commercial intercourse, therefore, is the only intercourse we have any occasion to cultivate with European nations, and as this is to be placed upon a proper footing only by means of commercial treaties, I purpose, in these letters, to enquire what commercial treaties we have at present, and what kind of treaties it is we ought to form. The prosecution of this subject will naturally lead me to speak of banks, and of the course of exchange; and though banks, if properly conducted, in countries suited for them, may be of use, yet I shall have occasion to shew, that if improperly conducted, and upon wrong principles, in countries not suited for them, they may turn out, in the end, to be the greatest curse that can possibly be inflicted on any nation.

A citizen of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, Dec. 7, 1785.

(Letter II. in our next.)



The resolution of the high court of errors and appeals of the state of Pennsylvania, in the case of Silas Talbot, qui tam, &c. against the commanders and owners of the brigs, Achilles, Patty, and Hibernia, January 14, 1785. P. 32.

IT is necessary to enquire what is the reasonable and legal meaning of the words of the confederation, and of congress in their several acts relative to this subject, for that is the true meaning.

Thus we shall be led into a construction, by which the positive words may be properly and justly modified.

What are the foundations of such a construction here?

First—The council for the respondent, are themselves compelled to qualify the generality of the expression, “establishing courts for receiving and determining finally, appeals in all cases of captures,” by adding, “as prize.” The addition is indispensably necessary; for without it, the words would comprehend every kind of taking, on land and water, in peace and war. Having been obliged to go so far, in qualifying the extent of the original expression, we are under the

same necessity of explaining the terms of qualification themselves; and certainly we have the same right, founded on reason and law, to explain them, that we had to introduce them. In doing this, we shall find,

Secondly,—That “captures, as prize, by citizens of the united states, may be carried into foreign countries, and be legally proceeded against, in the courts of admiralty there;” and therefore it is to be inferred, that the confederation intended only such captures, brought *infra praeidia* of the united states. That this was the intention thereof, further appears, as,

Thirdly—Congress, in the commission and resolution before mentioned, have shewn their sense of the words “cases of captures,” by using them in reference to appeals in “cases of capture, which then were duly entered and depending,” as well as to future cases; but none were “then entered and depending,” except where the “captures” were brought *infra praeidia* of the united states. This sense of congress, will appear still more plain from their several following resolutions, prior to the confederation; which were in force at the time of the capture made by captain Talbot, and which were the groundwork of the ninth section of the confederation.

November 25, 1775.

That it be recommended to the several legislatures, as soon as possible, to erect courts of justice, or give jurisdiction to the courts now in being, to determine concerning captures to be made. If the capture be made on open sea, the prosecution shall be in the court of such colony as the captor may find most convenient; provided that nothing in this resolution, shall be construed so as to enable the captor to remove his prize from any colony competent to determine concerning the seizure, after he shall have carried the vessel so seized, within any harbour of the same. That in all cases, an appeal shall be allowed to congress, or persons appointed by them. That when vessels are taken out by private persons, the capture made, shall be to the use of the owners.

December 5.

That in cases of re-captures, the

re-captors shall retain for salvage, according to the time. &c.

March 23, 1776.

That all vessels and goods belonging to inhabitants of Great Britain, taken on the high seas, by armed vessels of private persons, and commissioned, being libelled and prosecuted in any court erected for trial of maritime affairs, in any of the colonies, shall be deemed and adjudged to be lawful prize. Vessels and goods taken near the shores of a colony, by the people, or a detachment of the army, shall be deemed lawful prize, and condemned in the court of admiralty of that colony. Commissions to be obtained, and bonds to be given for observance of instructions from congress.

Instructions to the commanders of private vessels of war: "You shall bring such vessels, &c. as you shall take, to some convenient port of the united colonies, that proceedings may thereupon be had in due form, before the courts which are or shall be there appointed, to hear and determine causes civil and maritime. You shall bring one or two of the principal persons of the vessel, as soon as may be, to the judge of such court, to be examined, and deliver to the said judge all papers, &c. You shall keep and preserve every vessel, &c. by you taken, until they shall, by sentence of a court properly authorised, be adjudged lawful prize, not breaking bulk, nor suffering such a thing to be done."

Fourthly—By the maritime law of nations, the appropriation of jurisdiction to a particular court of admiralty, depends upon the capture being *infra præsidia**, that law regarding proceedings *in rem*, the acquittal or condemnation of the ship or goods†. It would be injurious to nations if it was otherwise; for it would cause competition of jurisdictions, and occasion frauds. The usual method is simple and fair.

Fifthly—The articles in the treat-

NOTE.

* Blackst. 108.

† Answer of the British court to the memorial delivered by order of the king of Prussia. Exposition des motifs, II. 12 Mod. 143.

ties of the united states with France, the united Netherlands, and Sweden, with relation to prizes, refer to the cases of prizes conducted into the ports of the contracting powers, relying on cautions against malversations and contraventions to be given by commanders of private vessels of war, rules and regulations for deciding the legality of prizes, and trials in courts of admiralty generally.

Sixthly—An authority to "establish rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water, shall be legal, and courts for receiving and determining finally, appeals in all cases of captures," as prize, brought *infra præsidia* of the united states, together with the other powers vested in congress, will sufficiently obviate the mischiefs apprehended from the irregularities of citizens of confederated America upon the high seas.

Foreigners are protected by the confederation, from the irregularities mentioned; for, congress can, "exclusively, appoint courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas," and can send out a naval force to cruise for and seize the offenders. If the respondent was a Frenchman, and the decree goes against him, he could not justly complain; for he instituted his suit in an American court. If the appellants were Frenchmen, and the decree goes against them, they could not justly complain, for they took, without battle, by force and violence, from a friend and ally, that which, in their fight, according to their own allegations and proofs, he had before fought for and captured, and afterwards voluntarily put themselves within the jurisdiction, precinct, and power of an American court. What are the sentiments of learned authors, treating of the law of nations, upon such an occasion? "*Quæ ab hostibus capiuntur, statim capiuntur sunt*;" which is to be understood when the battle is over. Voet, and many writers he refers to, maintain with great strength, "*per solam occupationem dominium prædæ hostibus acquiritur*." One argument used to prove it, is, that the instant the captor has got possession, no friend, fellow-soldier, or ally can take it from him, because it

would be a violation of his property.”* In either case, and in the strongest light in which the affair can be viewed, it is no more than a matter to be treated of between their sovereign and the united states.†

If it be said that congress should have a legal mode of making compensation, by rectifying improper decisions against foreigners, thereby to prevent disagreeable consequences, it is a doctrine that cannot be universally admitted, for reasons too plain to be insisted on. If it be confined to acts on the high seas, provision has been made by the confederation, in the cases where it was judged necessary. What the rulers of nations desire and stipulate for in treaties, as to transactions on the high seas, is, to secure their people from being plundered by the citizens or subjects of those with whom they treat. That great point being guarded, and it is guarded here, the danger of consequences from cases that rarely occur, complicated with a variety of circumstances, and decided upon in open court, are not to be apprehended. When sovereigns are determined to quarrel, they will never want pretences; but while they revere the sacred obligations of justice and humanity, or the precious sentiments of the good and wise in their own and succeeding ages, they will not disturb the repose of the world, by violating the law of nations, upon slight claims of their subjects, or “*in re minime dubia*.” Neither can one of these states prey upon another, without violating the confederation, for by that, “no vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the united states in congress assembled, for the defence of such state, or its trade: nor shall any state engage in any war without their consent, unless invaded by enemies, or certainly advised of an intended invasion by Indians: nor grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war,

NOTES.

* Lord Mansfield, delivering the resolution of the court, in the case of Goss and another, against Withers.

† Show. 232. Raym. 473.

nor letters of marque, or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the united states in congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, unless infested by pirates, and then only until the united states in congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.” Besides, “all disputes and differences concerning any cause whatever, are determinable by courts to be established under the authority of congress.”

Let us now enquire whether the present case is such a cause of prize as is mentioned in the many cases that have been quoted by the council for the respondent.

In what circumstances is any of those cases like this? Does it appear from any of them, that the prize court in England, would decide such a case as this? Does it appear that the courts of Westminster Hall, in any action for such a trespass as this, would refuse to take cognizance, because the original taking was a capture as prize? Does it appear that they would refuse to take cognizance, under colour that the second taking was a capture as prize? If they should, ought any such decision to have weight with us in this case? What are the cases quoted? A justification by persons of original captures made by themselves, because made as prize. What is this case? A justification by persons of their conduct, after a capture made in battle, by others in their sight, under pretension of right, founded on that circumstance. If they say, the second taking was an original capture as prize, their assertion is falsified by their own proofs, that they saw the capture made by others, the day before. If they say, their proceedings were united with the original capture as prize, by being in sight at the time, let them take care that their pretension of right is well founded.‡ If it is not, their proceedings are distinct from the original capture, and they are plainly trespassers, and must abide the consequences. We are clearly of opinion, that their pretension of

NOTE.

‡ Comb. 367.

right is utterly unfounded, and that the whole conduct of the commanders and crews of the brigs, was cruel, unprovoked, wanton, and *mala fide*. In this very singular and extraordinary case, they have exerted themselves to disable the respondent from proving the capture to be prize; and is the sole question afterwards, to be, prize or not? What necessity is there for determining whether the Betsey was prize or not? Is it not evident from the case of Combs, against the hundred of Bradley, in Salkeld's reports, and of Goss and another, against Withers, in Burrows, and many other cases, that an action will lie on possession by the plaintiff? And with what peculiar force does the reason apply in this case, for the action being maintained merely on the possession? This court, and the court of admiralty, are competent, not only to direct proceedings, but to ascertain facts, judge of them, and the law upon them, and assess damages, as justice may require. As to the notion of mistake excusing, it is a *petitio principii*. The mistake does not appear—the crime does. So far from behaving as partners in the capture, with the Argo, the commanders of the three brigs, who saw the surrender to her, chase her off: send the Betsey as prize to themselves only, for a port distant from the home of the captors, and in the eye of the wind, though in a part of the sea where she was particularly exposed to dangers from the enemy, with orders to avoid certain ports, for fear of the Argo's falling in with her. In fact, it was not a real but a pretended capture, as prize, by them. Are we then bound, in such a case, to call it a cause of prize, because the original taking was a capture, as prize? Or are we to refuse to call it a trespass, though the second taking was not a capture, as prize?

How far soever the learned judges in England have carried the justification of captures, from the circumstance of their being made as prize, yet they never have carried it as far as this case extends. That they have gone a great way, is evident. In the cited case of Vanderwoodt and others, against Thompson: the defendant, in an action of trespass, having

a letter of marque, took a vessel that made some resistance, and carried her to Newcastle, where she was seized by the customhouse officers, for having smuggled goods on board: and she was afterwards condemned in the exchequer. It was contended for the plaintiff, that the capture was unlawful, because the defendant did not belong to the customhouse, and he could not justify the seizure under the hovering act of 6 Geo. 1. ch. 11. as king's ships only can seize under such circumstances. It was held, "As there was reason to suppose that the ship was a pirate, though the jury should be satisfied she was not really so, yet the action would not lie." Afterwards, "there was a motion for a new trial, which, upon consideration, was denied by the court."

If that cause was cognizable in the prize court, and if that court determines solely by the law of nations and treaties, as is laid down by the judges, how were other nations interested in the principle of such a decision? if it was not cognizable in the prize court, how can it be applied to the present case, in favour of the respondent?

To proceed—if the courts of Westminster hall, in an action for such a trespass as this, should refuse to take cognizance because the original taking was a capture as prize, or under colour that the second taking was a capture as prize, ought any such decision to have weight with us in this case?—It ought not.

Such a decision must turn entirely upon the municipal law of England. It must be founded upon this principle, governing in the cases cited by the counsel for the respondent: "that of a seizure as prize, the common law does not take notice as a trespass." *Lecaux and Edon*. Admit the principle. It applies not. This is not a common-law court. The act of assembly establishing this court, makes it a "a court of appeals from definitive sentences or decrees of the admiralty." We are therefore a court of admiralty. "If the sentence of the court of admiralty is thought to be erroneous, there is, in every maritime country, a superior court of review, &c. to which the parties who think themselves aggrieved, may appeal: and this superior court judges by the

same rule which governs the court of admiralty, viz. the law of nations and treaties. This manner of trial and adjudication as supported, alluded to, and enforced by many treaties."¶ We are a court of admiralty, competent to judge by that rule. The act of assembly establishing admiralty jurisdiction in this state, declares that the court shall be governed by "the law of nations." Whatever in the law of nations relates to a court of admiralty, relates to this court, because no treaty has diverted the application. §

Much has been said of a distinction in England, between the instance court, and the prize court, though the powers of both are exercised by the same person: and it is urged, that only the latter judges by the law of nations and treaties. We are told, "it is no more like a court of admiralty, than it is to any court of Westminster Hall; that the manner of proceeding is totally different; that the appeal is different—to delegates from the admiralty, to commissioners consisting of privy counsellors, from the court of prize.—That to constitute the authority of the prize court, or to call it forth in every war, a commission under the great seal issues," &c. ¶ Such a distinction may prevail in England, but is it known or regarded in other nations? The words "to call it forth," are material. It seems only a solemn, official notification to the admiralty, that there is a war, and that it may proceed accordingly, as a declaration of war is a notification to the people in general. But this declaration does not make the war in the one case, nor, perhaps, does the commission constitute the authority in the other. It is confessed, "that the most ancient instrument shews a prize jurisdiction either inherent or by commission in the admiral. It is a letter from Edward the third to the king of Portugal;" and, "that since the reign of queen Elizabeth,

the judge of the admiralty, either by virtue of an inherent power, or the king's commission, or both, has solely exercised the jurisdiction of prize—and that as far back as particular cases can be traced, which is for a century, the admiralty has judged of and condemned goods taken on land, as prize, as well as goods taken on sea."* †

What do treaties, ancient and modern, stipulate for, in order to guard against violences on the seas? A trial in the court of admiralty, as soon as possible, before the effects taken are in any manner to be disposed of. Why? because, by the maritime law of nations, that court judges by the law of nations and treaties. Sir George Lee, doctor Paul, sir Dudley Ryder, and mr. Murray, now lord Mansfield, in their report, which forms the principal part of the answer of the British court, and is so celebrated by messrs. Montesquieu and Vattel, ‡ say, 'By the maritime law of nations, universally and immemorially received, there is an established method of determination, whether the capture be or not lawful prize. Before the ship or goods can be disposed of by the captor, there must be a regular judicial proceeding, wherein both parties may be heard, and condemnation thereupon, as prize, in a court of admiralty, judging by the law of nations and treaties. The proper and regular court for these condemnations, is the court of that state to whom the captor belongs.'

NOTES.

* Lord Mansfield, delivering the resolution of the court, in the case of *Lindo* against *Rodney* and another.

† The very great antiquity of the court of admiralty in England, and the extent of its jurisdiction, may be known from the learned *Selden's* notes on *Fortescue de Laudibus*, p. 67. *Zouch*, 44, &c. *Godolph.* p. 22, &c. The authority of this court, with respect to matters in which foreign nations may be concerned, and particularly to captures *jure belli*, is treated of, yet no distinction is made by these authors, as to the court of admiralty and the court of prize.

‡ Montesquieu's letters, § March, 1753. *Vattel*, b. 2, ch. 7. § 84.

NOTES.

¶ Answer of the British court, &c.

§ Answer of the British court, &c. *Vattel* b. 2, ch. 7, § Blackll. 69.

¶ Lord Mansfield delivering the resolution of the court, in the case of *Lindo* against *Rodney* and another.

Are we, then, because in England they call the admiralty court a prize court, when it acts in a cause of prize, and it then proceeds in a different manner, with an appeal to the privy council, to reject the "the universal and immemorial" compact of mankind? There was a time—when we listened to the language of her senates and her courts, with a partiality of veneration, as to oracles. It is past—we have assumed our station among the powers of the earth, and must attend to the voice of nations—the sentiments of the society into which we have entered.

Lord Mansfield, in the cause of *Lindo* against *Rodney* and another, said, "the end of a prize court is to suspend the property till condemnation; punish every sort of misbehaviour in the captors; to restore instantly, *velis levatis*, if upon the most summary examination, there does not appear a sufficient ground; to condemn finally (if the goods really are prize) against every body, giving every body a fair opportunity of being heard: a captor may, and must force every person interested, to defend; and every person interested, may force him to proceed to condemn without delay. These views cannot be answered in any court of Westminster hall, and therefore the courts of Westminster hall never have attempted to take cognizance of the question—prize or no prize; not from the locality of being done at sea, but from their incompetence to embrace the whole of the subject."

"These views are answered" here in the court of admiralty, and with as good cautions as in England; and as far as a court of appeals is concerned, they can be answered in this court as fully as in a court of appeals to commissioners there.

It seems proper, here, to take notice of the objection against the authority of this court, founded on the words of the law by which it was established, prior to the completion and final ratification of the confederation. It is constituted "a court of appeals for reviewing, reconsidering, and correcting the definitive sentences and decrees of the court of admiralty, other than in cases of capture upon the water in time of war, from the enemies of the united states," &c.

The construction of these words depends upon the resolutions of congress, the confederation, and the law by which the admiralty jurisdiction is established, taken together. If the principles of our preceding construction are right, they apply as aptly here, and the appeal is regular. If not, there will be a defect of justice. The legislature intended to give this court an authority to receive all appeals from the judge of the admiralty, where they were not resigned to a continental court of appeals. This was not resigned. It therefore belongs to this court. We will endeavor to promote justice, according to the intentions of the commonwealth, conveyed in the laws; and not demit any part of her sovereignty, unless we are convinced beyond a doubt, that it is our duty to do so.

We now return to the last of the secondary questions. Did the court of admiralty take cognizance as a prize court? In considering this question, a very strict attention must be had to the proceedings of the court of admiralty in this case. That court was also erected by an act of assembly, prior to the completion and final ratification of the confederation. It is, to be sure, a court of prize, and an instance court, if that mode of expression be preferred; or, in other words, the judge, who has but one commission, may try causes of prize, and other matters of admiralty jurisdiction. There is a difference in his proceedings for condemnation in causes of prize, and those in other cases. If his style by law is, "judge of the admiralty," the reasonable and legal meaning of the third, fourth, and sixth sections of the law, under which he acts, is, that in trying a cause of prize, the vessel or goods taken, must be within his jurisdiction, precinct, and power. They are these—"That in cases of prize, capture, or recapture upon the water, from enemies, or by way of reprisal, or from pirates, the same shall be tried, adjudged, and determined, as well to the question whether prize or not, as to the claims of the parties interested or pretending to be interested in the same, by the law of nations and the acts and ordinances of congress, before the said judge, by witnesses, according to the course of the civil

law ;" and—" That the captain or commander of any ship or vessel of war, or prize mailer or other person, having charge of any capture or recapture, or other property seized upon the water as aforesaid, who shall conduct or bring the same into port, shall immediately deliver the same, without diminution, to the marshal of the said court of admiralty."

The law then goes on to direct the mode of proceeding to the condemnation, ordering, " that the judge shall cause notice to be published immediately, in some news-paper, of the day appointed for the trial of such prize, inserting therein the name, size, or burden, and other description of the said vessel, so taken and brought into port ; the name and surname of the mailer ; the place she last sailed from, the port for which destined, and in a case of recapture, by what ship or vessel taken ; to the end that all persons concerned may appear and shew cause, if any there be, wherefore such capture, or re-capture, goods, merchandize, or other property, should not be condemned and adjudged to the libellants."

Does the present case in any manner resemble the " cases of prize" described in this law ? Where are " claimants interested or pretending to be interested ?" Claimants are voluntary applicants for justice. Shall trespasser, compelled to answer for their wrong, cover themselves with that character ? Can there be " claimants," but in a proceeding *in rem* ? How would the publication before-mentioned suit such claimants as the appellants ? Were the proceedings of the judge in this case, such as he constantly has observed in cases of prize ? They were not. Application was made to him for damages. He proceeded in that line. Here is neither libel nor process against the capture. No monition.—" No notice" under the act of assembly.

What could give the judge of the admiralty for this state, jurisdiction to proceed as a court of prize, upon a capture, contested between citizens of different states, which is the case here, rather than any court of admiralty in any other state, when the property captured was not within the power of his jurisdiction ? because, it

is said, some of the offending captains and their vessels came into this port. Does the jurisdiction of a court of prize depend on certain offenders with respect to the capture coming into a port ? Where are the authorities of law to shew that this circumstance can give such jurisdiction, or, that there can be an institution of a cause of prize, according to the maritime law of nations, for damages only ? The authorities cited, that were thought most apposite, and were most relied on by the council for the respondent, were those of Brown and Burton against Franklyn, the king's proctor ; and of the king against Broom. But they are not in any manner applicable. In the first, the plaintiffs, masters of two vessel, but having no regular letters of marque, took a French ship, cargo and money, upon land, in the East Indies—they being English subjects, it was held, that they acquired no right by this capture, but that it was a perquisite of the admiralty. The king's proctor, upon the usual monition, got a sentence of condemnation for the whole, in order to make them account. In brief, they had effects in their hands, which, by the maritime law of England, belonged to the king or his admiralty, and they were obliged to account for them according to that law.† Lord Mansfield calls it a proceeding *in rem*.‡ The second case was of the same kind, and was decided on the same principles. It was further said, by the council for the respondent, that the court of admiralty, that first proceeds in such a case as the present, acquires an exclusive right of deciding upon it, in the same manner as the nation that first commences a judicial process against pirates, may pronounce sentence against them. To say no more on this comparison, it is sufficient to observe, that such a right may be attributed to the atrocity of the guilt—the offenders are *hostes humani generis*.

If the coming of trespassers, or of the vessels in which they trespassed upon the high seas, within the power

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† 12 Mod. 135

‡ Le Caux and Eden in the notes.

of a judge's jurisdiction, authorises him to proceed against them, to what confusion may it lead? A capture is made from an enemy; afterwards friends trespass against the prize, and arrive in different ports, the fate of the prize being unknown. They are prosecuted in one or more courts of admiralty. The prize at length arrives, in a different port, and is litted in a different court of admiralty, for condemnation in the usual manner. What contests for jurisdiction must ensue? "*Quod inconvenientis est non licitum est.*"

We are unanimously of opinion, that the judge of the admiralty for his state, had jurisdiction in this cause, and that the appeal to us is regular. We decree, that the respondent recover and have of the appellants, 11, 141l. 5s. 4d. with costs, except those in this court, of which each party is to pay a moiety.



Observations on the language of the Muhhekaneew Indians; in which the extent of that language, in North America, is shewn: its genius is grammatically traced: some of its peculiarities, and some instances of analogy, between that and the Hebrew, are pointed out.

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It should be enquired, how it appears that the words before mentioned are not adjectives: I answer, it appears, as they have all the same variations and declensions as other verbs. To walk will be acknowledged to be a verb. This verb is declined thus; npeumseh, I walk; kpeumseh, thou walkest; pumissoo, he walks; npeumsehnul, we walk; kpeumseh, ye walk; pumissook, they walk. In the same manner are the words in question declined; npehtuhseh, I am tall; kpehtuhquissseh, thou art tall; pehtuhquissfoo, he is tall; pehtuhquisssehnul, we are tall; kpehtuhquisssehmuh, ye are tall; pehtuhquisssehnul, they are tall.

Though the Mohegans have no

proper adjectives, they have participles to all their verbs: as pehtuhquissseh, the man who is tall; paumseet, the man who walks; waumseet, the man who is beautiful; oieet, the man who lives or dwells in a place; oioeteet, the man who fights. So in the plural, pehtuhquisssecheek, the tall men; paumsecheek, they who walk, &c.

It is observable of the participles of this language, that they are declined, through the persons and numbers, in the same manner as verbs: thus, paumseh-nh, I walking; paumsean, thou walking; paumseet, he walking; paumseauk, we walking; paumseauque, ye walking; paumsecheek, they walking.

They have no relative, corresponding to our who or which. Instead of the man who walks, they say, the walking man, or the walker.

As they have no adjectives, of course they have no comparison of adjectives; yet they are put to no difficulty to express the comparative excellence or baseness of any two things. With a neuter verb, expressive of the quality, they use an adverb to point out the degree: as annuweeweh wnissfoo, he is more beautiful; kahnuh wnissfoo, he is very beautiful. Nemannauwoo, he is a man; annuweeweh nemannauwoo, he is a man of superior excellence or courage; kahnuh nemannauwoo, he is a man of extraordinary excellence or courage.

Beside the pronouns common in other languages, they express the pronouns both substantive and adjective, by affixes, or by letters or syllables added at the beginnings, or ends, or both, of their nouns. In this particular, the structure of the language coincides with that of the Hebrew, in an instance in which the Hebrew differs from all the languages of Europe, ancient or modern. However, the use of the affixed pronouns in the Mohegan language, is not perfectly similar to the use of them in the Hebrew: for in the Hebrew they are joined to the ends of words only; but in the Mohegan, they are sometimes joined to the ends, sometimes to the beginnings, and sometimes to both. Thus, umohhecan, is a hatchet or ax; ndumhecan is my hatchet; kumhecan, thy hatchet; utumhecan his hatchet;

ndumwecannuh, our hatchet; ktumhecannoowuh, your hatchet; utumhecannowuh, their hatchet. It is observable, that the pronouns for the singular number are prefixed, and for the plural, the prefixed pronouns for the singular being retained, there are others added as suffixes.

It is further to be observed, that by the increase of the word, the vowels are changed and transposed; as *mohecan*, *ndumhecan*; the *o* is changed into *u*, and transposed, in a manner analogous to what is often done in the Hebrew. The *t* is changed into *d*, *euphoniae gratia*.

A considerable part of the appellatives are never used without a pronoun affixed. The Mohegans can say, my father, *nogh*, thy father, *kogh*, &c. &c. but they cannot say absolutely father. There is no such word in all their language. If you were to say *ogh*, which the word would be, if stripped of all affixes, you would make a Mohegan both stare and smile. The same observation is applicable to mother, brother, sister, son, head, hand, foot, &c. in short, to those things in general which necessarily in their natural state belong to some person. A hatchet is sometimes found without an owner, and therefore they sometimes have occasion to speak of it absolutely, or without referring it to an owner. But as a head, hand, &c. naturally belong to some person, and they have no occasion to speak of them without referring to the person to whom they belong; so they have no words to express them absolutely. This, I presume, is a peculiarity in which this language differs from all languages, which have ever yet come to the knowledge of the learned world.

The pronouns are in like manner prefixed and suffixed to verbs. The Mohegans never use a verb in the infinitive mood, or without a nominative or agent; and never use a verb transitive without expressing both the agent, and the object, correspondent to the nominative and accusative cases in Latin. Thus they can neither say, to love, nor I love, thou givest, &c. But they can say, I love thee, thou givest him, &c. viz. *Nduhwunuw*, I love him or her; *nduhwhuntamin*, I love it; *ktuh-*

whunin, I love thee; *ktuhwhunoooh-muh*, I love you, (in the plural) *nduhwhunuk*, I love them. This, I think, is another peculiarity of this language.

Another peculiarity is, that the nominative and accusative pronouns prefixed and suffixed, are always used, even though other nominatives and accusatives be expressed. Thus, they cannot say, John loves Peter; they always say, John he loves him Peter; John *uduhwhunuw* Peteran. Hence, when the Indians begin to talk English, they universally express themselves according to this idiom.

It is further observable, that the pronoun in the accusative case is sometimes in the same instance expressed by both a prefix and a suffix; as *ktuhwhunin*, I love thee. The *k* prefixed, and the syllable *in*, suffixed, both unite, and they are both necessary to express, the accusative case, thee.

They have no verb substantive. Therefore they cannot say, he is man, he is a coward, &c. They express the same by one word, which is a verb neuter, viz. *nemannauwo* he is a man. *Nemannauw* is the noun substantive, man: that, turned into a verb neuter of the third person singular, becomes *nemannauwo*, in Latin it is said, *græcor, græcetur*, &c. Thus they turn any substantive whatever into a verb neuter: *kmattanniffauteuh*, you are a coward from *matantantee*, a coward: *kpeequaufooeh*, you are a girl, from *peequaufoo*, a girl.*

Hence also we see the reason, why they have no verb substantive. they have no adjectives, and as they turn their substantives into verbs any occasion, they have no use of the substantive or auxiliary verb.

The third person singular seems to be the radix, or most simple form of the several persons of their verbs in the indicative mood: but the second person singular of the imperative seems to be the most simple of any the forms of their verbs: as *meetli-*

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The circumstance that they have no verb substantive, accounts for their not using that verb, when they speak English. They say, I am sick, &c.

atthou : meetsoo, he eateth : nmeetseh, I eat : kmeetseh, thou eatest, &c.

They have a past and future tense to their verbs : but often, if not generally, they use the form of the present tense, to express both past and future events. As wnukuwoh ndiotuwohpoh, yesterday I fought : or wnukuwoh ndiotuwoh, yesterday I fight : ndiotuwauch wupkoh, I shall fight to-morrow ; or wupkauch ndiotuwoh, to-morrow I fight. In this last case, the variation of wupkoh to wupkauch denotes the future tense ; and his variation is in the word to-morrow, not in the verb fight.

They have very few prepositions, and those are rarely used, but in composition. Aunch is, to ; ocheh is, from. But to, from, &c. are almost always expressed by an alteration of the verb. Thus, ndoghpeh is, I ride, and Wnoghquetookoke is Stockbridge. But if I would say, in Indian, I ride to Stockbridge, I must say, not anneh Wnoghquetookoke ndoghpeh, but Wnoghquetookoke ndinnetoghpeh. If I would say, I ride from Stockbridge, it must be, not ocheh Wnoghquetookoke ndoghpeh ; but Wnoghquetookoke nochetoghpeh. Thus ndinnoghoh is, I walk to a place ; notoghoh, I walk from a place : ndinnehnuh, I run to a place : nochehnuh, I run from a place. And any verb may be compounded, with the prepositions, anneh and ocheh, to and from.

It has been said, that savages have no parts of speech beside the substantive and the verb. This is not true, concerning the Mohegans, nor concerning any other tribe of Indians, of whose language I have any knowledge. The Mohegans have all the eight parts of speech to be found in other languages, though prepositions are so rarely used, except in composition, that I once conceived that part of speech to be wanting. It has been said also, that savages never abstract, and have no abstract terms ; which, with regard to the Mohegans, is another mistake. They have uhwhundowukon, love : sekeenundowhkon, hatred : nsconmowukon, malice : peyuh-tommauwukon, religion, &c. I doubt not but that there is in this language the full proportion of abstract, to concrete terms, which is commonly to be found in other languages.

Besides what has been observed concerning prefixes and suffixes, there is a remarkable analogy, between some words in the Mohegan language, and the correspondent words in the Hebrew,—In Mohegan, Neah is I : the Hebrew of which is Ani. Keah is thou or thee : the Hebrews use ka the suffix. Uwoh is this man, or this thing : very analogous to the Hebrew hu or hau, ipse. Neaunuh is we : in the Hebrew nachnu and anachnu.

In Hebrew, ni is the suffix for me, or the first person. In the Mohegan, n or ne is prefixed to denote the first person. As nmeetseh or nemeetseh, I eat. In Hebrew, k or ka is the suffix for the second person, and is indifferently either a pronoun substantive or adjective. K or ka has the same use in the Mohegan language : as kmeetseh or kameetseh, thou eatest ; knish, thy hand. In Hebrew, the vau, the letter u and hu are the suffixes for he or him. In Mohegan, the same is expressed by u or uw, and by oo : as nduhwhunuw, I love him, pumissoo, he walketh. The suffix to express our or us in Hebrew, is nu : in Mohegan the suffix of the same signification is nuh : as noghnuh, our father ; nmeetsehnuh, we eat, &c.

How far the use of prefixes and suffixes, together with these instances of analogy, and perhaps other instances, which may be traced out by those who have more leisure, go towards proving, that the North American Indians are of Hebrew, or at least Asiatic extraction, is submitted to the judgment of the learned. The facts are demonstrable ; concerning the proper inferences, every one will judge for himself. In the modern Armenian language, the pronouns are affixed*. How far affixes are in use among the other modern Asiatics, I have not had opportunity to obtain information. It is to be desired, that those who are informed, would communicate to the public what information they may possess, relating to this matter. Perhaps by such communication, and by a comparison of the languages of the North-American

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* Vide Schroderi thesaurum Linguæ Armenicæ.

Indians, with the languages of Asia, it may appear, not only from what quarter of the world, but from what particular nations, these Indians are derived.

It is to be wished, that every one who makes a vocabulary of any Indian language, would be careful to notice the prefixes and suffixes, and to distinguish accordingly. One man may ask an Indian, what he calls hand in his language, holding out his own hand to him. The Indian will naturally answer knisk, i. e. thy hand. Another man will ask the same question, pointing to the Indian's hand. In this case, he will as naturally answer nnisk; my hand. Another may ask the same question, pointing to the hand of a third person. In this case, the answer will naturally be unisk, his hand. This would make a very considerable diversity in the corresponding words of different vocabularies; when, if due attention were rendered to the personal prefixes and suffixes, the words would be the very same, or much more similar.

The like attention to the moods and personal affixes of the verbs, is necessary. If you ask an Indian, how he expresses, in his language, to go, or walk, and to illustrate your meaning, point to a person who is walking: he will tell you, pumissfoo, he walks. If, to make him understand, you walk yourself, his answer will be kpumseh, thou walkest. If you illustrate your meaning by pointing to the walk of the Indian, the answer will be npumseh, I walk. If he take you to mean go or walk, in the imperative mood, he will answer pumissseh, walk, thou.



A few observations upon the western and southern Indians.

FROM whence the savages, who first peopled America, derived their origin, is a question involved in obscurity; and whoever attempts its investigation, must travel only in the field of conjecture. Could the inscription on a flat rock upon the river Cumberland,* which is said to be

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* It is several years since I was informed of this inscription, but erro-

lengthy, be procured, decyphered, and interpreted, I doubt not much light would be thrown on the subject; several other inscriptions in various parts might be called to its aid. Until this is done, every one is at liberty to form and enjoy his opinion. My opinion and my reasons I now offer to the public.

It appears to me probable the southern Indians were of Carthaginian original, and at first much more highly civilized, than when we discovered the country. The regularity of the Mexican and Peruvian empires, bordering on civilization—the city of Mexico with its magnificent temples, its causeways through the lake, with drawbridges convenient for its navigation and proper for its defence—its walls, its streets, and canals—the establishment of posts—the equipping and marching their armies, and their manner of fighting—above all, the opinion which pervaded all ranks, that there were a people far distant, near the rising sun, who would visit them—confirms me in both opinions. I confess I cannot view the senate of the powerful republic of Tlascala, receiving ambassadors—deliberating on public matters—sending forth armies—and arraigning a favourite general; but it at once gives me the idea of ancient Carthage. There may probably be a mixture of some other eastern nations, all of whom may be supposed driven from the eastern continent by stress of weather, and thrown upon this coast.

The northern and western Indians, I believe to be of entirely different extraction, and descended either from the ten tribes of Israel carried away by Salmanezar into captivity, and planted in the region we now call Tartary; or descended from those nations with whom they lived, and who learned and practised many of their ceremonies. It is natural to suppose, that these, wandering northwardly into

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neously supposed it on the Ohio. I desired a gentleman of character to procure me some part, at least, of it, as he had been long conversant in those parts; upon enquiry, he learned from general Clark its reality, but that it was on the Cumberland.

the wilderness, would lose insensibly their ideas of civilization—and, under this description, cross the narrow pass between the northeast of Asia, and northwest of America; and here finding it intensely cold in winter, might penetrate further south to a more temperate climate. This, I think, is not a forced supposition, considering the wandering disposition which, as far as we know, ever did, and still does possess the north of Asia. Let me add, that while this wandering disposition operated to the loss of civilization, it would not have so strong an effect upon their religious rights. For nothing is longer retained, or with greater difficulty relinquished, than the rights of religion.

To strengthen my supposition of their extraction, it may be proper to add a few facts. I have seen a specimen of the language of one of the western tribes, and its method of formation, which extremely resembles the Hebrew—The interjections in a language, which is changing, will longest retain the same sound—one of these, as far as I can learn, is common to all the western tribes, and is precisely Hebrew. They continue the ancient style of idleness and wandering, or, when they appear most settled, live in that contemptible sort of hut, called a wigwam. Their disposition is yet Jewish—implacable and cruel in the extreme. Some tribes formerly, like the Jews, certainly had the custom of women selected to mourn for the dead. I have had it from undoubted authority, that a tradition prevailed among them, that their forefathers had books, and could read, like white men. Added to these things, they had not, at least within a century of the present time, wholly lost the use of the Jewish passover. My authority for this observation, is a late reverend and very pious doctor in divinity, who, in his youth, with his venerable father and family, were carried among the Indians—this worthy clergyman informed me, that a lady, his near relation, who formerly lived near some families of Indians, had told him that going into the wigwam of one, who had distinguished themselves from the rest by an exemplary line of conduct, she was surprised to find them apparently in the act of devotion, and

an entire fawn roasting at the fire—she was silent and observed them—their devotion being ended, the family girding their blankets about them, approached the roasted fawn, and ate of it, taking great care, as they fed, not to break a bone of it. The whole ceremony being concluded—the lady asked the Indian, who was father of the family, why they did thus, and received for answer, that he knew not, but his forefathers did so, and all good Indians ought to do so.

But whatever difference in opinion there is concerning the ancient origin of the western and southern Indians, still it will be admitted by all the well informed, that there was a vast difference, when first discovered, between them in civilization—the southern not being sunk, by many degrees, so low in barbarism as the northern and western. Human nature being the same in all, we must then unavoidably suppose the western began to decline before the southern. This reasoning will lead us up to a period, when the latter were in a stage of civilization, at least equal to the ancients; if we fix upon any time, after the first declension, it is probable they would plume themselves on their superiority, and esteem the former barbarians—And who will undertake to determine, in respect to civilization, the difference between the Indians two thousand years ago, and the Indians, at the first discovery of America; or pretend to say, what alteration the want of materials to propagate knowledge would produce? Who would choose to decide the degrees of population some ages back, compared with the time of discovery;—and, since a middle stage of society is most favourable to population, and barbarism most baleful, would any one choose to deny that population, especially among the western Indians, might be vastly more numerous in past ages, than in the modern?

The southern and western Indians being dissimilar in every view, and in progression of time becoming neighbours—the latter, doubtless, would prove troublesome to the former—for it is with nations as with private neighbours, unpoliteness is an irritating vexation. Hence war might be kindled—suppose this to have happened before the southern Indians

sunk from a stage of society similar to the Carthaginians—it is easy to imagine they could have driven their savage neighbours far back into the country. And if we view Hannibal at the head of a Carthaginian army crossing from Africa to Spain—thence traversing France—passing the Alps and penetrating the heart of Italy—or the Romans carrying conquest even into Parthia—not to mention an Egyptian, an Assyrian, or a Grecian army on the banks of the Indus—if we take a view of these marches and exploits, will it be exaggeration to figure to ourselves the probable descendants of some of these nations, bringing to this new world a tincture of their enterprise and knowledge of war; and carrying their arms and establishing posts, as far into the country as the confluence of the Muskingum? This will, I think, give a rational account of the origin of those great works, the remains of which are there found—as it will of others found in other parts.

This account will be allowed by all, to be within the limits of possibility—I do, indeed, flatter myself it will be thought within the limits of probability; while the same favour cannot be granted to the hypothesis which ascribes these works to Ferdinand de Soto. I have lately read, and have now before me, an account of his expedition, or rather wandering, printed in London, A. D. 1756, said to be authentic, and as the account is joined with others, allowed on all hands to be so, and has equal marks of authenticity, I can see no reason to doubt the description. On account of the change of names and frequent omissions of the course, it is indeed difficult, if not impossible, to decide with precision the exact route which he took. He is said to have landed in the bay of the Holy Ghost; if we admit this is the same which is now so called, that is, in Spanish, *Spirito Santo*. That he might reach the confluence of the Muskingum, and thence the mouth of the Mississippi, by the most direct routes, he must have traversed about three thousand miles of wilderness—must have passed the Allegany mountains and very many large rivers and difficult morasses—he was often without guides, and

his course was certainly very indirect and often retrogressive—he must then beyond doubt have travelled more than five thousand miles to have performed what is attributed to him—he had with him about twelve hundred men, about three hundred of whom were cavalry—these were loaded with arms and the spoils of the Indians, and generally almost famished with hunger—add to this, they were obliged to fight their way through most of the tribes, which, together with want of provisions, continually retarded them, and reduced their numbers; I therefore think it may be pronounced impossible they should reach more than a third part of the supposed distance. But *maugre impossibility*, suppose them there—what could four or five hundred starved Spaniards effect in one winter? For let it be noted they never halted more than about a month at a time, except in winter. They were out only three winters; the first of these they spent near the sea—the last to the westward of the Mississippi, if the large river means, as I think it does, the Mississippi—there is then only the second winter for this great business—it could not be effected; but it happens unluckily for the supposition of Soto's erecting these works, that, in this very second winter, his camp was attacked by the Indians, and burnt, and all his treasure destroyed. Should it, however, be admitted, which does not appear, that he was strong enough, by the assistance of Indian allies, to erect the works—what could be his object? He had nothing to secure—his treasure was destroyed, his cattle consisted only of a few disabled horses—a few hogs he did, indeed, once receive from a tribe of humane Indians; but the eye of famine caught them on their approach—they entered the army, and disappeared as suddenly and completely as if they had entered the maelstrom of Norway. It must be a strong imagination, and one accustomed to work wonders, which can attribute to Ferdinand what a mind of common size and information deems impossible. The truth, which appears, I think, with clear evidence, is, that Ferdinand landed somewhere about the twenty seventh degree of N. lat. on the east side of the gulf of Mexico,

and proceeded in a northerly direction, bearing to the westward nearly as the coast tends, until he arrived at the northeast part of the gulf—then a northwest and west course, passing four large rivers, which were not fordable—I suppose them to be the Appalachicola, the Alabama after its union with the Mobile, the Pascaquoula, and the Hatchi or Pearl rivers—passing these, with others, all fordable, he arrived, I suppose, at the Mississippi. In this route he spent his two first years, traversing backwards and forwards at times, but never crossing any thing like the Allegany mountains, approaching sometimes very near the sea, so near, after he spent his first winter, that he feared his men would desert, which induced him to march further into the country; and he might now be, when at his greatest distance, two or three hundred miles from the sea. There is good reason to believe he arrived at the river Mississippi below the Natches and even below the mouth of the river Yafous or Rouge, which enters into the Mississippi from the westward, because, after crossing the river, and travelling to the westward, where he spent the third and last winter of his tour, he probably would have arrived at it. Lewis Moscoso, his successor, in his more than three months march to the westward, must at any rate have found it, if he had not crossed below its mouth; but as no mention is made of any large river in either case, it is evident they crossed below its mouth. There are two more circumstances which combine to strengthen the supposition—I believe I may say, ascertain it—one is, that at the highest distance of the Spaniards up the river, the water contained a large portion of salt; so that upon the ebbing of the tide, considerable quantities of this article was left mixed with the sand, and obtained by pouring water through it, and leaving it to evaporate. Another circumstance is, that Lewis Moscoso embarked the remainder of the Spaniards, consisting of three hundred and fifty, in some clumsy ill-constructed vessels, and in falling down the river, was harrassed through his whole course by a thousand armed canoes; yet in twenty days he arrived at the ocean.

Whether, therefore, my conjecture of the origin of the military works observed in the country of the Indians be, or be not, founded in probability, certain it is, a man must have a rare gift at credulity, who can ascribe them to Ferdinand de Soto.

The largeness and extent of the works on the Muskingum—their antiquity, which evidently reaches to a period much earlier than his expedition—and the style of them, being, in several respects, like some ancient European works, but different from that practised in his time—forbid such a supposition. Not to mention Indian arrows found in the ancient graves in these works, it appears from capt. Hart's observations, that it was certainly a custom to burn their dead; which was neither a Spanish or Indian custom of modern date, but looks to a period, in respect to Europe, of distant antiquity. The mounds observed in what capt. Hart calls the town, bear so striking a resemblance to the temples of Mexico at its discovery, their chapels only having yielded to the ravages of time, that they point us clearly to human sacrifices and the same original.

LUCIUS.

Hartford, Dec. 1788.



Manner in which the American Indians carry on war—causes of war among them—encroachments on their hunting grounds—emulation—ardour of the young warriors—spirit of revenge—their war councils and embassies.

THE small tribes of American savages are engaged in perpetual hostilities, that are conducted with an atrocious ferocity, and unrelenting vengeance, of which nations, whose affections have been matured and humanized by the unions of civil society, can hardly frame a conception. The causes that among them give birth to wars, the modes in which their hostilities are conducted, the uses which they make of conquest, and the behaviour of the victors and the vanquished, are all so different from those that are known among civilized nations, that in giving the history and philosophy of savage life, they merit a minute examination.

The causes of war among savages, are few and simple; but from the prompt and impetuous methods in which the passions act, before they have been softened and constrained by the refinements of policy, these causes frequently recur, and always with violent effects. Whatever touches their imagined honour, or their rights, hardly admits of negotiation among a fierce people, who know no other law but force. Cool and intricate discussions do not suit their genius or their temper, except on some rare occasions in the councils of their elders. The young are always ready to appeal to arms. Encroachments on their hunting grounds, contests of emulation, or the inconsiderate and presumptuous ardour of young warriors, who are impatient to signalize their prowess, create frequent occasions of hostility; and the first blood that is shed, becomes the seed of eternal discords.

Encroachments on their hunting grounds.

Savages have little idea of private property, except in things which they hold in actual occupation, or which they want to supply their immediate necessities. Their sense of public and national property is, perhaps, as strong as in the highest state of civilization. To divide a forest into small portions, and to secure the property of the game to single families, is contrary to the nature of the chase, which cannot be pursued within narrow limits; and would require arts above the attainment of the savage state, and a division of their wigwags, inconsistent with the safety of their tribes. The nation lives together in villages, for their mutual society and assistance, and claims a common right of hunting in an extensive region, marked by mountains and rivers, and such natural boundaries as are obvious to men in the rudest condition of the human mind. The extent is such as favours the excursions and freedom of the chase; but not being more than is necessary to furnish to the nation a secure and constant supply of game, it is defended with the zeal of private property. Such boundaries, however, as hills and streams, but vaguely mark the entire limits of an Indian nation. It is not always certain in what point to

fix the summit of the dividing ridges, and still less definite is the line that connects one ridge or water with another, to complete a boundary composed of many separate objects. In vast and pathless forests, such limits will be easily mistaken, and, in the ardour of pursuit, they will be often transgressed. The nation, whose territories have been violated, esteems itself invaded, and instantly revenges the injury by the death of the spoilers. Reciprocal injuries commonly involve the nations in immediate war.

Emulation.

Emulation among them easily degenerating into contention, will often terminate in hostilities. Two companies of hunters, from different tribes, meeting near the extremities of their several forests, feel in a moment their national emulation excited. They derive confidence from numbers. They burn to try each others strength, activity, or skill. They engage in the contest with those ardent passions natural to their rude condition; and the savage tournament, under such eager management, easily terminates in affray and bloodshed.

Ardour of the young warriors.

A more frequent cause of hostility is found in the inconsiderate ardour of young warriors, impatient to signalize their prowess. Bred in the habits and ideas of war—taught to consider the character of a warrior as their highest glory—they become impatient of inaction, and ambitious to acquire martial distinction. Not having yet experienced the vicissitudes and hardships of a military life, high and youthful passions render them presumptuous and eager for the combat. The cautious councils of their ancient chiefs they regard as the cold and timid suggestions of age. They provoke the war, and making some inroad upon their neighbours, with whom they wish to match their prowess in the fight, they think, at once, to make a trial of their own talents, and to engage their countrymen in the common cause of repelling the retaliation which they expect from the revenge of the insulted tribe.

Common paths.

They have their accustomed paths, that have been established by long usage and mutual convenience, through

which they travel, either in a pacific or a hostile way, to the remotest countries. An implicit law of nations has made these paths inviolable, unless it be within the territories of the people, with whom the travellers are at war. If the liberty of passing through the usual way be refused by any nation, or an injury be offered on that privileged route, it becomes a new occasion of hostility.

Revenge.

But the most frequent cause of those eternal discords that divide the nations of America, is the implacable and atrocious spirit of revenge that animates the breast of every savage. Among them almost all affronts are exacted by blood. Innumerable sources of umbrage must arise among neighbouring tribes, from encroachments on their territories, or from contentions when they meet. This last cause often extends its influence to the most distant of these wandering nations. If it be a personal dispute, one of the rivals immediately falls. In a territorial injury, some of the offending tribe are killed. Instantly, both nations are embroiled. The one attacks the murderers—the other adopts the cause of its own people. Sometimes, when an injury is flagrant, the natural sense of justice, or some uncommon situation that renders a nation unwilling to enter into war, induces them not to extend their protection to the perpetrators of an injury. No civil law exists among them to punish any crimes, much less the violation of the law of nations: they abandon the criminals to the vengeance of their enemies, who then have full liberty to pursue and kill them wherever they are found. Thus blood, so often the source of war, becomes now the cement of peace. But more commonly different councils are pursued. The ardour of the young warriors carries the decision in favour of hostilities: and the chiefs never want a sufficient motive to rouse the minds of their people while they address the spirit of revenge. They recall to their memory their slaughtered countrymen, they point to their bones unburied, and fill their disturbed imaginations with their shrieking through the air, and calling for vengeance. These ideas

kindle the souls of savages to madnets, and they are ready to pour themselves, like a destructive flame, upon their adversaries.

War councils.

When war is to be publicly and formally undertaken, the deliberations are slow and solemn. The whole nation is assembled—their sachems, and the old experienced warriors speak. With great sagacity, they explain the causes, the advantages, or the hazards of the war. Their priests and divines are consulted; even sometimes their women are called upon to give their advice to their country in this emergency. After long and serious debate, if the reasons for peace preponderate, they appoint an embassy to endeavour to bring their antagonists to a treaty, and they solicit the friendly offices of their allies in the negotiation. Gifts and belts of wampum purchase reconciliation—or the authors of the injustice are resigned to the rage of the injured. But if the decision be for war, it is ratified by an universal shout—they run to prepare their weapons—they animate each other to fury—nothing is breathed but slaughter and destruction.

Embassies.

In the mean time they do not neglect the precautions of prudence. A distinguished chief is dispatched to invite their allies to take up the hatchet, and make with them a common cause. He carries with him a tomahawk painted of a bloody colour, and a belt of wampum, that suggests by arbitrary marks, the purport of his embassy. The sachem, at his request, calls a council of his nation—the ambassador, admitted to their presence, lays the tomahawk on the ground, and holding the wampum in his hands, details from its strings and beads the objects of his commission. When he has finished his speech, he offers the belt to the council. They deliberate. If they resolve to maintain their ancient amity with the nation, without entering into the alliance of hostilities, the wampum is accepted as the token and the cement of friendship, and their determination for peace is expressed by burying the tomahawk in the ground. If they accede to the proposals of the envoy, the sachem receives the belt of union, and a fierce chief advances

and takes up the hatchet, the symbol and the declaration of war. From that moment, they co-operate with their allies in all their measures. But, if neither the symbol of war be lifted from the earth, nor the symbol of peace be received from the orator's hands, he concludes that they are pre-engaged by his enemies, and he hastens to report to his country its new danger*.

Chieftains.

War being resolved on, one of the first cares is to appoint a chief who is capable of conducting it. The sachem, to whom the nation looks up as its lineal head, the president of its councils, and of its civil and political government, if those terms may be applied to the affairs of savages, is not always a warrior—sometimes his age or other circumstances prevent him from leading the expedition. He marks out a chieftain worthy to supply his place; or some noted warrior, conscious of merit, and of the rank which he holds in the opinion of his country, offers himself, and is received with applause. Every thing in their military operations, as in their whole government, is perfectly voluntary. A common spirit of enterprize, patriotism, or revenge, prompts them to battle; a sense of mutual interest connects them together; a common sentiment of admiration, founded on great and conspicuous achievements, unites their opinions in favour of their leader. Even when they have chosen him, they are not compelled to march under his direction. This engagement, like all the rest, depends on the

NOTE.

* The mode above recited of seeking and accepting alliances in war, is taken from the practices of some of the northern nations, between the great lakes and the waters of the Mississippi. I am well informed that those on the waters of the Ohio, and southward, use on this occasion, besides the belt, only the figure of a tomahawk worked in wampum; and that the orator, at the close of his speech, lays both upon the ground with his own hand, that they may take them up if they please: if not, that he may not suffer the mortification of a personal repulse.

impulse of their own minds. Often it happens, that other chiefs, attaching to their fortunes a few adherents, pursue a different route against the enemy. And often a single warrior, associating himself with no troop, and confiding only in his own dexterity and his own arm, undertakes to make the campaign alone. Nor is he esteemed a contemptible foe, to nations, among whom each warrior is no inconsiderable proportion of the public force. The principal chieftain is indeed attended with the strength of the nation; and though every warrior is at perfect liberty in pledging himself to his general; yet afterwards to violate that engagement, is esteemed in the highest degree disgraceful.



*Letter from Benjamin Franklin, esq.
to miss S——n, at Wanstead.*

Craven-street, June 11, 1760

TIS a very sensible question you ask, how the air can affect the barometer, when its opening appears covered with wood?—If indeed it was so closely covered as to admit of no communication of the outward air to the surface of the mercury, the change of weight in the air could not possibly affect it. But the least crevice is sufficient for the purpose; a pinhole will do the business. And if you could look behind the frame to which your barometer is fixed, you would certainly find some small opening.

There are indeed some barometers in which the body of mercury at the lower end is contained in a close leather bag, and so the air cannot come into immediate contact with the mercury; yet the same effect is produced. For the leather being flexible, when the bag is pressed by any additional weight of air, it contracts, and the mercury is forced up into the tube when the air becomes lighter, and the pressure less, the weight of the mercury prevails, and it descends again into the bag.

Your observation on what you have lately read concerning insects is very just and solid. Superficial minds are apt to despise those who make that part of the creation the study, as mere triflers; but certain

ly the world has been much obliged to them. Under the care and management of man, the labours of the little silkworm afford employment and subsistence to thousands of families, and become an immense article of commerce. The bee, too, yields us its delicious honey, and its wax, useful for a multitude of purposes. Another insect, it is said, produces the cochineal, from whence we have our rich scarlet dye. The usefulness of the cantharides, or Spanish flies, in medicine, is known to all, and thousands owe their lives to that knowledge. By human industry and observation, other properties of other insects, may possibly be hereafter discovered, and of equal utility. A thorough acquaintance with the nature of these little creatures, may also enable mankind to prevent the increase of such as are noxious, or secure us against the mischiefs they occasion. These things, doubtless, your books make mention of: I can only add a particular late instance which I had from a Swedish gentleman of good credit. In the green timber intended for ship-building, at the king's yards in that country, a kind of worms were found, which every year became more numerous and more pernicious, so that the ships were greatly damaged before they came into use. The king sent Linnæus, the great naturalist, from Stockholm, to enquire into the affair, and see if the mischief was capable of any remedy. He found, on examination, that the worm was produced from a small egg, deposited in the little roughness on the surface of the wood, by a particular kind of fly or beetle; from whence the worm, as soon as it was hatched, began to eat into the substance of the wood, and after some time came out again a fly of the parent kind, and so the species increased. The season in which the fly laid its eggs, Linnæus knew to be about a fortnight (I think) in the month of May, and at no other time in the year. He therefore advised, that some days before that season, all the green timber should be thrown into the water, and kept under water till the season was over. Which being done by the king's order, the flies missing their usual nests, could not increase; and the species was either

destroyed or went elsewhere; and the wood was effectually preserved; for after the first year, it became too dry and hard for their purpose.

There is, however, a prudent moderation to be used in studies of this kind. The knowledge of nature may be ornamental, and it may be useful; but if, to attain an eminence in that, we neglect the knowledge and practice of essential duties, we deserve reprehension. For there is no rank in natural knowledge of equal dignity and importance, with that of being a good parent, a good child, a good husband, or wife, a good neighbour or friend, a good subject or citizen, that is, in short, a good christian. Nicholas Gimcrack, therefore, who neglected the care of his family, to pursue curiosities, was a just object of ridicule, and we must give him up as fair game to the satirist.

Adieu, my dear friend,
and believe me ever
yours affectionately.
B. FRANKLIN,



An account of the heat of the weather in Georgia: in a letter from his excellency Henry Ellis, esq. governor of Georgia, and F. R. S. to John Ellis, esq. F. R. S.

Savannah, July 17, 1758.

Dear sir,

THOUGH some weeks have passed since I wrote to you, yet so little alteration has happened in the state of our affairs, that nothing occurs to me, relative to them, worth committing to paper. This, indeed, I need not regret, as one cannot sit down to any thing, that requires much application, but with extreme reluctance; for such is the debilitating quality of our violent heats in this season, that an inexpressible languor enervates every faculty, and renders even the thought of exercising them painful.

It is now about three o'clock; the sun bears nearly S. W. and I am writing in a piazza, open at each end, on the north-east side of my house, perfectly in the shade: a small breeze at S. E. blows freely through it; no buildings are nearer, to reflect the heat, than sixty yards: yet in a ther-

nometer hanging by me, made by Mr. Bird, and compared by the late Mr. George Graham, with an approved one of his own, the mercury stands at 102. Twice it has risen this summer to the same height, viz. on the 28th of June, and the 11th of July. Several times it has been at 100, and for many days successively at 98: and did not in the nights sink below 89. I think it highly probable, that the inhabitants of this place breathe a hotter air than any other people on the face of the earth. The greatest heat we had last year was but 94, and that but once; from 84 to 90 were the usual variations; but this is reckoned an extraordinary hot summer. The weatherwise of this country say it forebodes a hurricane; for it has always been remarked, that these tempests have been preceded by continual and uncommon heats. I must acquaint you, however, that the heats we are subject to here, are more intense than in any other parts of the province, the town of Savannah being situate upon a sandy eminence, and sheltered all around with high woods. The people actually breathe so hot an air as I describe; yet this very spot, from its height and dryness, is reckoned equally healthy with any other in the province.

I have frequently walked an hundred yards under an umbrella, with a thermometer suspended from it by a thread, to the height of my nostrils, when the mercury has risen to 105; which is prodigious. At the same time I have confined this instrument close to the hottest part of my body, and have been astonished to observe, that it has subsided several degrees. Indeed, I never could raise the mercury above 97 with the heat of my body.

You know, dear sir, that I have traversed a great part of this globe, not without giving some attention to the peculiarities of each climate; and I can fairly pronounce, that I never felt such heats any where as in Georgia. I know experiments on this subject are extremely liable to error; but I presume I cannot now be mistaken, either in the goodness of the instrument, or in the fairness of the trials, which I have repeatedly made with it. The same thermometer I have had twice in the equatorial parts of Africa; as often

at Jamaica, and the West-India islands; and, upon examination of my journals, I do not find, that the quicksilver ever rose in those parts above the 87th degree, and to that but seldom: its general station was between the 79th and 86th degree: and yet I think I have felt those degrees, with a moist air, more disagreeable than what I now feel.

In my relation of the late expedition to the north-west, if I recollect right, I have observed, that all the changes and variety of weather, that happen in the temperate zone, throughout the year, may be experienced at Hudson's-Bay settlements in twenty-four hours. But I may now extend this observation; for in my cellar the thermometer stands at 81, in the next story at 102, and in the upper one at 105; yet these heats, violent as they are, would be tolerable, but for the sudden changes that succeed them. On the 10th of December last the mercury was at 86; on the 11th it was so low as 38 of the same instrument. What havoc must this make with an European constitution? nevertheless, but few people die here out of the ordinary course; though indeed one can scarce call it living, merely to breathe, and trail about a vigourless body; yet such is generally our condition, from the middle of June, to the middle of September.

Dear sir,
Yours most affectionately,
HENRY ELLIS.



Observations on the bones, commonly supposed to elephants' bones, which have been found near the river Ohio in America: by William Hunter, M. D. F. R. S.

NATURALISTS, even those of our own times, have entertained very different opinions concerning fossil ivory, and the large teeth and bones which have been dug up in great numbers in various parts of the world.

At first, some thought them animal substances, and others mineral. When only a certain number of observations had been collected, these substances were determined to be mineral: but the subject having been more carefully examined, they were found certainly to be parts of animals.

After this point was settled, a dispute arose, to what animal they belonged. The more general opinion was, that they were bones of the elephant; and the great similitude of the fossil tusks to the real elephants' teeth gave this opinion considerable credit.

It was liable, however, to great objections: the bones were observed to be larger than those of the elephant; and it was thought strange that elephants should have been formerly so numerous in western countries, where they are no longer natives, and in cold countries, Siberia particularly, where they cannot now live.

We had information from Muscovy, that the inhabitants of Siberia believed them to be the bones of the mammoth, an animal of which they told and believed strange stories. But, modern philosophers have held the mammoth to be as fabulous as the centaur.

Of late years the same sort of tusks and teeth, with some other large bones, have been found, in considerable numbers, near the banks of the Ohio, in North-America. The French academicians became possessed of some specimens of them; and having compared them with the bones of real elephants, and with those which had been brought to France from Siberia, and with similar bones found in various other parts, determined, with an appearance of probability on their side, that they were elephants' bones.

Monsieur Buffon gives us the following account of this decision: "All this put together, leaves no longer any room to doubt, that those tusks (*defenses*,) and those large bones (*ossements*,) are truly the tusks and bones of the elephant. M. Sloane had said this, but had not proved it. M. Gmelin has likewise said so, and more positively; and he has given us some curious facts concerning this question; but M. Daubenton appears to us to be the first who has put the matter beyond doubt, by accurate measures, by exact comparisons, and by reasons founded upon the great knowledge which he has acquired in the science of comparative anatomy."

From the first time that I learned this part of natural knowledge, it appeared to me to be very curious and

interesting; inasmuch as it seemed to concur with many other phenomena, in proving, that in former times some astonishing change must have happened to this terraqueous globe; that the highest mountains, in most countries now known, must have lain for many ages in the bottom of the sea; that this earth must have been so changed, with respect to climates, that countries, which are now intensely cold, must have been formerly inhabited by animals, which are now confined to the warm climates.

Some time in the last spring, having been informed that a considerable quantity of elephants' teeth had been brought to the tower, from America; and being desirous of procuring some information concerning them, I waited upon Mr. Bodington, to know the particulars, and to beg leave to examine them. He obligingly gave me a verbal account of their having been brought from the banks of the Ohio; and on the following day sent me one tusk and one grinder, as specimens for my examination. The tusk, indeed, seemed so like that of an elephant, that there appeared no room for doubt. I shewed it to my brother, and he thought so too; but, being particularly conversant with comparative anatomy, at the first sight he told me the grinder was not an elephant's. From the form of the knobs on the body of the grinder, and from the disposition of the enamel, which makes a crust on the outside only of the tooth, as in a human grinder, he was convinced that the animal was either carnivorous, or of a mixed kind. This made me think that the tusk itself was not a real elephant's tooth: for Mr. Bodington had told me, that there were many grinders, as well as tusks, and that they were all similar to those specimens which he had sent to me. And some time after, when I went to the tower, and examined the whole collection, which had been sent over from the Ohio, I saw that the grinders were all of the same kind. I examined two elephants' jaws in my brother's collection: I examined the tusks and grinders of the queen's two elephants; and I examined a great number of African elephants' teeth at a warehouse.

From all these observations, I was

convinced that the grinder tooth, brought from the Ohio, was not that of an elephant; but of some carnivorous animal, larger than an ordinary elephant; and I could not doubt that the tusk belonged to the same animal. The only difference that I could observe, between it and a real elephant's tusk, was, that it was more twisted, or had more of the spiral curve, than any of the elephants' teeth which I had seen.

Some time after this, dr. Franklin received a large box of the same sort of bones from the Ohio, by way of Philadelphia. He informed me of this, and told me likewise that another large box of those bones was sent to the earl of Shelburne. I waited upon dr. Franklin, and found the bones to be exactly such as I had seen; and was, therefore, confirmed in my former opinion.

Then I waited upon lord Shelburne, and was permitted to examine the bones which he had received. Besides the tusks and grinders, which were all such as I had seen, and still served to confirm me in my opinion, there was the half of the lower jaw of the animal, with one large grinder still fixed in it. This jaw-bone was so different from that of an elephant, both in form and in size, and corresponded so exactly with the other bones, and with my supposition, that I was now fully convinced, that the supposed American elephant was an animal of another species, a *pseud elephant* or *animal incognitum*, which naturalists were unacquainted with. I imagined farther, that this *animal incognitum* would prove to be the supposed elephant of Siberia, and other parts of Europe; and that the real elephant would be found to have been in all ages a native of Asia and Africa only.

I examined all the fossil teeth, as they are called, in the museum of the royal society, and the head and teeth of an hippopotamus. Then, with dr. Knight first, and a second time with dr. Solander, I examined all the fossil-teeth, and all the jaw-bones, and teeth of elephants, and hippopotami, and other large animals in the British museum; and some likewise in private collections. In making this search, I met with grinders of the *incognitum* that were found in the Brazils and

Lima, as well as in different parts of Europe.

I went to four of the principal workers and dealers in ivory, with whom I saw and examined many hundreds of elephants' teeth. Though they all assured me, that the real elephants' teeth have often a spiral twist, like a cow's horn; they could not shew me one tooth so twisted, in all their collections, at the time when I visited them. Three of them gave it as their opinion, that my two American tusks were genuine elephants' teeth. One of them was even positive that they were African teeth. Another worker in ivory cut through a tusk which lord Shelburne gave me. It proved to be found on the inside. He assured me it was true elephantine ivory; and that workers in ivory could readily distinguish the genuine, by its grain and texture, from all other bony substances whatever. He polished it: we compared it with other pieces of genuine ivory; and indeed they appeared to be perfectly similar. His opinion was afterwards confirmed by another experienced worker in ivory. Yet their opinion, and what I saw with my own eyes, convinced me of this fact only, viz. that true or genuine ivory is the production of two different animals; and not of the elephant alone.

Having thus collected all the materials to which I could have access, I carefully read what the French academicians, mess. Buffon and Daubenton have written on this question, in the *Histoire Naturelle*, tom XI. p. 86, &c. and p. 147, &c. Tom. 13, p. 63, and *Memoires de l'Acad. Roy. des Sc. Ann. 1762*, p. 206, &c. But, instead of meeting with facts which could disprove my opinion, I found observations and arguments which confirm it. One very material fact which mr. Daubenton furnishes in support of my hypothesis, is the comparison of the American thigh-bone, with that of a real elephant; both of which he has represented in figures, which appear to be done with accuracy. To me it seems most evident, that they are bones of two distinct species. The vast disproportion of the thickness of the American bone, compared with that of the elephant, is surely more than we can attribute to the different pro-

portions of bones in the same species, which arise from age, sex, or climate. But Mr. Daubenton, to support his hypothesis, that the American *femur* is elephantine, is obliged to refer the great disproportion in thickness to the causes above-mentioned; and he asserts that, in all other circumstances, they are exactly alike. Now, to my eye, there is nothing more evident, than that the two *femora* differ widely in the shape and proportion of the head; in the length and direction of the neck; and in the figure and direction of the great trochanter: so that they have many characters, which prove their belonging to animals of different species.

It may now be fairly presumed that the American bones are proved to be certainly not elephantine: and whoever is of that opinion, will naturally suspect that the Siberian bones are of the same kind. I imagine that it will be found, upon strict enquiry, to be so. But, as I have not the necessary materials for discussing this question at present, I shall only state a few facts, to shew that there is some ground for the opinion.

1. All accounts, and particularly those of Messrs. Gmelin, Buffon, and Daubenton, say that the bones found in Siberia are larger than the bones of common elephants. This would make us inclined to suspect that they were not elephants' bones, but that they were of the *incognitum*.

2. The Siberian *femur*, as represented by Monsieur Daubenton, is very much like the American *femur* in size, shape, and proportions.

This circumstance appears to be almost a demonstration, as we have before proved, that the American *femur* is not that of an elephant. And in this argument, we have even the weight of Monsieur Daubenton's opinion in our favour. For he (page 211) taking it for granted that the Siberian *femur* was undoubtedly elephantine, reasons from the likeness in size, shape, and proportions, that the American *femur* is so. Now, as we have shewn that the American *femur* is not elephantine, his proof, taken from the size, shape, and proportions of the two bones, must serve to convince us that the Siberian thigh-bone is not of the elephant, but of the *incognitum*.

3. Monsieur Daubenton found a difference between the temporal bone brought from Siberia, and that of an elephant. This likewise is an argument in favour of our supposition.

4. The supposed elephant's tusk, which was brought from Siberia by Mr. Bell, and presented to Sir Hans Sloane, and of which we have a description and figure in the memoirs of the academy of sciences at Paris (an. 1727. page 309.) is evidently twisted like the tusk of the *incognitum*, and not at all like any elephant's tusk which I have ever seen.

In the last place, it may be observed, that as the *incognitum* of America has been proved to have been an animal different from the elephant, and probably the same as the mammoth of Siberia; and as grinder teeth, like those of America, have been dug up in various other parts of the world; it should seem to follow, that the *incognitum* in former times has been a very general inhabitant of the globe. And if this animal was indeed carnivorous, which I believe cannot be doubted, though we may as philosophers regret it, as men we cannot but thank heaven that its whole generation is probably extinct.

Feb. 23, 1768.



An account of some very large fossil teeth, found in North America, and described by Peter Collinson, F. R. S.

GEORGE Croghan, esquire, in the course of his navigation down the great river Ohio, after passing the Miami river, in the evening, came near the place where the elephants' bones are found, about four miles south-east of the Ohio, and about six hundred miles distant from and below Pittsburgh, from the nearest sea-coast at least seven hundred miles. Next morning he met with a large road, which the buffaloes had beaten, wide enough for two wagons to go abreast, leading strait into the great licking-place, to which the buffaloes and all the species of deer resort, at a certain season of the year, to lick the earth and water from salt springs, that are impregnated with nitreous particles.

Esquire Croghan had been here

some years before, and gave some account of the monstrous bones, and teeth, found at this place, called by the Indians the Great Buffaloes Lick; but being now more at leisure, he carefully examined all its surrounds, and discovered under a great bank, on the skirts of the lick, five or six feet below the surface, open to view, a prodigious number of bones and teeth, belonging to some of the largest sized animals; by the quantity, he computes there could not be less than thirty of their skeletons.

By their great teeth, or tusks, of fine ivory, some near seven feet long; every one that views them, I believe, will not hesitate to conclude they belong to elephants.

It is very remarkable, and worthy observation, none of the molares, or grinding teeth of elephants, are discovered with these tusks; but great numbers of very large pronged teeth of some vast animals, are only found with them, which have no resemblance to the molares, or grinding teeth, of any great animal yet known.

As no living elephants have ever been seen or heard of in all America, since the Europeans have known that country, nor any creature like them; and there being no probability of their having been brought from Africa, or Asia; and as it is impossible that elephants could inhabit the country where these bones and teeth are now found, by reason of the severity of the winters, it seems incomprehensible how they came there.

Fossil elephants' teeth are annually found in Siberia, lodged in the banks of the great river Oby, and other rivers of that country.

On the system of the deluge, it has been conjectured, that, as the extensive kingdom of Siberia lies behind the native country of the elephants in Asia, from west to east, and to the north, by the violent action of the winds and waves, at the time of the deluge, these great floating bodies, the carcasses of drowned elephants, were driven to the northward, and, at the subsiding of the waters, deposited where they are now found. But what system, or hypothesis, can with any degree of probability, account for these remains of elephants being found in

America, where those creatures are not known ever to have existed?

Nov. 4, 1767.

P. S. The bishop of Carlisle presented to the royal society, on the 27th of February, 1766, some fossil teeth and bones from Peru, which have some analogy with the before-mentioned, not so recent, but much more petrified; the pronged teeth are like to agate.

A list of the teeth and bones sent over by George Craghan, esq. February 7, 1767, from Philadelphia.

To lord Shelburne.

Two of the largest tusks, or teeth, one whole and entire, above six feet long, the thickness of common elephants' teeth of that length.

Several very large forked or pronged teeth; a jaw-bone, with two of them in it.

To doctor Franklin.

Four great tusks, of different sizes.

One broken in halves near six feet long.

One much decayed, the centre looks like chalk, or lime.

A part was cut off from one of these teeth, that has all the appearance of fine white ivory.

A joint of the vertebræ.

Three of the large pronged teeth; one has four rows of fangs.

Besides the above, captain Owry, an officer who served in the country during the last war, hath a small tusk, as if of a calf elephant, the surface of a fine shining chestnut colour, and a recent look; and a great pronged tooth, larger than any of the above, which were also brought from the same licking place.

November 26, 1767.



Sequel to the foregoing account of the large fossil teeth. By P. Collinson, F. R. S.

AS I perceived one of the long teeth, or tusks, was channelled or ribbed, near the larger end, I was in some doubt, if peculiar to the elephant. To satisfy myself, I went to a warehouse, where there were teeth of all sorts and sizes for sale; on examining them, I found as many ribbed or channelled, as plain and smooth,

that now, I have no difficulty to pronounce them, agreeing in all respects, with the elephants' teeth from Africa and Asia.

But as the biting or grinding teeth, and with the others, have no affinity with the molares of the elephant, must conclude that they, with the grinding teeth, belong to another species of elephant, not yet known; or else that they are the remains of some vast animal, that hath the long teeth, or fangs, of the elephant, with large incisors peculiar to that species, being different in size and shape from any other animal yet known. I had one of these grinders, that weighed near four pounds, with as fine an enamel on it, as if just taken out of the head of the creature.

The elephant is wholly supported by vegetables; and the animal to which these grinding teeth belong, their make and form, seemed designed for the biting and breaking off the branches of trees and shrubs for sustenance; and if I may be allowed to conclude from analogy, that the great heavy unwieldy animals, such as elephants, and the rhinoceros, &c. are not carnivorous, being unable, from want of agility and swiftness, to pursue their prey, to are wholly confined to vegetable food; and for the same reason, this great creature, to which these teeth belong, wherever it exists, is probably supported by browsing on trees and shrubs, and on her vegetable food.



Say on test laws—oaths of allegiance and abjuration—and partial exclusions from office.

TO change the current of opinion, is a most difficult task, and the attempt is often ridiculed. For this reason, I expect the following remarks will be passed over with a slight glancing, and all attention to them cease with a hum.

The revival of the test law has at length passed by a respectable majority of the representatives of this state. This is a prelude to wiser measures; people are just awaking from delusion. The time will come (and may the day be near!) when all test laws, oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and partial exclusions from civil offices, will be
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proscribed from this land of freedom.

Americans! what was the origin of these discriminations? What is their use?

They originated in savage ignorance, and they are the instruments of slavery. Emperors and generals, who wished to attach their subjects to their persons and government; who wished to exercise despotic sway over them, or prosecute villainous wars, (for mankind have always been butchering each other) found the solemnity of oaths had an excellent effect on poor superstitious soldiers and vassals—oracles, demons, eclipses—all the terrifying phenomena of nature, have at times had remarkable effects in securing the obedience of men to tyrants. Oaths of fealty, and farcical ceremonies of homage, were very necessary to rivet the chains of feudal vassals; for the whole system of European tenures was erected on injustice, and is supported solely by ignorance, superstition, artifice, or military force. Oaths of allegiance may possibly be still necessary in Europe, where there are so many contending powers contiguous each to the other: but what is their use in America? To secure fidelity to the state, it will be answered. But where is the danger of defection? Will the inhabitants join the British in Nova Scotia or Canada? Will they rebel? Will they join the savages, and overthrow the state? No; all these are visionary dangers. My countrymen, if a state has any thing to fear from its inhabitants, the constitution or the laws must be wrong. Danger cannot possibly arise from any other cause.

Permit me to offer a few ideas to your minds; and let them be the subject of more than one hour's reflexion.

An oath creates no new obligation. A witness, who swears to tell the whole truth, is under no new obligation to tell the whole truth. An oath reminds him of his duty—he swears to do as he ought to do—that is, he adds an express promise to an implied one. A moral obligation is not capable of addition or diminution.

When a man steps his foot into a state, he becomes subject to its general laws. When he joins it as a member, he is subject to all its laws.
T

The act of entering into society binds him to submit to its laws, and to promote its interest. Every man, who lives under a government, is under allegiance to that government. Ten thousand oaths do not increase the obligation upon him to be a faithful subject.

But, it will be asked, how shall we distinguish between the friends and enemies of the government? I answer, by annihilating all distinctions. A good constitution and good laws make good subjects. I challenge the history of mankind to produce an instance of bad subjects under a good government. The test law in Pennsylvania has produced more disorders, by making enemies in this state, than have cursed all the union besides. During the war, every thing gave way to force; but the feelings and principles of war ought to be forgotten in peace.

Abjuration! a badge of folly, borrowed from the dark ages of bigotry. If the government of Pennsylvania is better than that of Great Britain, the subjects will prefer it, and abjuration is perfectly nugatory. If not, the subject will have his partialities in spite of any solemn renunciation of a foreign power.

But what right has even the legislature to deprive any class of citizens of the benefits and emoluments of civil government? If any men have forfeited their lives or estates, they are no longer subjects—they ought to be banished or hung. If not, no law ought to exclude them from civil emoluments. If any have committed public crimes, they are punishable; if any have been guilty, and have not been detected, the oath, as it now stands, obliges them to confess their guilt. To take the oath, is an implicit acknowledgment of innocence; to refuse it, is an implicit confession that the person has aided and abetted the enemy. This is rank despotism. The inquisition can do no more than force confession from the accused.

I pray God to enlighten the minds of the Americans. I wish they would shake off every badge of tyranny. Americans!—The best way to make men honest, is to let them enjoy equal rights and privileges—never suspect a set of men will be rogues, and

make laws proclaiming that suspicion. Leave force to govern the wretched vassals of European nabobs—and reconcile subjects to your own constitutions by their excellent nature and beneficial effects. No man will commence enemy to a government which gives him as many privileges as his neighbours enjoy.

Philadelphia, March 11, 1786.



A sovereign remedy for American distresses.

ABOUT two and thirty years ago, an American writer, who had the interest of his country at heart, in order to stimulate his countrymen to a practice of economy, delivered his sentiments to them in the following manner:—

You spend yearly 400,000l. in European, East-India, and West-India commodities:—Supposing one half of this expense to be in things absolutely necessary, the other half may be called superfluities, or, at best, conveniences, which, however, you may live without for one year, and not suffer exceedingly. Now, to save this half, observe these few directions:

1. When you incline to have new clothes, look first well over the old ones, and see if you cannot shift with them another year, either by scouring, mending, or even patching, if necessary. Remember, a patch on your coat, and money in your pocket, are better and more creditable, than a writ on your back, and no money to take it off. And when you must buy clothes, let them, I beseech you, be of the produce of your own country; they will keep you as warm, and perhaps last as long, as the best piece of cloth manufactured in Great Britain.

2. When you incline to buy China-ware, chintzes, India silks, or any such baubles, I would not be so hard with you, as to insist on your absolutely resolving against it; all I advise is, to put it off (as you do your repentance) 'till another year; and this, in some respects, may prevent an occasion of repentance.

3. If you are now a drinker of punch, wine, or tea, twice a day, drink them but once a day, for the ensuing year. If you now drink them

but once a day, do it but every other day. If you now do it but once a week, reduce the practice to once a fortnight. And if you do not exceed the quantity, as you lessen the times, half your expence in these articles will be saved.

4thly and lastly. When you incline to drink rum, fill the glass half with water. Thus, at the year's end there will be 200,000l. more money in our country.

If paper money in ever so great quantities could be made, no man could get any of it for nothing. But all he saves in this way, will be his own for nothing. Then the merchants' old and doubtful debts may be paid off, and trading become sure hereafter, if not so extensive.

Premiums proposed by the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, for the year 1789.

I. **F**OR the best experiment made of a course of crops, either large or small, on not less than four acres, agreeably to the English mode of farming,—a piece of plate of the value of two hundred dollars, inscribed with the name and the occasion: and, for the experiment made of a course of crops next in merit,—a piece of plate, likewise inscribed, of the value of one hundred dollars. Certificates to be produced by the 20th of December, 1790.

11. The importance of complete farm or fold-yards for sheltering and folding cattle—and of the best method of conducting the same, so as to procure the greatest quantities of compost or mixed dung or manure, from within the farm, induces the society to give, for the best design of such a yard, and method of managing it, practicable by common farmers,—1 gold medal : and, for the second best, a silver medal. The design to be presented by the 20th of December, 1789.

III. For the best method of raising hogs, from the pig, in pens or flies, from experience—their sometimes running in a lot or field not totally excluded, if preferred—a gold medal: and, for the second best, a silver medal. To be produced by the 20th of December, 1780.

IV. For the best method of reco-

vering worn-out fields to a more hearty state, within the power of common farmers, without dear or far-fetched manures; but, by judicious culture, and the application of materials common to the generality of farmers—founded in experience—a gold medal; and, for the second belt, a silver medal. To be produced by the 20th of December, 1789.

V. For the best experiment, soil and other circumstances considered, in trench-ploughing, not less than ten inches deep, and accounts of the effects thereof, already made or to be made, on not less than one acre; a gold medal: and, for the second best, a silver medal. To be produced by the 20th of December, 1789.

VI. For the best information, the result of actual experience, for preventing damage to crops by insects; especially the Hessian-fly, the wheat-fly, or fly-weevil, the pea-bug, and the corn chinch-bug or fly—a gold medal; a silver medal for the second best. To be produced by the 20th of December, 1789.

VII. For the best comparative experiments on the culture of wheat, by sowing it in the common broad-cast way ; by drilling it ; and by setting the grain, with a machine, equidistant—the quantities of seed, and produce, proportioned to the ground, being noticed—a gold medal : for the second best, a silver medal. The account to be produced by the 10th of January, 1798.

VIII. For an account of a vegetable food that may be easily procured, and preserved, and that best increases milk in cows and ewes, in March and April, founded on experiment—a gold medal : for the second best, a silver medal. To be produced by the 10th of January, 1790.

IX. For the greatest quantity of ground, well fenced, in locust trees or poles of the sort used for posts and trunnels, growing in 1789, from seed sown after February 3d, 1788, not less than one acre, nor fewer than 1500 per acre—a gold medal; for the second, a silver medal. To be claimed in December, 1789.

X. The society believing that very important advantages would be derived from the general use of oxen, instead of horses in husbandry

and other services; and being desirous of facilitating their introduction into all these states; persuaded also, that the comparative value of oxen and cows must very much depend on the qualities of their sires and dams: and that by a careful attention to the subject, an improved breed may be obtained; they propose a gold medal for the best essay, the result of experience, on the breeding, feeding, and management of cattle, for the purpose of rendering them most profitable for the dairy, and for beef, and most docile and useful for the draft: and, for the next best, a silver medal. To be produced by the first of January, 1790.

N. B. Among other things, the essay should notice the different breeds of cattle, and their comparative qualities: as their sizes, strength, facility in fattening, quantity of milk, &c.

XI. It is a generally received opinion, that horses in a team travel much faster than oxen: yet some European writers on husbandry mention many instances, in which it appeared, not only that oxen would plough as much ground as an equal number of horses, but also travel as fast with a loaded carriage: particularly when, instead of yokes and bows, they were geared in horse-harness, with such variations as were necessary to adapt it to their different shape. To ascertain the powers of oxen in these particulars, and the expense of maintaining them, the society deem matters of very great moment; and are therefore induced to offer a gold medal for the best set of experiments, undertaken with that view: and, for the next best, a silver medal. In relating these experiments, it will be proper to describe the age and size of the oxen, their plight, the kinds and quantities of their food, the occasions, manner, and expense of shoeing them; in travelling, the kinds of carriages used, and weight of their loads, and seasons of the year, and the length and quality of the roads: and, in ploughing, the size and fashion of the plough, the quality of the soil, the depth of the furrows, and the quantities ploughed; and, in every operation, the time expended, and the number and sorts of hands employed in performing it; with any other circumstances which may more fully elucidate the subject.

These experiments will enable the essayist to determine what will be the best form and construction of yokes and bows, and what of ox-harness, to enable oxen, with the best carriage of their bodies and heads, the most easy, and quickest step, to draw the heaviest loads, a description of each of which sort of gears, explained on mechanical principles, must be subjoined to the account of experiments: to be produced by the first day of January, 1790.

XII. For the best method, within the power of common farmers, of recovering old gullied fields to an hearty state, and such uniformity, or evenness of surface, as will again render them fit for tillage; or where the gullies are so deep and numerous as to render such recovery impracticable, for the best method of improving them, by planting trees or otherwise, so as to yield the improver a reasonable profit for his expenses therein, founded on experiment; a gold medal: and, for the next best, a silver medal: to be produced by the first of January, 1790.

XIII. For the greatest quantity, not less than five hundred pounds weight, of cheese, made on one farm in any of these states, equal in dryness, richness, and flavour, to the Cheshire cheese, usually imported from England, which shall be produced to the society by the first day of January, 1790, a gold medal; and, for the next greatest quantity, not less than two hundred and fifty pounds weight, of like quality, a silver medal. Besides which, the society engage to pay for the cheese so produced, at the rate of ten per cent, more than the current wholesale price at Philadelphia, of Cheshire cheese, of the same quality.

XIV. For the best method, deduced from experience, of raising the American white-thorn from the seed, for hedges, and the greatest number of plants raised in a space not less than half an acre, a gold medal: for the second best, a silver medal. To be produced by the first of December, 1790.

XV. The society, believing that the culture of hemp on some of the low rich lands, in the neighbourhood of this city, may be attempted with advantage, do hereby offer a gold medal for the greatest quantity of hemp raised within ten miles of the city of Philadelphia. The quantity not to be

els than four acres; for the second greatest quantity, a silver medal. The claim to be made by the first of December, 1789.

The claim of every candidate for a premium is to be accompanied with, and supported by certificates of respectable persons, of competent knowledge of the subject. And it is required that the matters, for which premiums are offered, be delivered in without names, or any intimation to whom they belong: that each particular thing be marked in what manner the claimant thinks fit; such claimant sending with it a paper sealed up, having on the outside a corresponding mark, and on the inside the claimant's name and address.

Respecting experiments on the products of land, circumstances of the previous and subsequent state of the ground, particular culture given, general state of the weather, &c. will be proper to be in the account exhibited. Indeed, in all experiments and reports of facts, it will be well to particularize the circumstances attending them. It is recommended that reasoning be not mixed with the facts: after stating the latter, the former may be added, and will be acceptable.

Although the society reserve to themselves the power of giving, in every case, either one or the other of the prizes (or premiums) as the performance shall be adjudged to deserve, or of withholding both, if there be no merit; yet the candidates may be assured, that the society will always judge liberally of their several claims.

Published by order of the society.

SAMUEL P. GRIFFITHS, *Sec.*
Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1789.



Constitution of the Philadelphia County society for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures.

I. THE objects of this society shall be the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures: and it shall be styled, The Philadelphia County Society for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures.

II. No man shall be eligible as a member, but a farmer.

III. The members of which this society is to be composed, are to be of two kinds, viz. residing members and corresponding members; the residing members must live within the county of Philadelphia, as it now stands; the corresponding members may be chosen from any part of the state, or other place, and shall have a right to attend our meetings, but have no vote.

IV. New members may be elected by ballot, at any stated meetings of the society, provided they have been put in nomination at a preceding meeting, and an entry thereof made on the minutes of the society; but no candidate must be present at his own election.

V. The stated meetings of the society shall be on the first Monday in every month, at such place as the society shall appoint at their annual meetings; and all business to be done on each day, must be transacted between the hours of two and six in the afternoon, and no business to be done afterwards.

VI. The officers of the society shall be, a president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary, who shall be chosen annually by ballot on the first Monday in November, which day shall be called our annual meeting; but in case of the death, resignation, or removal of any of the officers of the society, others may be elected at a subsequent meeting, to serve out the time of such officer or officers, in whose place he or they shall have been chosen.

VII. If any accident shall happen, such as the want of a quorum, neglect, or other unforeseen cause, so as to prevent an election taking place at our annual meetings, in that case the officers must be considered as remaining in office, until the society shall elect others in their places for the remainder of the year.

VIII. In case of the non-attendance of any officers of the society, so as to prevent the proceeding to business, others may be appointed pro tempore.

IX. The president, and, in his absence, the vice-president, shall exercise the usual duties of that office.

X. The treasurer shall keep all the monies and securities of the society, and shall keep the accounts methodi-

ally stated, in a book procured for that purpose, and, when called upon, produce them for inspection; and shall pay all orders of the president, or other persons who may draw on him by the direction of the society; and also, at the last meeting, before his time expires, (or at any other meeting when called on) he shall produce a fair and regular account of all receipts, expenditures, and payments, and deliver it, together with the books, and all the property of the society, to his successor in office, or to the orders of the society.

XI. The secretary shall have in charge all other books and papers, and keep them in good order; and record accurately all the proceedings of the society as well as letters written and received; and allow free access to any member who may desire to peruse the same.

XII. Every residing member, on admission, shall sign these articles, and pay a silver dollar; and also, the like sum annually shall be paid by all residing members, towards defraying the necessary expenses of the society; and every member, whose contribution shall be found to be more than two years in arrear, after the same shall be due, provided payment has been personally demanded of him by the treasurer, or a collector authorized by him for that purpose, such member shall be considered as withdrawing from the society, and no longer be deemed a member, and the same shall be entered on the minutes; and, if any new residing member, after being notified of his election by the secretary, in writing, (whose business it will be to give him such notice) shall not appear, sign the articles, and pay his entrance money within three months after such notification, or send in that time a satisfactory excuse in writing, he shall be considered as not having accepted of a membership among us.

XIII. Whenever any residing member shall remove out of the district of which this society shall be composed, he shall from thenceforward be considered a corresponding member: and so, when a corresponding member shall remove, and come to live within the district, on paying one dollar, and signing the articles as aforesaid, he shall be considered a residing mem-

ber; but no person shall pay entrance money more than once.

XIV. Whenever any motion is made in the society, that will tend either directly, or in its consequences, to dispose of the funds of the society, (ordinary contingent expenses excepted) such motion must lie on the minutes until the next stated meeting, before the question can be taken.

XV. The society shall have a right to make such other officers, and appoint such committees, as may forward and promote the views and objects of the institution: and shall also have a right to make such by-laws, rules, or regulations, for its government and good order, as may appear necessary, provided they are not derogatory to this constitution.

XVI. A quorum for ordinary business shall consist of at least five members for the present; but at our annual meetings, the society shall always have a right to reduce or augment the number necessary to form a quorum; and shall also have power to alter the stated days of meeting both as to time and place; or to increase or diminish the number of such meetings, provided a motion for that purpose has been made and entered on the minutes, at any preceding meeting in the last year.

XVII. All business designed by this constitution, or other by-laws, to be done at our annual meeting, may, if a quorum does not meet, be done at the next full stated meeting.

XVIII. Any gentleman, attached to the useful science of agriculture, who has a desire to be present at a meeting of the society, may be introduced by a member.

XIX. At the annual meeting of the society, on the first Monday in November, this constitution, if desired by any member, may be revised, and proposals may be made for its alteration, amendment, or any addition to it; which must lie on the minutes until the next stated meeting, when they may be taken up, and considered, and passed, (either as they stand, or with such alterations as will not make them entirely new, or materially alter the first intention of such proposals) provided two thirds of the members present agree: but all other questions in the society shall be determined by a majority of voices; and

also, elections for officers (except the appointment of committees for temporary business) shall be by ballot.

Extract from the minutes,

EDWARD DUFFIELD, jun. sec.
Philadelphia county, August 4, 1788.



Thoughts on the management of bees.
Published by order of the Philadelphia agricultural society.

SEVERAL writers on the management of bees, have given very ingenious directions for taking their new-made honey, without destroying those useful creatures. My humanity, hurt at the idea of setting fire to the fatal match, induced me to imitate those methods; particularly those of mr. Wildman, and the reverend mr. White, whose directions I observed very attentively, with some success: but my expectations were not satisfied, as I found young broods in every hive I took; and consequently the honey obtained was impure. However, after a variety of experiments, I discovered an agreeable, safe, and easy way to take the honey, without the least injury or disturbance to the bees.

My collateral boxes are the same with mr. White's*. They are made

NOTE.

* An account of the methods of managing bees, practised by mr. Wildman, and mr. White, may be seen in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article *apis*, and of some curious experiments and discoveries relative to the propagation of bees, and the essential offices of the drones, as well as of the queen bee, of every swarm, under the article *bee*. Some dispose their boxes, one upon another, making several stories. Mr. White expresses his disapprobation of that disposition, in the following words: "What led me to prefer collateral boxes to those before in use, was my compassion for the poor bees, who, after traversing the fields, return home weary and heavy laden, and must perhaps deposit their burden up two pair of stairs, or in the garret. The lower room, it is likely, is not yet furnished with stairs: for, it is well known, our little architects lay the foundation of their structures at the top, and build downwards. In this case, the weary little labourer

of any well seasoned wood, ten inches square, in the clear; and are disposed in pairs; or, sometimes, three in a set; with communications at the sides, for the bees to pass freely from one box to the other: the neater and closer they join, the better. If you please, a pane of glass, seven by nine, with a sliding shutter, may be fixed in the back part of each box, through which you may see the bees at work.

The communications between the boxes are at top and bottom. Those at the top should be three inches long, and half an inch wide [or deep], to serve [occasionally, when they will shorten the distance] as streets or alleys, between the hives. The communications at bottom [being those most used] should be five or six inches long, and three quarters of an inch high, so as to afford a free passage from one hive to the other.

The mouth of the hive may be from three to ten inches long, (I prefer ten inches) and half an inch high: in the busy season, this wide entrance facilitates the bees going out and coming in, and may be contracted at pleasure in autumn.

Early in the morning, after hiving a swarm into one of these boxes, you are to add one or two others to it, as you please. If you add two,

NOTE.

has to drag her load up the sides of the walls: and when she has done this, she will travel many times backward and forward, as I have frequently seen, along the roof, before she finds the door or passage into the second story; and here again she is perplexed with a like puzzling labyrinth, before she gets into the third. What a waste is here of that precious time which our bees value so much, and which they employ so well! and what an expence of strength and spirits, on which their support and sustenance depend! In the collateral boxes, the rooms are all on the ground floor: and because I know my bees are wise enough to value convenience more than state, I have made them of such a moderate, though decent height, that the bees have much less way to climb to the top of them, than they have to the crown of a common hive."

the middle box must necessarily have communications on each side of it. The doors of the second and third boxes must be kept closed until the bees begin to work in them; when they may be opened to facilitate their industry.

In a common season, two of the boxes will be filled, and several swarms call out. Each box of the above dimensions will contain thirty pounds of pure honey. In a favourable season and situation, an early swarm will fill three boxes with honey, and call out several swarms; each of which will fill two boxes with honey.

Method of taking the honey.

As winter approaches, all the bees will collect themselves into that box where the *queen* takes up her residence; and gratefully leave the others, with their pure contents, to the use of their owner; whose gain, in good seasons, will be ninety pounds of honey, and three or four additional swarms (sometimes more) for every stock kept over the preceding winter.

Thus you acquire the purest honey, without the use of the match, or any trouble in driving or disturbing the bees: for you have only to turn up the set of hives on the back edge, all at once, and you discover immediately that in which the bees are collected; and then the others are easily separated and carried off, without disturbing a single bee. This being done, you must fill up the side communications of the remaining box, with fresh cow dung, or in any other way you like, to keep the bees warm; and close their door, except about an inch, for the same purpose, and to prevent the bees going abroad too early in the spring, to their destruction.

To preserve your bees from too great heat or too great cold, a single board or plank laid on each box, or set of boxes, is sufficient.

The losses and disappointments I have met with in a great variety of experiments, induce me to recommend the foregoing management to every lover of bees: as I have found it easy, pleasant, and profitable.

GEORGE MORGAN.

April 17, 1786.

Mode of fattening house-lambs, as practised by those who supply the London markets with that article of luxurious delicacy.

AS soon as the lambs are born, they are put into a warm out-house: some white peas and bran are mixed together, and placed near them, as is also some fine hay, and above, a chalkstone for them to lick. The dams are turned into good grass, and brought to their lambs four times regularly every day. And here it is observed, to begin with the youngest, and next with the oldest lamb, as the last milk is found by experience to fatten soonest and most. Every lamb is suffered to suck as much as it will—by this process they become extremely delicate.



Thoughts on the manufacture of pot and pearl ash.

THE merchants of New York export annually pot and pearl ash to Europe, to the amount of many thousand pounds sterling, and make thereby a very respectable remittance: the greatest part of which pot-ash and pearl-ash is manufactured in the country up the North River, and some on the borders of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. I am informed, that such of the farmers as are unprovided with kettles, &c. necessary for the manufacturing these articles, bring their crude ashes to the nearest store-keeper, for which they are paid by him in goods or cash. The store-keepers, it seems, are generally provided with every utensil necessary for the making pot-ash and pearl-ash, which, when made, are at convenient opportunities sent to New York, where, as soon as their quality is known by the officer appointed by law to inspect the same, they generally find a good market.

As a friend to Pennsylvania, I would now beg leave to recommend it particularly to the store-keepers and farmers in the northern and north-west parts of this state, the north-western parts of New Jersey, and even the rest of those states, as well as to the merchants of Philadelphia, to promote the like mode to be pursued with respect to this manufactory, as is done in the state of New York;

if it was but adopted and encouraged, it might be carried on with equal advantages to the store keepers, farmers, and merchants, besides benefitting the community at large.

Perhaps it would succeed the better, was the society established at Philadelphia for promoting agriculture, or some other society, or the merchants there, to encourage the design, so that it might get into practice; and perhaps some advantages might arise by offering, at first, premiums on those articles.

Should this or any other plan succeed, to establish this manufactory and the exportation thereof, it will be necessary that the legislature pass a law, appointing an inspector of pot-ash and pearl-ash.

November 6, 1783.

L. S.



European method of cultivating hops.

NEW land is found to succeed better with hops, than old: and, in this principle, they are very cautious in their plantations in Kent, and look forward for the after produce. When they make a new hop ground, they plant it with apple trees at a large distance asunder, and with cherry trees between; by this means, when the hops have grown ten years, which they judge as much as they will do well, they place their account in the cherry trees, which bear large crops: these they gather for about thirty years, and then they cut them up, and depend upon their apple trees only, which they find very large and strong by that time.

The dry stalks of hops should be burnt on the ground in winter, covering them with a little fresh earth, and they burn. This makes together an excellent compost to form the hills. The land must be dug or ploughed well, and laid very even; and when the places for the hills marked out by a line, and a stick put in every place where one is to be. A thousand hills may be made in an acre of ground, and six or seven plants set to every hill. From six to nine feet should be allowed between every hill, and the ground in the hills should be better and richer than the common earth. Some plant hops in March and April, but the most experienced

people prefer the month of October, because they will then strike firm roots, and be strong and vigorous against spring. The largest plants are to be chosen, and it is best to procure them from some rich ground, where the hills have been laid high: they should be about eight or ten inches long, and have three or four joints or buds each; the holes for planting them are to be dug eight or ten inches deep, and about a foot over: and in each of these holes four plants are to be set, one in each corner: they may be covered an inch deep over the top, if planted in October; but in spring, when they have shot from the joints, then they must not be buried; after this the ground must be carefully kept clear of weeds.

Dressing.

This is preparing the ground in winter and spring for the making a good summer crop. In doing this, the hills, upon which the plants stand, must be all pulled down, and undermined on every side, till the spade comes near the principal root; then shake off, or remove with the hand, the loose mould from the upper or loose roots, that you may see where the new roots grow out of the old sets. The old sets are to be carefully preserved, but the other roots may be cut away. Whatever time the hills are pulled down, the roots must not be cut till March. When the young hops are dressed for the first time, all the roots are to be cut away that grew the year before, and the sets are to be cut off within one inch of the same, and every year after, they must be cut as close as may be to the old roots: but to a weak hop, some of the shoots are to be left at the dressing. Those roots of the plant, which grow downwards, are never to be injured, but only those which run horizontally are to be cut. The old roots and the young ones may be easily distinguished, as the old ones are always red, and the young white. If there are, by accident, any wild hops got among the rest, the places where they grow are to be marked with sticks, or otherwise, at the time of their being gathered; and after this, at the time of dressing the ground, that whole hill is to be destroyed, and a new one made with new plants in the room of it.

When the roots are cut and dressed, the rich compost is to be put to them, and the hills must not be made too high at first, lest they hinder the young shoots.

Gathering and drying.

Hops blow in the latter end of July; in the beginning of August, they bell, and they are sometimes ripe at the beginning of September, sometimes later. When they begin to change colour, are easily pulled to pieces, and their seeds look brown within them, they are ripe, and they are then to be gathered as quick as possible, for the least blast of wind will hurt them at this time. The manner of gathering hops, is to take down four hills standing together in the midst of the garden, and to cut the roots even with the ground; then lay the ground level; and when it is swept clean, it makes a floor, on which the hops may be laid and picked. The hop plants are first unwound from the poles, and then the people sit round and pick off the hops into baskets. Care should be taken to dry the hops as fast as they are picked; for, in lying undried, they are apt to heat, and change colour very quickly. If the quantity picked be so large that the kiln, in which they are to be dried, is overstocked, they must be spread thin upon a floor, and they will keep two or three days in that manner, without any harm. Indeed, when the quantity is but small, there is no need of having recourse to the kiln at all; for they will be much better than any other way, by being laid thin upon a floor, and often turned. The drying of hops is the most material part of their manufacture: for if they be ill dried, they lose all their agreeable flavour; and great caution should be used, that they be all equally dried.

Bagging.

A term used by farmers, who cultivate hops, for the last thing they have to do with them, in order to bring them to market; that is, the putting them up in bags of coarse cloth, for carriage. When the hops have been picked and dried on the coast, or tin floor, they are so brittle that they would break to pieces, and be spoiled, if they were immediately to be put up; they are therefore to lie together

three weeks, or thereabouts, that they may become tough; if they are covered from the air by blankets in a heap, they may be bagged much sooner than if left open. The manner of bagging them is this. A hole is made in an upper floor, so large that a man may easily go up and down in it; then a hoop is fitted to the mouth of the bag, and so firmly sewed on, that it cannot be torn off; the bag is then let down through the hole; the hoop remaining above, prevents it from being pulled quite through, as it is larger than the hole. A few hops are first thrown into the bag; a person below is to take up a parcel of these in each corner of the bag, tying it with a packthread: this makes a sort of tassels, by which the bags are afterwards the easier managed and turned about. When this is done, one man must go down into the bag, and, while another casts in hops, he must tread them down equally every way with his feet; and when the bag is in this manner filled, it is to be ripped from the hoop, and folded up, leaving two tassels at the corners, as at the bottom. A bag of hops so prepared, may be kept for several years in a dry place.



The whole process of the silk-worm, from the egg to the cocoon; communicated to dr. John Morgan, physician in Philadelphia, in two letters from messrs. Hare and Skinner, silk merchants in London, July 1774, and February 24, 1775.

IT is some time since we were honoured with your esteemed letter of 27th September last. We should not have delayed so long acknowledging its receipt, if it had been in our power to have sent you before this time the manuscript you will receive herewith: but it is only lately we have been able to procure it from one of the first houses in Italy. It contains an exact account of the Italian most improved method of making raw silk. We flatter ourselves it may prove of some service to your newly established manufactory, for whose sole we sent for it to Italy.

The large quantity of raw silk continually arrives from China every year, being mostly of a round or large

size, will a good deal interfere with the sale of yours, provided you make it of the same: therefore we by all means recommend your reeling yours of the fineness of five to six cocoons, no coarser at any rate if avoidable. And we further beg leave to recommend your giving orders to your workmen to be extremely careful in assorting the silk, observing that all that is put into one parcel be exactly, if possible, of the same fineness: for if it is not, it will very much prejudice its sale: a neglect in this particular is complained of in all the silk that has hitherto been received from America. If the silk, which was very good in itself, that we received from Georgia, had been properly assorted, we certainly should have sold it one shilling and six-pence, or two shillings per pound better than we did. If you reel your silk fine, the China silk rather promotes its sale than otherwise, as it is necessary to have fine silk to work up with that of China.

We shall at all times be very ready to communicate to you any intelligence in our power.

We are, with respect, sir,

Your most obedient servants,

HARE & SKINNER,

CHAP. I. *Of the silk-worm.*

THE person who purposes raising a quantity of silk-worms, and preserving good eggs, must begin a year before hand. He must choose a certain number of good cocoons, or silk cods, the superficies of which, he slightly pierces with a needle and thread, and strings them by scores; which done, he hangs them up in a convenient room, this being the most proper position for them. After the moths or butterflies, contained in the cocoon, have eaten their way through their natural inclosure, (which is generally about four days after the cocoon is finished*) you may place them on a linen cloth disposed vertically, against a wall, or on a line, &c. where they couple, and are joined during twenty-

NOTE.

* It happens sometimes the butterfly is longer before its birth, i. e. from 5 to 30 days, if the weather is chilly. They generally come out in the morning.

four hours. This over, the female lays her eggs during other twenty-four hours: after which she dies, as does the male; thus their second life, if I may be permitted the term, is only of forty-eight hours duration. When the eggs are newly laid, they are about the bigness of a common pin's head, and of a straw colour; by degrees they become black, assume more solidity, losing at the same time part of their bulk.

When they are arrived at this point, you must separate them from the cloth; to effect which, you must dip them into a large pan filled with one half water and the other half wine, rather more than lukewarm; when your cloth has soaked in this liquor a little while, you may separate them from the cloth with a silver spoon, and dry them in a sunny place, and take them away when they begin to be whitish.

When you have thus detached your eggs, you must keep them till the next year in a cool damp place, to preserve them from hatching during the great heat, which would ruin the project.

On the arrival of the spring, you must observe when the mulberry tree begins to put forth its leaves, which must be your signal to expose your eggs in a very warm place, that they may all hatch at once, otherwise they would only hatch by little and little, and in proportion as each individual would be arrived at the point of its natural maturity. In which case, the pains required to separate their different classes would be excessive, not to say impossible. To hatch your eggs, you must carry them about you nine or ten days, keeping them in your bosom, or other parts near the body; in the night you may put them between the mattresses of the bed. You may likewise hatch them by the heat of an oven, but this method is dangerous, because you may possibly burn the worm contained in the egg, and thereby destroy all your future hopes.

II. The worm is entirely black at its birth, and is about as long as an ant. He is rolled up in the egg, which otherwise could not contain him. He preserves this black colour eight or nine days. After your worms are hatched, you must put them on wicker shelves, which are covered first with paper, and afterwards with a bed

of the youngest and most tender mulberry leaves; you may place several ranges of them in the same chamber, one above another, provided you leave at least a foot and a half between each range—that the scaffolding be in the middle of the room, and that your wicker shelves be not too broad, but just so as to reach on each side conveniently to the middle. By degrees, the worm grows, and requires more room. It must be your care to thin them, and keep those of the same size, as near as you can, on one row; for which reason, you must always leave some shelves vacant for that purpose.

The worm continues feeding during eight days after its birth, at the end of which he has three lines in length or the fourth part of an inch. He is then attacked with his first sickness, which consists in a kind of lethargic sleep for three days together, during which space he changes his skin, still preserving the same bulk.

This sleep being over, he begins to eat again during five days, at which term he is grown to the size of seven lines in length, after which follows a second sickness*, in every respect like the former. He then feeds during other five days, and is now about nine lines in length, when he is attacked with his third sickness; which over, he continues to eat again five days more, which are followed by his fourth sickness, at which time he is arrived at his full growth, i. e. about fourteen lines in length and two in diameter.

He then feeds during five days with a most voracious appetite; after which, he disdains his food, becomes transparent, a little on the yellow cast, and leaves his silky traces on the leaves where he passes; these signs denote that he is ready to begin his cocoon.

You must then furnish him with little bushes of heath, broom, or other like twigs, sticking the bundles upright in rows between the shelves, and forcing them a little that they may not fall; he remains still two days to climb up the twigs, and settle himself on a good place, after which he begins to

lay the foundation of his lodge, and is five days in spinning his cocoon. He remains generally about the space of forty-seven days.

III. You must keep your worm in a dry place, sheltered and shut up close, provided it be not too hot. If the weather be cold, you must make a small fire. When you furnish them with leaves, take great care that they be thoroughly dry, and strew them lightly over your worms. You must observe to take away their dung very frequently. When the worms are ready to mount (in order to spin) if the weather be stifling hot, attended with thunder, you will see them in a languishing condition; your care must then be to revive them, which is effected thus:

Take a few eggs and onions, and fry them in a pan with some stale hog lard, the ranker the better, and make pancake; which done, carry it smoking hot into the room where they are kept, and go round the chamber with it. You will be surprised to see how the smell revives them, excites them to eat, who have not done feeding, and makes the others, that are ready to spin, climb up the twigs.

These little creatures require a great deal of care in the management; or you must attend them day and night; you must be very dexterous and gentle in handling them; and, I may say, the whole success depends on the care you observe, and pains you take, in rearing them.

The worms cannot suffer from smells, such as tobacco, and the like, for which reason you must avoid offending their delicate organs.

In many parts of Italy, amongst others, Romagna and La Marche d'Ancona, they have two silk harvests or harvests. They keep the eggs in very cool places, and, when the mulberry tree begins to bud again (for during the *racolta*, it is stripped of its leaves, for food for the worms) they expose their eggs to hatch. Sometimes they give rose leaves to the young worms, when there are no young mulberry leaves. The cocoons of this second *racolta* are rather inferior to those of the first.

The silk-worm is generally fourteen lines in length, and two in diameter, and six and two-sevenths in circum-

NOTE.

* You must observe that these sicknesses are much longer, and last seven or eight days when the weather is cold.

ference. He is either of a milk or pearl colour, or blackish: these last are the best. His body is divided into seven rings, to each of which are joined two very short feet. He has a small point like a thorn, exactly above the anus. The substance which forms the silk, is in his stomach, which is very long—wound up as it were on two spindles, and surrounded with a gum, commonly yellow, sometimes white, not often greenish. When the worm spins his cocoon, he winds off a thread from each of his spindles, and joins them, afterwards, by means of two hooks which are placed in his mouth; so that the cocoon is composed of a double thread. Having opened a silk-worm, you may take out the spindles, which are folded up in three plaits, and, on stretching them out, and drawing each extremity, you may extend them to near two ells in length. If you then scrape the thread, so stretched out, with your nail, you will scratch off the gum, which is very much like bees wax, and performs the same office to the silk it covers, as a gold leaf does to the ingot of silver it surrounds, when drawn out by the wire-drawer; the silk then remains of a pearl colour. This thread, which is extremely strong and even, is about the thickness of a middling pin.

Three things very remarkable in this insect, are,

1. They describe a semicircle in eating.
2. Their excrement has perfectly the form of a mulberry.
3. They have no sex before their metamorphosis.

[To be continued.]



Letter on the gout, by M. Emergion, king's attorney in the royal jurisdiction, and at the general court of admiralty of the town of St. Pierre. Dated St. Pierre, Martinique, February 8th, 1776.

S I R,

I WILL now give you the relation, which you request of me, respecting my gout, and supposed cure.

This malady is not hereditary with me. I felt the first stroke of it in 1767, aged then about 55 years.

Frequent pains which circulated

in my feet, knees, and hands, were omens of it. I did not, however, think myself a subject for the gout, but a strong fit, which came upon me in 1769, convinced me that I was really arthritic. That fit was followed by many others; often many in a year, and always longer and more violent. Both feet, the knees and hands, were attacked; sometimes separately, and sometimes together. My last fit, in September, 1774, was extremely cruel; the attack was general, and I suffered during more than two months, inexpressible pains:—fomentations and cataplasms of all kinds were, during the crisis, used in vain:—they gave me no relief.

I was desirous of knowing the cause of this disease; sad consolation! our ancient and modern doctors informed me that the gout was an invincible malady—that its nature was unknown—that it was the sovereign mistress of pains, and could not be subdued by violence—that it became more formidable in proportion to the number of attempts made to conquer it, and that all means, used to mitigate, or overcome it, produced but momentary ease; and tended to irritate and prolong it. In short, that the best remedy, during the pain, was the pain itself. I was assured, nevertheless, than an old gouty man, who had lost the use of all his limbs, for more than five years, had been radically cured by a medicine, for which he was indebted to a Caribbee. I verified the fact, and certain of that cure, immediately made use of the same remedy, of which I soon proved the salutary effects.

[The composition is as follows, viz. Into a bottle, containing about three pints of taffia, infuse two ounces of gum guaiacum pulverized. Stop the bottle well, and expose it to the sun for seven or eight days. Stir and shake it from time to time, to facilitate the dissolution of the gum; and observe, not to fill the bottle entirely, lest the effervescence should burst it—filtrate the liquor through cotton, or blotting paper. The common strong black bottles are proper to receive and preserve this medicine, and, if they be well corked, it will improve very much by age. A large spoonful is a dose, which must be taken every

morning, fasting. The taste of it is not agreeable, but one inures himself to it by habit. Taffia must necessarily be used; brandy would not produce the same effect.]

I commenced the use of this remedy in Nov. 1774. My legs, which were wont to remain a long time weak and feeble after the fits, soon recovered their force and vigour. The nodes, which had formed themselves upon almost all the joints of my feet and hands, were dissipated little by little, either by the effect of the medicine, or by the application of white soap. The play of the articulations is perfectly re-established. There exist but two light nodosities, which do not affect me, and which diminish daily. I feel no longer those shooting pains which formerly tormented me, and announced a new attack: and, for about fifteen months, have enjoyed the comforts of life, of which I was deprived during seven or eight years successively. The daily use that I make of this remedy procures me another advantage: viscidities, rising in the stomach, bitterness, an abundance of humours, and an excessive phlegm, obliged me to have recourse, from time to time, to the letting of blood and purging. These inconveniences are dissipated, and my stomach performs its functions with ease, and without effort. I have reason to believe that this liquor has the virtue of breaking and dividing the gouty humour, hindering it from accumulating and fixing itself, and of operating the evacuation of it either by expectoration, which is abundant after having taken the dose, or in producing the effect of a light purge. I am not, nevertheless, entirely satisfied. Many arthritic people have often extolled, with too much haste, medicines which had procured them but a mere respite. However, if the present year runs off without my feeling any thing of the gout, I shall think myself radically cured. As to regimen, I avoid great repasts, and all sorts of excess. One or two hours after having taken my dose, I breakfast on milk. I dine frugally, without, however, any choice of aliment (fat or lean, sweet, salted, or spiced, cold or hot) my stomach accommodates itself to it, provided it be not overcharged. I eat no supper,

or very little. Water and old Bourdeaux wine form my only beverage.

M. the count de Nozieres

Extracts from a letter written some time after, by the same gentleman to his brother.

Although this remedy appears violent, I know many ladies of a delicate constitution, in this town, who have made use of it a long time without any inconvenience; one of those ladies, who used it with success against the phlegm, was agreeably surprised to see a wen dissolve and dissipate itself entirely, which she had upon her eye, and which had resisted every other medicine; she told me that all her preceding pregnancies had been difficult, except her last, which was of the most happy kind, owing, in the opinion of her physician, to this medicine, which she continued to use with great advantage, while with child, and as a nurse. A gentleman, who took it only for the gout, has the satisfaction of being cured of that disorder, and of seeing daily diminish an old and large wen that he has upon the cheek, in such a manner that he has reason to hope he shall soon be entirely delivered of it. Colics of all kinds, and the most inveterate ulcers, have been cured by this remedy. Many of the inhabitants of this island, use it successfully for their negroes, attacked with the sickness which they call here, disorder of the stomach, or dissolution of blood. In fine, I can attest in its favour, that after having been for a long time an invalid, and having endured all the rigours of the gout, I unite at sixty-five years of age, almost all the attributes of youth, vigour, agility, good appetite, easy digestions, sweet and tranquil sleep, with hope of enjoying a long time all those different advantages, and of being exempt from the infirmities of old age. Your gouty people would do well to get from this place their anti-gout, as our apothecaries compose it with care, and sell it at a reasonable price. The taffia they carry to you, is not always of the best quality, and should the sailors steal any during the passage, it is to be feared they would fill up the vacancy with sea water.

I believe, dear brother, that I have satisfied all your questions—Should your arthritic people have any more

doubts, let them communicate them to me. I take infinite pleasure in employing myself respecting so interesting an object, and from which humanity may draw so great advantages. When I extol this remedy, manifest its excellent properties, make every exertion to gain it esteem, and to convince the most incredulous or timid, it seems to me that I acquit myself in part towards the Supreme Being, that I render homage to his goodness, and pay him a just tribute of gratitude.

EMERGION.



Extract of a letter from dr. Elisha J. Hall, to the president of the Baltimore medical society, on the necessity of passing a law for the regulation of the practice of medicine. P. 27.

IT was said by some of the gentlemen at our last meeting, that there are a number of persons, at present in the practice of physic, totally dependent thereon for support, who could not pass an examination, and that, to prevent their practising their profession in future, would be depriving them of their just rights, and that such a regulation would be contrary to law.

This objection can have no effect upon the mind of any humane, dispassionate person. If a man is incapable of discharging the duties of his profession, the number of years that he has been in business, gives him no privilege to practise it in future. This principle is peculiarly forcible in the point now before us. There is no profession which requires and proves the truth of the above position more than the practice of physic.

But let us admit, for a moment, the above objection of the gentlemen—let it have its full force—let us admit more than they can possibly ask—and let us suppose a person, from among the number they have stated, to be prevented practising his profession, and thereby deprived of bread, and his family starving for the common necessities of life. Even in this very improbable case, I will take the law, and justify it by the voice of reason, and by the most refined principles of humanity. Even in the above supposed case, I appeal to the common dictates of reason and benevolence, if

it is not better, if it is not more consistent with the principles of civil society, to let this man and his family want the necessities of life, than to permit him to practise a profession to the destruction of the lives of hundreds of his fellow-creatures, annually? the first and most important support of civil society is, that individuals must give way to the measures for the public good; and that in cases, where the interest of the individual is at variance with the happiness and safety of the community in general, the former must, in reason and justice, yield to the latter. As to the proposed regulation being contrary to law, I deny the assertion totally. There is no particular law existing in this state, that warrants the gentlemen's assertion; and I think I could hazard the opinion, that no system of natural, or political law at present existing, will afford the gentlemen any ground to support their assertions. The gentlemen have acknowledged, that it was wrong for these men, in the first instance, to practise physic, as they were ignorant of the business. When they acknowledge this much, it is in fact—in reason—and justice, giving up the matter in controversy, as it is a principle admitted in law and in equity, that no man shall take the benefit of his own wrong. No length of time can give sanction to a measure wrong in itself. The laws of reason and justice are eternal and immutable, and as we have admitted the evil complained of, to consist in the ignorance of men at present in the practice of physic, most certainly all persons comprehended within this description, are the just and reasonable objects of such a law.

Although vice, since the fall of man, is as ancient as virtue itself, and is commensurate with our very existence, yet it has ever met with the detestation and abhorrence of mankind—and as well might we countenance a vicious character in his mal-practices, because he has been in the practice of them for some time past, as to permit a man, ignorant of the principles and practice of medicine, to make use of his base arts even to the destruction of the lives of his fellow-creatures, because he has been in the habit of killing for a series of years. The absurd

dity of the above objections is so obvious, that it would be an insult to your understanding to reason further upon the subject.

I hope there is not a man now in the society, who will object to the principles of the law which accompanies this address. I flatter myself none present would wish to be considered on a level, and legally ranked among the quacks who infest different parts of this state.—I am sure the mixture would be unnatural, and the consequences extremely disagreeable.—It is not the numbers that they absolutely kill—but it is the numbers that die under their hands for the want of better assistance; they occupy business to the exclusion of men of useful abilities. It is not that they disgrace themselves, but it is that they disgrace us. The difficulty of separating the two characters, subjects us to be censured by the world for the blunders which they commit in their practice.—Thus it is that physic has degenerated—thus it is that we require the law which is now before us.

After pointing out the evils which would flow from a law extending only to those persons who may hereafter apply for admittance into the practice of physic, it is scarcely necessary to shew the various advantages which would arise from a law of a contrary nature, extending to all persons at present in and yet to commence the practice of physic in this state. The good of the public in general ought to be the foundation of every law, and every good citizen will be contented under that law, which is for the benefit of the community:—therefore as it is admitted by all persons, that the ignorance of men at present in the practice of physic, forms an evil which calls for a remedy, it follows that no good citizen will object to a law that tends to remove that evil. The necessity of a law of this nature, will more evidently appear, when we consider the distant removal of the science of medicine from common sense and common observation. The public and every individual therein, being so materially and immediately interested in the abilities of practitioners of physic, it is a duty which society owes to itself, to form such laws or

regulations, as will ascertain the merits of such men, before they are admitted to practise their profession.—The advantages resulting from a plan of this nature, are reciprocal between the public and the individual. Thus the community will be secure from imposition, and professional merit will meet with its just reward. Thus, the sons of Science will be relieved from despair—and the Genius of philosophy will smile at their fate—happy in an opportunity to extend health to all the suffering family of mankind.

Then how noble, how charming is the picture to a thinking mind—to see Candour and Benevolence—Reason and Physic walking hand in hand to the sacred temple of Philosophy—there bowing at the same altar in mutual confidence and mutual affections, and enjoying the sweets of their united exertions!—Here the pure fountains of the virtues unite their streams to swell the tide of human greatness—Here commences a scene too lovely, too interesting for words to colour!—Here language must pause, here representation must expire, and the fair Genius of description retire, and in blushing confusion acknowledge her inferiority.

To shift the scene, and present a partial law to the world—How mortifying is the contrast! How disgraceful are those sordid minds, which would conceal from the world those blessings which they represent as sources of health and happiness to mankind! But how monstrous—how ridiculous—how far sunk beneath the dignity of human nature, are those characters who attempt to unite these extremes, and assume along with their narrow, selfish, and secret proceedings, that candid—that humane, and benevolent deportment of a philosopher! With great respect I submit the above observations to your consideration.

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

ELISHA J. HALL.

Baltimore, December 13, 1788.



A sketch of the principal causes which impair the constitutions, and shorten the lives, of people of fashion.
By Dr. William Currie.

AS it is an acknowledged fact, confirmed by daily observation, that

the constitutions of people of fashion are exceedingly delicate, and easily disordered, and that very few of that description live to old age; I hope it will not be unacceptable, if I point out the causes thereof, and the remedies: and though I may not advance a single idea that is new on the subject, there can be no disadvantage in recalling the attention, as occasion may require, to useful truths, which might otherwise be forgotten.

The principal of these causes are excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the table; want of exercise; lying too long in bed; respiring confined air; and vexation of mind. Diet, rendered exquisitely stimulating and refreshing, by the art of cookery, has so powerful an effect upon the palate, as to tempt to indulgence in much more than is really necessary for the support or nutrition of the body; especially when wine, of the most enervating quality, and delicious flavour, is joined with the principal meals.—This regimen, with the observance of regularity, it is true, increases the bulk, plumpness, and fatness of the body; and when exercise is freely employed, no ill consequence may ensue, as the animal system has a power of accommodating itself gradually to almost any immersion, however foreign to its nature.

But, such a mode of living, when little or no exercise is taken, is soon productive of unsalutary effects.—When this mode of living is carried to excess, it always occasions repletion, and a quantity of blood disproportioned to the capacity of the vessels, and disposes the body to very violent diseases.—Every meal, taken to excess, creates drowsiness, succeeded by feverish symptoms, particularly supernatural heat and restlessness.—The violence done to the stomach by supernatural stimuli and distention, at length relaxes and weakens; hence its digestive powers are enfeebled, and the same condition is communicated to the whole nervous system, and to all the functions of the body, which depend upon it. These disagreeable effects are confirmed by a sedentary life.

A sound state of health depends upon firm fibres, steady nerves, good digestion, regular circulation of the blood, and regular evacuations. This

state can only be preserved by temperance, or moderation in diet, (including drinks) exercise, pure air, and tranquility of mind;—other means may be of service; but these are indispensable.—Want of exercise, alone, never fails to occasion relaxation and a morbid sensibility of the nerves—a sensibility and irritability, of which the active and robust can have no idea.

The same relaxed and debilitated condition is produced by lying abed all the morning in the confined air of a chamber, secluded from the cheering rays of light.

Compare the pale and bloated visage of a fashionable loungeur, with the ruddy and healthful countenance of the temperate and early rising farmer, and the advantages of temperance in eating and drinking, and of early rising and activity, will be conspicuous.—The noxious effects of confined and stagnant air, are too well known to need description.—Air in circulation is absolutely necessary for the support of both animal and vegetable life: motionless air is as destructive to both, as stagnant and putrid waters are to fishes formed to exist in rivers.—By secluding ourselves from the free and open air, we deprive ourselves of one of nature's choicest blessings, and soon become unfit for the valuable purposes of life—it is very astonishing, that man, who cannot exist a moment without air, should be so afraid of it, and yet so little attentive to the quality of what he breathes.—Confined and impure air equally affects the health of the greatest beauty beneath her gilded roof, the sheep in the fold, and the plant in the green house.—Vexation or uneasiness of mind, whether proceeding from resentment, envy, discontent, or sorrow, has a relaxing and debilitating effect, by destroying the appetite and digestion, and preventing nutrition. People of wealth and fashion are more liable to vexation than others, for, having no necessary object of pursuit, they become satiated and displeased with every thing:—they are apt to engage in various projects, in hopes of attaining that plenitude of satisfaction, which they have sought for in the vain haunts of dissipation—some enter into schemes for augmenting their fortune, and frequently meet with vexatious losses.—others “build

enormous palaces, the fools and architects to please ;” and run in debt for ornaments and equipage. Some, in order to kill time, ruin their estates at games of hazard—numerous are the modes of embarrassing a man’s circumstances—and as numerous are his causes of vexation. But he that courts popularity, or considers a title essential to happiness, is liable to a multiplicity of vexations—he grows suspicious and apprehensive of every one engaged in the same pursuit, and discontent gnaws the root of his felicity ; if he fails in his pursuit, he becomes a dejected valetudinarian.—It is certain that many of the complaints of the man of fashion, are wholly imaginary ; they derive their existence from fancy, humour, and unmanly subjection to the opinion of others—their distress is real, but its reality arises, not from the nature of things, but from that disorder of imagination, which a small measure of reflexion might correct. Their fantastic refinements, sickly delicacy, and eager emulation to eclipse each other in ornament and figure, open a thousand sources of vexation peculiar to themselves.—They cannot enjoy happiness, who affect a disrelish for every pleasure that is not both exquisite and new, who measure enjoyment not by their own sensations, but by the standard of fashion ;—and who think themselves wretched, if others do not pay them homage.—It is not from wants or sorrows, that their complaints arise, but from the languor of vacant life, and the irritation occasioned by those stagnating humours which ease and indulgence have bred within them.

(The remainder in our next.)



Caution against colds.

AT this season, those who regard their health should be properly prepared to meet the vicissitudes of climate—and keep on constant guard against colds, which are the sources of the most dangerous and violent disorders. Those generally proceed from some external check of the natural perspiration, whereby the pores of the skin are suddenly locked, and a considerable portion of an excretory fluid, whose separation from the blood health absolutely requires, thus checked in its egress, is suddenly

thrown back into the circulation, and causes inflammatory complaints of the bowels—putrid fevers, and other painful and dangerous disorders.

All sudden transitions from heat to cold are therefore to be cautiously avoided. All unnecessary exposures to wet weather—and, most particularly, wet in the feet, should be shunned ;—the perspiration there, with those who walk much, has a very considerable discharge, in the coldest weather, as being powerfully checked on all other surfaces of the body. The sudorial exudation there is, in many constitutions, considerably acrid and fetid, which still more strongly proves the necessity of its separation from the blood. Wet in the feet while walking, meets perspiration in the most dangerous passage, and has often been productive of disorder too rapid for medical skill. Men therefore, who walk or ride, should be provided with both shoes and boots water-proof, and wear woollen sock inside their stockings, should they be of any other material.



Constitution of the Delaware society for the encouragement and promotion of the manufactories of America.

CONVINCED by experience that the God of nations has furnished the united states of America with the means of defence and preservation ; that the Author of wisdom has endowed them with virtue, patriotism, and a just sense of the rights and dignity of man ; we may reasonably conclude, that the Parent of nature has supplied, out of her lap of abundance, this favoured country with all the materials necessary for food, raiment, use, ornament, and commerce, and has laid deep in her foundations the sources of wealth and importance, which, if properly improved, will make them a rich, happy and flourishing people. That we may not be unmindful of the bountiful hand of the great Donor ; that we may receive with gratitude, and improve with industry the blessings liberally bestowed upon us ; that we may complete the great fabric, the progress of which has already astonished the world—it becomes the duty

ty of the sons of America to promote the arts and sciences, to cultivate agriculture, to increase their manufactures, the sources of useful and beneficial commerce, and to live with frugality and œconomy. But as the attainment of these objects requires various and extended exertions, beyond the power of a few individuals; and as each branch would be more effectually improved by voluntary associations for that purpose; be it our humble task to promote and encourage by such ways and means as shall be thought most effectual—the manufactures of our own country.

For which purpose, we do hereby form ourselves into an association, by the name of the Delaware Society for the encouragement and promotion of the manufactories of the united States of America.

1st. And we therefore agree, that we will appear annually on the first day of January, in a full and complete suit of American manufactures.

2. That we will encourage the raising of sheep, and the growth of hemp and flax.

3d. And we will discourage the importation of foreign articles, and always give a preference to domestic manufactures, when there is a reasonable proportion between their prices and goodness.

4th. That each member of the society shall pay at the time of subscribing, the sum of two shillings and sixpence, and the same sum annually, to be appropriated and laid out in the distribution of premiums for promoting the object of the institution, as the society shall from time to time direct.

5th. The society shall meet on the first day of January annually, and shall, in the intermediate time, sit on their own adjournments.

6th. That the members present shall always be a quorum to do business.

7th. That a president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary shall be chosen at the annual meeting, and shall continue in office one year: that none of the aforesaid articles shall be altered, unless by the consent of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.



An oration, delivered in the college of Philadelphia, before the united

company of Philadelphia for promoting American manufactures. March 17th 1777. By Robert Strettel Jones, esq. of Burlington county.

Gentlemen,
THE deference I owe to the solicitations of my worthy brethren, and a pleasing expectation that the continuance of these public addresses, on your anniversary meetings, may be of general utility, have constrained my appearance before you upon this day. Weighty arguments, however, were not wanting to dissuade me from the attempt, and none operated more forcibly, than that the ingenious gentlemen* who have gone before me, have so well sustained the parts allotted to them, as to leave little for you to hope, or me to say—I am, nevertheless, I trust, from that conviction the more entitled to your candour, though I should fail to deserve your approbation.

This institution, which you have been pleased to intrust to our management, was established on the most benevolent principles—to give employment to the industrious poor—or, in other words, “to feed the hungry, and to clothe the naked”—at a time, when the general distress of our country was only in prospect: and this, without a single wish for, and beyond a hope of, private gain, or personal advantage. The godlike privilege of doing good, you have fully enjoyed, and whilst your well-directed benevolence has revived the dying embers, scarcely glowing on the lonely hearth of poverty, you have unexpectedly experienced, that virtue is its own reward. The little crumbs that you have scattered, have returned before many days, loaded with an increase beyond the most sanguine expectation. That this may the more clearly appear, I proceed to lay before you as exact an estimate of your stock, as it is at present in our power to render.

	£.	s.	d.
Lin. goods manufactd.	1443	1	7
Cotton and woolen, do.	474	12	0
Raw materials.	1686	1	4
Outstanding debts,	117	11	10
Carried over,	3721	6	9

NOTE.

Dr. Rush and mr. Richard Wells, of Philadelphia.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over,	3721	6	9
Cash in the hands of the clerks,	138	2	7
Cash in the hands of the treasurer,	1101	0	6h
Cash in the hands of Daniel and Gardiner to buy flax,	121	0	0
	5081	9	10h

	£.	s.	d.
Amount of implements,	184	1	6
New looms and machines,	70	12	6

254 14 0

which may be allowed to make good rent, small debts and losses from spinners.

A share is therefore now worth 17*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*—originally, but 10*l.*

I sincerely congratulate you, gentlemen, upon this happy conclusion of the second year; and although from inexperience, your managers may have fallen into error in their conduct; you may assure yourselves that their aim has ever been to promote your advantage, so far as it could consist with the most humane attention to the primary object of your institution. To err is human, even when the journey is on a plain road, by strangers, through a well-known country; how much more difficult is it then to avoid mistakes, roaming upon a stormy ocean, unassisted by chart or compass: though surrounded by dangers, some of them peculiar to the season in which we were obliged to embark upon our voyage—fears, that, circumstanced as we were, we should either overset or run you on shore—and sometimes hemmed in by the current of opposition, constantly setting against every new undertaking; we have, notwithstanding, ventured thus far—and although we may not deserve the character of skilful navigators, yet candour and good-nature will not refuse to own, that we, at least, possess some of the virtues generally attributed to that brave, adventurous, and useful class of our fellow-citizens.

Our forefathers, when they landed on this happy shore, brought with them a strong predilection in behalf of the favoured island from whence they emigrated; and very long should we

have continued to prefer the manufactures of the British loom, even to our own, had not avarice and ambition, with sacrilegious hands, untwisted every cord that bound us to each other in blissful union. By the endearing name of home they constantly distinguished Britain; and we to imitate their example, fondly innocent of guile, lisped the same language, inattentive to its impropriety, until a cruel, ill-directed policy taught us to think with the old patriot Ludlow, “that every country is a brave man’s country.” It would be a long, tedious, and unnecessary tale I should impose upon myself, before such an audience, were I to carry you back to the first ground upon which America might reasonably, and with the utmost constitutional propriety, have opposed the exactions of Britain. At former periods it would have been highly laudable to have given our coarser but more durable essays a preference to her finer, more finished, but less useful manufacture; but in excuse for this supineness, aided by the power of habit and the charm of home, it may be observed, that some of the prior acts*, though highly infringing upon our liberties and the honest support of our families were suffered, under the government of fond prejudice, to operate untroubled, being considered as the offspring of misinformation, or the watery sallies of giddy power, fond governing in governing “too much and therefore open to the conviction of truth and liberty, better understood, rather than the exertion of infant principle in the constitution which we have since beheld stretching itself to so gigantic a size as to threaten the overthrow of a fabric reared by the wisdom of ages. But daily experience taught us, however unwilling to learn, that every new added a fresh link to the chain of despotism; then every motive that could actuate the generous bosom, called loudly upon us to stay the progress of a power, which, ignorant of its most cases, assumed a right to bind in all. The introduction and encouragement

NOTE.

* Relative to the number of hatters apprentices and spinning mills.

agement of American manufactures, necessity, policy, and patriotism pointed out. This method of opposition, we flatter ourselves, has been adopted with success; because, many persons, encouraged by our undertaking, have embarked very largely upon their own private accounts.

But your liberal plan was laid only as a foundation of public emolument. Could you trace the streams of your beneficence through all the meanders in which they have flowed to make the miserable happy, you would enjoy the highest luxury of virtue. Many, without the kindly assistance held forth by this institution, might have shrunk under the death-cold grasp of poverty, leaving the disconsolate widow, the afflicted husband, the vigorous young, untaught and inexperienced in the arts of life, the blooming, tender maid hesitating on the path of rectitude or ruin, and numerous infant offspring exposed to the wiles of hackneyed craft, the ruthless hand of the public, executioner, or, at best, to the cautious, reluctant bounty of charity, listlessly giving, almost wearied by ungrateful or fictitious applications. Have you, thus, been the blessed instruments under the guidance of an all-ruling providence, to banish want from the humble dwelling, where industry had been long wooed to enter, without success—have you for one moment stayed the, heretofore, ceaseless tears of aged widowhood—restored the father fainting under the accumulated load of penury and sickness—raised the dejected head of the drooping, melancholy mother, unable to relieve or support the unfortunate, but now feebler, clamors of her little ones—in whose infant minds perhaps the seeds of every virtue are implanted, and may expand into the ripe fruit of moral excellence or public usefulness—have you been so highly distinguished, as with paternal tenderness to lead them forth, pointing out to their eager eyes the bowers of competence in the road of industry, thereby adling useful members to the community, rescuing them at the same time from the long train of vices, and attendant miseries, with which sloth, the bane of human society, is forever surrounded? That you have been able, by sparing a little, for a short time, from

your store, without impoverishing yourselves, thus to diffuse happiness, or dispel misery, and prevent immediate ruin, must give the conscious glow of self approbation to every countenance in this assembly. If you have saved one fellow-citizen from destruction—and you may have saved many—I know you feel it to be of more value than the whole amount of your capital. [*Remainder in our next.*]



*Method of edulcorating train oil.
Published by order of the society
for the encouragement of arts, man-
ufactures, and commerce.*

Process the first,

FOR purifying oil in a moderate degree, almost without any expense.

Take an ounce of chalk, powdered pretty finely, and half an ounce of lime, slackened by lying exposed to the air. Put them into a gallon of stinking oil: and having mixed them well together, by stirring, add half a pint of water; and mix that with them, also, by the same means. When they have stood an hour or two, repeat the stirring, and continue the same treatment, at convenient intervals, for two or three days. After which superadd a pint and a half of water, in which an ounce of salt has been dissolved; and mix them as the other ingredients, repeating the stirring, as before, for a day or two. Let the whole then stand at rest; and the water will sink below the oil; and the chalk subside in it to the bottom of the vessel; the oil will become clear, be of a lighter colour, and have considerably less smell: but will not be purified in a manner equal to the effect of the other processes below given: though as this is done, with the expense only of one ounce of salt, it may be practised advantageously for many purposes: especially preparatory to the next method, the operation of which will be facilitated by it.

Process the second,

To purify oil, without heat, to a great degree.

Take a gallon of crude stinking oil, or of such as is previously prepared by the foregoing method, and add to it an ounce of powdered chalk. Sur-

them well together, several times, as in the preceding process; and, after they have been mixed some hours, or a whole day, add one ounce of pearl-ashes, dissolved in four ounces of water; and repeat the stirring, as before. After they have been so treated for some hours, put in a pint of water, in which two ounces of salt are dissolved, and proceed as before. The oil and brine will separate, on standing some days: and the oil will be greatly improved, both in smell and colour. Where a greater purity is required, the quantity of pearl-ashes must be increased; and the time, before the addition of salt and water, prolonged.

If the same operation be repeated several times, diminishing, at each time, the quantity of the ingredients, one half, the oil may be brought to a very light colour; and rendered equally sweet in smell, with the common spermacei oil.

By this process, the cod oil may be made to burn; and when it is so putrid as not to be fit for any use, either alone or mixed, it may be so corrected by the first part of the process, as to be equal to that commonly sold; but where this is practised, in the case of such putrid oil, use half an ounce of chalk, and half an ounce of lime.

Process the third.

To purify oil, with the assistance of heat, where the greatest purity is required: and particularly for the woolen manufacture.

Take a gallon of crude stinking oil; and mix with it a quarter of an ounce of powdered chalk, and a quarter of an ounce of lime slackened in the air, and stir them together; and when they have stood some hours, add a pint and a half of water, and two ounces of pearl-ashes: and place them over a fire that will just keep them simmering, till the oil appears of a light amber colour: and has lost all smell, except a soapy, greasy, hot scent. Then superadd half a pint of water, in which one ounce of common salt has been dissolved; and, having boiled them half an hour, pour them into a proper vessel, and let them stand till the separation of the oil, water, and lime, be made, as in the preceding.

Where this operation is performed, to prepare oil for the woolen manu-

facture, the salt may be omitted; but the separation of the lime from the oil will be slower; and a longer boiling is necessary.

If this oil be required still more pure, treat it, after it is separated from the water, &c. according to the second process, with an ounce of chalk, a quarter of an ounce of pearl-ashes, and half an ounce of salt.

Observations on the above processes.

Observations on process the first.

First, this process may be performed on any kind of fish or seal oil, that is putrid and stinking; and will improve it in smell, and most generally render it of a lighter colour, if before dark and brown. It will also conduce to the rendering those oils fitter for burning profitably, that are in their original state faulty in that point: but it will not meliorate them to the full degree they admit of, even with heat; and should, therefore, be practised only where moderate improvement is required.

Second, after the oil is taken off from the dregs and brine; the dregs which swim on the brine, should be taken off also, and put into another vessel, of a deep form; and, on standing, particularly if fresh water be added, and stirred with them, nearly the whole remaining part of the oil will separate from the foulness; or to save this trouble, the dregs, when taken off, may be put to any future quantity of oil, that is to be edulcorated by this method; which will answer the same end.

Observations on process the third.

First, This process may be advantageously performed on the train oil called vicious oil, and the more putrid and foul it may be, the greater will be the proportionable improvement; especially if there be no mixture of the other kind of fish oils; particularly the seal; which do not admit of being edulcorated perfectly, by means of heat; but require other methods: but when the vicious oil is pure, however stinking it may be, the bad smell will be removed by this process, duly executed, and the brown colour changed to a light amber; and these qualities will be much more permanent in this, than in any crude fish oil: as it will not, on account of the degree of purity to which it is brought, be subject

putrify again under a great length of time, whether it be kept open, or in close vessels. The oil, in this state, will burn away without leaving the least remains of foulness in the lamp; and, being rendered more fluid, than before, will go further when used in the woolen manufacture, than any other kind, and be much more easily coured from the wool. If, nevertheless, there be any branches of the woolen manufacture, which require the use of a more thick and unctuous oil, this may be rendered so, by adding a proper quantity of tallow, or at; of which a certain proportion will perfectly incorporate with the oil; the fluidity and transparency being still preserved, as well as all the other qualities that render it suitable to the intended purpose. This may be the most beneficially done, by adding a proper quantity of the refuse grease of families, commonly called kitchen luff: which, being put to the oil, when moderately heated, will immediately dissolve in it, and let fall all its impurities or foulness, to the bottom of the vessel: and it will be so far from being in any way disadvantageous, that it will, on the contrary, be profitable to the manufacturer; as there will be a saving of more than one half in the proportion of the kitchen luff employed.

Secondly, the different qualities and disposition of different parcels of vicious oil, with respect toedulcoration, render various proportions of the ingredients to be used, necessary. The quantities stated in the above process, are the least, which will effect the end, in general; and frequently greater will be required, but these may always be first tried; and, if it be found after six or eight hours simmering of the mixture, that no gradual improvement is making in the smell and colour, but that the oil continues the same in those particulars, and remains also mixed with chalk and lime, and in a thick turbid state, a fourth or third part of the first quantity of pearl-ashes should be added; and the simmering continued till the oil be perfect. It is proper, as the quantity of the water is lessened by the evaporation, to make fresh additions from time to time, that there may be always nearly the original proportion.

Third, if it be inconvenient to give

the whole time of boiling together the fire may be suffered to go out, and re-kindled at any distance of time; and if, in such case, a small proportion of pearl-ashes, dissolved in water, be added, and the mixture several times stirred, between the times of boiling, it will facilitate the operation.

The time of boiling may be also much shortened, if the chalk, lime, and pearl-ashes, be added some days before, and the mixture frequently stirred; or if oil, previouslyedulcorated, according to process No. 1, be taken, instead of crude oil.

Fourth, the oil remaining in the dregs may be recovered by the same means, as are directed for process No. 1. in observation No. 2; and if they be duly performed, there will scarcely any waste at all be found in the oil by the operation.



Considerations on the future place of residence of congress.

I AM a citizen of the united states, a friend to the principles on which the federal government is established, and am deeply interested in its duration.

The effect that a late ordinance, for assembling the first congress at New York, has had on the minds of the inhabitants of the southern states, has greatly alarmed me. But I am more peculiarly concerned about the consequences, when I observe the insidious design of the people of New York to retain congress in that eccentric district, although they always had affected to declare, that they abhorred the idea of a permanent arrangement, so partial and oppressive in its tendency.

I wish to quiet the public mind on this subject, and to convince our southern brethren, that a measure, which they so justly deprecate, as opposed to the spirit of a constitution, which the preamble thereof holds out as ordained to establish justice and promote the general welfare, must be speedily renounced, even by its most violent adherents.

Detached from the influence of local or partial considerations, and governed by the purest motives of public good, I will adduce some arguments against the expediency of

such an arrangement, drawn from the incontrovertible principles of truth and justice.

1st. Because the states, which with cordial and unsuspecting confidence parted with all those powers which regulated their national and aggregate interests, and which they vested in the federal government, have been fully persuaded, that in so doing, they have consulted their respective advantages, by thus consolidating and strengthening the powers of the union.

But if, under the operation of a government thus constituted, the mutual interests and accommodation of the states be not impartially attended to, the peace, prosperity, and preservation of the union must necessarily be endangered.

2d. Because the assembling the government in a situation so remote from the centre of national population, (there being forty-two representatives and sixteen senators to the southward, and but seventeen representatives and eight senators to the northward of New York) is obviously an act of extreme partiality, and has an aspect towards local aggrandizement and particular interests. By confining that amazing influence which always surrounds the seat of government, to such an eccentric district, it must eventually attach to it so great a portion of strength, as must terminate, when aided by ambitious views, in the extinction of the confederacy, or the degradation of a considerable part of it. That this idea is well founded, will appear evident, from an attentive consideration paid to the relative powers and resources, possessed by the northern and southern states; which involves the necessity of taking care, that the ambition of the powerful members should not be accompanied by the means of degrading the weak, and of rendering them subordinate and dependent, which might tend to dissolve the confederacy, as has happened with other leagues, constituted on dissimilar and unequal terms.

3d. Because some of the southern states have been seriously alarmed at those parts of the constitution, which clothe a majority of the legislature with the power of regulating commerce, which may tend to confine and monopolize the carrying trade—

as well as with the power of establishing duties on foreign imports, which, under the specious and seducing plea of encouraging domestic manufactures, may be carried to so injurious an extreme, as to operate as a prohibition; the incautious or interested exercise of these powers may consequently be made the engines of severe oppression to the southern states, which renders it necessary to guard against the effects of such a combination.

A similar one has already and recently existed, when an attempt was made in congress to barter away the invaluable rights of the southern states to the free navigation of the Mississippi, secured by treaty, and the great law of nature, and of nations, in exchange for certain commercial benefits which the seven navigating states would almost exclusively have enjoyed—it will again exist, whenever interest, that powerful agent, which assimilates discordant objects, separates or increases the force of strong connexions, requires it—and it will exist, in a degree proportional to its active interference.

As some of the southern states have selected these powers, as including the strongest objections to the federal constitution, it was unwise to place the seat of government in the midst of the navigating and manufacturing states, as it must doubtless discompose the harmony of the union, by creating strong apprehensions of an influence and co-operation of interests which may engender commercial and fiscal regulations exceedingly oppressive and injurious to the southern members of the confederacy.

Influence, by facilitating the means will give the opportunity, and a distinct and separate interest will form the impulse. There is nothing then to depend upon, as an adequate controul to check the inducements that will exist to sacrifice the weaker party; the government must consequently commence in distrust, and, if this arrangement continues, proceed with jealousy, and possibly terminate in discord.

4th. Because great alarm and apprehension must arise in every reflecting mind in the southern district of the union, who views the chart of the country, and considers with what facility, from local advantage of situa-

on, a combined force in the federal legislature might be assembled, whenever any great question, to which the northern states are attached, was to be agitated, or any important point determined, where it was necessary to outnumber their opponents, and accomplish the secret wishes of an interested majority.

5th. Because that due proportion of advantage, which should be enjoyed by the constituent parts of a free and equal confederacy, and that attention which the states have a right to expect to their convenience, require, that the government should be assembled in the midst of the population of the country; where, its benefits might circulate as equally as possible, and where it might equally diffuse its animating influence—where, its operations might diverge, and be proportionally felt throughout the whole extent of the united states, and reach to and controul the extremities—where, the collective resources of the union may be drawn into one point, and administered with the greatest facility—where, the speediest intelligence of hostile preparations, and movements, domestic insurrection, or external invasions, may be obtained, and a military force to oppose, directed with the greatest dispatch—where, the more southern states, which are in the neighbourhood of continual danger from their contiguity to the settlements of foreign nations, as well as to hostile tribes of Indians, might feel a confidence in the protection of government, by knowing that it was placed as near them as the general interests of the union would permit—where, frequent interchange of opinion between the members of the federal legislature and their respective constituents (so as to admit of recourse to their instructions, in pressing cases, when prompt decision was indispensably necessary) would be facilitated, as well as a communication between the officers of the great departments and their dependencies in the different states.

6th. Because the most productive branches of revenue arising from imposts, will more abundantly be drawn from the southern states, as being the great consumers of imported articles; and it is but just and reasonable that they

should have a chance of being benefited by the expenditure thereof, which must depend on local situation and their respective distances from the seat of government.

7th. Because the exercise of the extensive powers that have been committed by the individual states to the general government, will involve their respective citizens in a great variety of connexions, and a more intimate relationship with its administration, more especially in points which regard the fiscal and judiciary departments;—this will oftentimes induce the necessity of the personal attendance of those who have any business to transact with the board of revenue, or the courts of justice. This description of citizens, with the counsel employed in defence of their suits, their witnesses, &c. as well as the senators and representatives for the southern states, must travel far beyond the central point of population of the union, to their great detriment and disadvantage.

8th. Because the great and growing increase of the western territory, and the immense resources that have been promised to the union, towards the extinction of the federal debt, from the sale of that fertile district, where new settlements are forming, that will soon rise into independent states, require the seat of government to be so placed, as to have an aspect towards that country, in order to superintend with facility its great and complicated interests, as well as to guard against the treachery of the Indian tribes, whose dispositions at present appear hostile.

9th. Because this act of flagrant injustice, not founded on a reason of necessity, or any attainable advantage of a general nature, is so opposed to the spirit of mutual accommodation and concession, on which the federal government was formed, and which can alone continue to support it, as must have a very inauspicious effect, by creating distrust and dissatisfaction in the minds of the members of the first congress, where only harmony, zeal for the public good, and confidence should reign. A temper thus irritated, will become very unfavourable to the progress of the important business that will agitate the federal councils, and may involve its malignant influence in the fundamental acts

of legislation, and in the necessary and ordinary operations of government.

10th. Because the reins of government must be proportionably relaxed at a distance from the seat of congress, which will require a district, so far removed as the southern states are from New York, to be governed by extraordinary efforts of power, in cases of pressing exigency, in order to give life and vigour to the public exertions in so remote a part of the union. How far the exercise of a high-handed authority will accord with the feelings of the citizens of the southern states, requires but little reflexion to determine.

11th. Because the only plea that is alleged for summoning congress to meet at New York, on account of the records being placed there, is unsubstantial and trivial, inasmuch as a removal to a more central situation could have been effected at a small expense, and without the least risque to the public archives. Such objections must be deemed by every candid mind very unimportant, when contrasted with the immense disadvantages arising from the dissatisfaction or distrust which such a partial ordinance of congress would naturally occasion. The arrangement rather indicates a resolution to fix the seat of government permanently at New York, which the advocates for the measure are the more sanguine in their expectation of accomplishing, from their reliance on the extent of influence which the first appointment of the numerous officers of congress, and their establishment in this favoured district, will occasion.

12th. Because New York is open to the sea, and without defence; and the place where congress resides should be free from danger, and not exposed to the predatory naval incursions of an enemy; without such security, the functions of government must be suspended during an alarm of war, until a place of refuge can be found, where the deliberations of congress would be free from apprehensions, and where its records can be deposited in unmolested security.

13th. Because it is well known that vast importance and advantages, both with respect to population and

riches, are always derived to the place and its surrounding districts where the public revenues are collected into a point, and which is the centre of the great monied operations. Many will be induced to reside there from the facility they will enjoy in negotiating the public stocks, which will be by transfer, as well as from the benefits they will derive from being enabled to make a quick circulation of the public securities.

The inhabitants in the vicinity thereof must naturally have a better chance of success in filling the public office as they will have the opportunity of enforcing their pretensions by personal application and address—which are reasons strongly impressive of the necessity of placing congress in as central a situation as possible.

Every patriot and statesman who is a friend to the federal government must feel the force of these arguments: there are many equally cogent, which are of too delicate a nature to convey to the public mind through this channel.

A TRUE FEDERALIST
Philadelphia, Jan. 2, 1789.

From the Federal Gazette.

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, South and North Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland: by the rev. dr. Collins, D. D. and M. A. P. S.

NUMBER II.

IN treating a momentous and difficult subject, my reasoning may sometimes jar with the principles of many enlightened persons; but I am persuaded I shall be guided by a sincere zeal for the liberty and happiness of the union, and by a sacred regard to what I believe to be the truth, without even the least tincture of well-meant dissimulation. This is odious to a candid mind, and justifiable only by extreme necessity. Happily the federal cause does not want such a paltry resource: the better we understand our true situation, the more unanimous, pleasurable and effectual will be the pursuit of our common interest. With a peculiar satisfaction I can also execute it.

sign, without the necessity of reflecting on men or parties. I discuss with modest freedom the actions of public bodies, without any criticism of their motives, or distinction of the individuals that composed them: only observing that the minority of Maryland was but eleven; that the amendments were more or less approved of by the several states; and that those opposed by Massachusetts and South Carolina are but few; from which we may conclude, that there is much more apparent than real dissention about the constitution.

Our attention is naturally first attracted by this extensive amendment: "That it be explicitly declared, that all powers not expressly delegated by the constitution, are reserved to the several states, to be by them exercised."—Ratification by Massachusetts, first am. Ditto, by New Hampshire, North Carolina, Virginia; second, by South Carolina: first, the address of the minority of Maryland, and eleventh in that of the minority of Pennsylvania—all in words nearly the same. The convention of New York probably supposed that so many other pointed amendments made it needless. The minority of Pennsylvania enforce it by this addition, "that the sovereignty and independency of the several states shall be retained." Virginia and North Carolina strengthen it by this further amendment (seventeenth and eighteenth respectively) "That those clauses which declare that congress shall not exercise certain powers, be not interpreted in any manner whatsoever to extend the power of congress; but that they be construed either as making exceptions to the specified powers, where this shall be the case, or otherwise as inserted merely for greater caution. The minority of Maryland declare the above amendment to be absolutely necessary for restraining the general powers given to congress by the first and last paragraph of the 8th sect. of art. 1st. and the second part of the 6th article; those dangerous expressions, by which the bills of rights and constitutions of the several states may be repealed by the laws of congress, in some degree moderated, and the exercise of constructive power wholly prevented.

A careless observer must perceive a fearful distrust in these strong barriers. Waving for a moment any superiority, and putting the federal head on a level with the several state governments, would it not be a fair bargain to make this counter declaration, that every power, whose operation is not evidently confined within the affairs of a particular state, shall explicitly be deemed federal? The real truth is, that a very nice line cannot be drawn between the federal government and the states, especially in this early stage of the union. The constitution has, therefore, in explicitly granting some powers, and expressly refusing others, traced this limit with all the accuracy that is practicable. It leaves, as it were, a small vacant place between the two parties, and says, "the federal government may in the necessary exertions for the general good, sometimes go out of its usual career; but it shall never trespass on the proper grounds of the states: in the same manner any state may occasionally step over its proper line into this common walk: but shall not touch the federal rights of the union." This is right and generous: nor will it produce any contention, while both parties have a tolerable share of reason and equity.

I scruple not to assert, that, without some constructive power, the federal government will not be adequate to every emergency, and I will prove it by examples. Suppose the plague, or a similar epidemic distemper should visit this country: it is a national affair; because it is the interest of every state, that not only its neighbours, but the remotest states may stop the rapid contagion:—the federal government must then concert general measures; rouse the indolent; and check the selfish, who might reap some benefit from the calamities of a sister state. How much have we already suffered, from the Hessian fly, and what may we not suffer from its rapid progress? Should not the federal government offer premiums for an effectual remedy, or make other salutary regulations? The same reasoning might be extended to some other considerable national objects.

Congress ought then undoubtedly to have the power of "providing for the general welfare of the united states,"

1st part, 5th sect. 1st art. Again, so far as the states grant certain specified powers, and others, which their exigencies may require, they necessarily grant all the requisite means for the execution of them; and the mode, quality, and degree of these means cannot possibly be strictly defined. I cannot, therefore, see any impropriety in the 18th part of the above sect. and art. "to make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution all the powers vested by this constitution in the government of the united states, or in any department or officer thereof." At the same time, this constructive power cannot be very great. It is limited first by the plain sense of the words, "general welfare, laws necessary and proper," which express an object of great common utility, and the pursuit of it by means the best that can be had, the easiest, cheapest, most effectual. 2dly, By all the explicit stipulations of what congress shall not do, sect. 9. art. 1. These are clearly and *bona fide* meant as checks on the federal power; to suspect them as lurking traps for the people, is indeed very unreasonable.

I verily believe that if the federal constitution was charged with a minute regulation of what may be expedient, and how it should be done, in every possible situation, and with a scrupulous enumeration of all the rights of the states and individuals, it would make a larger volume than the bible, and yet give rise to more political schisms, than there have been religious ones in all Christendom, for near eighteen hundred years. A federal government, clogged with so many weights, confined in every motion, and lamed in every limb, would be an unwieldy useless machine; a gigantic monstrous pageant of the union—all the trouble and expense of it would be fooled away merely to gratify the fickle fancy of political dreamers, or the spleen of gloomy, choleric night-errants.

After all, this childish jealousy would render liberty less secure, because a bold and artful congress could safely invade the people through the holes they had forgotten to stop, without any legal charge of treason; as all that was not reserved in such exact

detail, must be supposed fairly granted.

Every man of business knows, that he cannot employ an agent without giving some discretionary power. In domestic affairs, we cannot confine a servant to stiff minute rules; a blockhead or knave who waxes them, is not worth keeping.

That the federal constitution should be "the supreme law of the land," much complained of by the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland. It is however self-evident that two sovereign powers in the same country are a flat contradiction; and that the united states, in reciprocally giving and receiving certain obligations, cannot keep their original sovereignty and independence separately, though they render the independency of the whole more respectable and happy. It is indispensible, that "all the laws of the united states, made in pursuance of the constitution," should, in case of collision, prevail over "the constitution and laws of any state: even laws made by constructive power for the general welfare, 6th art. 2d part: but the spirit of the constitution requires an impartial regard to the common good of the union, and no means warrants a sacrifice of the essential interest of any one state, for some general but small advantage of the united states.

That either the explicit or constructive powers of congress, may gradually abolish the state government is a chimera now almost out of date. Those who want more information on this head, may consult the well written address to the minority of Pennsylvania, signed a Freeman. There is, however, yet, a pretty general and strong reluctance among the states, to make the necessary concessions; and it seems requisite to fix a general, simple, and precise idea of the federal government. It is formed by the people, and for the good of the people; its first object is, therefore, to secure the grand interests of the individuals who compose the states; the second, to preserve the political powers of these states, is but of an inferior quality, and subordinate to the

NOTE.

* See American Museum for February, March and April 1788.

first. It is of the greatest moment to every citizen of America, to be protected in his life, property, liberty, family, and all the dear interests of human nature; but whether the state in which he resides, has such a particular constitution, is less material. If the confederacies did not exist, the several states would in process of time, undergo many capital changes in their legislative, judicial, and executive forms; probably the large ones would even be divided; why, then, should we stickle for the exact limits of the state governments, if they encroach upon the necessary federal government, which alone is capable of protecting us against foreign enemies, and a dangerous anarchy? The dispute whether the new government is national or merely federal, is therefore in a great measure equivocal, and has a bad tendency. To a certain degree it is national, because it acts directly on the people, without the intervention of the state governments, in all those cases which are necessary for the general safety and welfare. Indeed, the want of this direct operation, was the principal defect of the old confederacy, as will be seen in the examination of the proposed amendments.*

(To be continued.)



Report of a committee of the assembly of Pennsylvania, to whom had been referred a petition of Messrs. Hallam and Henry, praying to have a bill passed to licence a theatre in or near Philadelphia.

THAT they would not have it understood, that in the present report, which will be favourable to the petition, they are in the least influenced by any particular or personal wish for the establishment of a theatre—but a question of such importance, it is

NOTE.

* The readers will find the federal constitution, its ratification by Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York, the address of the minority of Pennsylvania, ditto of Maryland, and the proceedings of the convention of North Carolina, in the American Museum for Sept. 1787; Feb. and Aug. 1788; Dec. 1787; May and Sept. 1783, respectively.

their duty to examine with care, as it is the part of integrity to propose their genuine sentiments upon it, even should it be foreseen that they will differ from those entertained by many persons truly estimable for their moral and religious virtues.

The committee have had to withstand the force of a very serious and important objection made to the stage, that it has ever been a great corrupter of the public morals; but this position, as one of a speculative nature, is not capable of complete demonstration—it is even doubted whether it is to be maintained; the better opinion seems to be, that dramatic pieces, in common with other works of taste and sentiment, tend to the general refinement of manners and the polish of society, than which nothing can be more favourable to the growth of the virtues.

In this regard, it may be said, that men, in appearance the farthest removed from the influence of the stage, have obligations to it, which they neither perceive nor own.

But your committee have been led to contemplate the stage as the great mart of genius, and as such, a natural and necessary concomitant of our independence.—We have cast off a foreign yoke in government, but shall still be dependent for those productions of the mind, which do most honour to human nature, until we can afford due protection and encouragement to every species of our own literature.

In these sentiments, your committee offer the following resolution:

Resolved. That a special committee be appointed to bring in a bill to licence a theatre in or near the city of Philadelphia for dramatic representations.



To the general assembly of Pennsylvania.

The memorial and petition of the people called quakers, in the city of Philadelphia,

Respectfully sheweth.

THAT at the early settlement of Pennsylvania the preservation of the morals of the inhabitants was considered, by the legislature, essential to the well-being and prosperity of the community, and many wise laws were enacted for the suppression of vice and

immorality, which appeared to them likely to be greatly promoted by stage entertainments, wherever they were permitted: and accordingly, the assemblies passed divers acts from time to time, to prohibit them, although disallowed by the rulers in Great Britain, who then exercised a controul over the legislature here; their exceptions being founded on maxims of mere human policy, rather than virtuous considerations—Nevertheless, the virtue of the people, for a considerable time, manifested such an abhorrence of those ensnaring diversions, that the stage actors did not find it their interest to prosecute their corrupting employment. And, since the late revolution, the legislature, actuated by laudable motives, enacted a law, entitled, “An act for the prevention of vice and immorality, and unlawful gaming, and to restrain disorderly sports and dissipation,” passed in 1786, (for a repeal of which a petition was presented to the late house of assembly by Lewis Hallam and John Henry, in behalf of themselves and other comedians) notwithstanding which, in defiance of its authority, regardless of the penalties, and in contempt of government, those delusive scenes have, in the course of last summer, been exhibited, and, as appears by public advertisements, are of late renewed.

Other persons, also, promoters of licentiousness, at the same time continued amusements among the people of the like pernicious tendency. Whereupon, affected with concern that these exhibitions should be revived at any time, but more especially when a stagnation of commerce, a scarcity of money, and a great appearance of a failure of the staple of this country, from the alarming destruction of our wheat by an unusual insect, require a serious attention to an improvement in every moral and religious duty: an address was presented to the executive council on the eighteenth day of the seventh month last, setting forth our just apprehensions, respecting such entertainments, which are not founded on mere speculative opinion; it being not only the sense of divers persons, conspicuous for wisdom and virtue, resulting from their religious observation and experience, but supported by

incontrovertible fact. Sir John Hawkins, speaking of the pernicious effects of plays, says, “upon setting up or opening a certain theatre, its contiguity to the city soon made it a place of great resort, and what was apprehended from the advertisement of the plays to be exhibited in that quarter of the town, soon followed; the adjacent houses became taverns in name, but in truth they were houses of lewd resort, and the former occupiers of them, useful manufacturers and industrious artificers, were driven to seek elsewhere for a residence.” And he further remarks, “that the merchants of London, then a grave, sagacious body of men, found the theatre was a temptation to idleness and to pleasure, that their clerks could not resist; they regretted to see the corruptions of Covent Garden extended, and the seats of industry hold forth allurements to vice and debauchery.” And again he observes, “that although of plays it is said, that they teach morality—and of the stage, that it is the mirror of human life—these assertions are mere declamation, and have no foundation in truth or experience; on the contrary, a playhouse, and the regions about it, are the very hot-beds of vice; how else comes it to pass, that no sooner is a playhouse opened in any part of the kingdom, than it becomes surrounded with an hollow (or circle) of brothels? Of this truth the neighbourhood of the place I am now speaking of, has had experience; one parish alone, adjacent thereto, having, to my knowledge, expended the sum of thirteen hundred pounds in prosecutions for the purpose of removing those inhabitants, whom the playhouse had drawn thither.”

Such is the account related by this author, of the unhappy and destructive effects of these vain recreations. How consistent such places of dissipation and extravagance are with the profession of christianity, and our present circumstances, requires no great discernment to perceive.

And as the moral, political, and religious interest of the community are, unitedly, the great object of legislative attention; when it becomes evident, by the loud calls of public calamity, that frugality and industry are essential to the well-being of the

people; that vice is gaining ground, and religion is in danger of being openly the subject of ridicule—and the serious, important, and self-denying precepts of the gospel set at naught, by the introduction of those seminaries of lewdness and irreligion:—it then becomes the virtuous part of the people of every denomination, to express their feelings with energy, and avow their disapprobation of proceedings so injurious.

Influenced by a sense of duty, and a sincere regard for the youth and others of the present day, we are engaged to request your serious attention to the premises, and that you may reject the application of the said Lewis Hallam and John Henry, however supported by plausible, though fallacious pretensions.

And we earnestly desire the same laudable zeal which influenced your predecessors in their virtuous endeavours to preserve the morals of the people from depravity, may induce you to reject an offer, which proposes to raise a revenue by so corrupt a practice, at the risk of the virtue, happiness, and solid reputation of the people.

And lastly, that you will make such further provision for the due execution of the law before mentioned, as also to prevent jugglers, mountebanks, rope-dancers, and other immoral and irreligious entertainments, as, under the direction of best wisdom, you may see meet.

Signed on behalf of the said people called quakers, Philadelphia, 11th mo. 6th. 1783, by
 Isaac Zane, Joseph Bringhurst,
 Owen Jones, Nicholas Waln,
 J. Pemberton, Daniel Drinker,
 Caleb Carnalt, Owen Biddle,
 John Head, Benedict Dorsey,
 Charles West, William Clifton,
 David Bacon, Samuel Hopkins,
 John Parish, John Elliott, jun.
 Joshua Howell, Thomas Morris,
 Samuel Lewis, John James,
 John Drinker, Jon. Evans, jun.



To the honourable the general assembly of Pennsylvania, the subscribers, being a committee of the dramatic association, on behalf of themselves and the many citizens, who

have prayed for a repeal of any law, or part of a law, that prohibits dramatic entertainments, beg leave, with the utmost respect, to submit the following representation:

THEY conceive that there are two points to be regarded in every controversy. The first is the weight of the arguments, the second the manner of enforcing them. With respect to the former, the understanding, and not the credulity, of the judge, must be addressed; with respect to the latter, where the adversaries have equal claims in point of reason, decency of manner is a fair foundation for a preference.

The drama is now a subject of earnest discussion; from a topic of private conversation, it has become the object of legislative decision, and contending parties are formed, on the one hand denying, and on the other asserting, the propriety of tolerating the stage.

Let us, therefore, for a moment suppose, that in wisdom, virtue, fortune, and patriotism, these parties are equal—are there any collateral circumstances which can then determine the weight of argument? Here truth dictates a reflexion, on which we appeal to the candour of this honourable house.

Those, who wish the establishment of the drama, desire a thing, which it is in the power of their opponents, deeming it an evil, to avoid, even after it is established; and which, at all events, intrudes upon no right, and interferes with no privilege. But those who wish the prohibition of the drama, seek to deprive their opponents of what they consider as a rational enjoyment, and, by their success, will abridge the natural right of every free-man, to dispose of his time and money, according to his own taste and disposition, when not obnoxious to the real interests of society.

This, we believe, is a statement by no means unfavourable to the enemies of the drama, as to the weight of argument. We will next enquire as to the decency of manner.

The petition in favour of the theatre offers to the legislature an opinion of upwards of two thousand citizens (who think the business of life requires some recreation) that the drama, divested of every other consideration, is a ration-

al amusement : and, at the same time, it is respectfully and temperately intimated, that it is not just to call on the subscribers to sacrifice that opinion, merely in compliment to the prejudices of those of their fellow-citizens, who think this, as they do every other amusement, contrary to the laws of conscience and virtue.

But the petition against the theatre, in a spirit less gentle and conciliatory, unequivocally declares that the toleration of a theatre would be impolitic, and injurious to the virtue, happiness, morals, and property of the citizens, and productive of many vices and mischiefs : thence necessarily leading to this inference, that every man of a contrary opinion, (expressed by signing the other petition) is a friend and promoter of the predicted inundation of wickedness and ruin.

This naturally introduces an enquiry into the characters of the persons branded with so gross an obloquy. A spectator, unacquainted with the real state of the business, would be tempted to suppose, that they are men whose understandings are clouded with ignorance, so that they cannot comprehend, and whose hearts are depraved with vice, so that they will not pursue the plain and fair dictates of reason and morality. He would likewise be induced to suspect, that many among them, were men regardless of the welfare of their country, who had deserted her in the hour of adversity, and who were wilfully employed to undermine the fabric of her liberties, which had been reared by the labour of other hands. Or, perhaps, it might occur to him, that they were enthusiasts, of a melancholy mood, who sought to impose their manners, habits, and sentiments upon mankind, without, in their turn, yielding a single point in theory or practice. But he would err : for, in truth, the petitioners in favour of the drama, are men of science, friends to virtue, and approved guardians of their country. As parents, most of them are anxious for the happiness of posterity ; and as men of property, they are generally interested in the order, energy, and stability of government. It is hardly credible, indeed, that an object vilified and depreciated

in such positive terms, should, with the countenance of the judges, be promoted by almost every gentleman of the law (a profession perhaps the best qualified to decide upon the propriety of the repeal prayed for) that it should be patronized by almost every whig in the city, and, in short, that it should be approved by every virtuous and sensible man in the state, whose prejudices of education, or professional sanctity, do not exclude the indulgence of public amusements. Even the candour of many of these has led them to declare, that they consider an opposition derogatory to the rights of others, and, in some degree, inconsistent with the independence and purity of their own stations.

We will not undertake the invidious task of examining by what description of citizens, the adverse petition is supported. But, whatever pretensions were originally suggested, respecting the motives which induce them to endeavour to proscribe the festivity of their neighbours ; it is now certain, by the manner of enforcing their petition, that every scruple of religious delicacy has been superseded by a spirit of party ; and an appeal is made from reason and right, to influence and power. There are, among the many strange circumstances of this opposition, three matters of peculiar notoriety. The first is, that which we have already hinted at, an attempt to deprive a freeman of a natural right ; the second is, the address by which the real enemies of the drama have, on this occasion, obtained the assistance of some characters with whom they have hitherto lived in a state of political warfare ; and the third is, that men, who have suffered under the lash of persecution, should now wage a virulent war against freedom of thought and action—particularly, at the same moment, when they are soliciting the legislature to release them from one fetter, that they should endeavour to prevail on this honourable body, to rivet a fetter upon others.

Here, indeed, is a fair criterion to decide this controversy. An act of assembly has prescribed a certain test or political obligation, to be taken by every citizen. This, it is said, is incompatible with the opinions of a re-

pectable body. An application is, therefore, made for a repeal of the law, and, we believe, every ingenious mind entertains a favourable wish upon the subject; for the members of the same community, certainly owe a mutual deference and respect to the sentiments, and even to the conscientious weaknesses, of each other. But let us suppose that a petition was presented, stating, that alliance is a debt, which every man incurs, as a necessary consequence of the protection he receives from the government, and picturing a cloud of imaginary evils, which might result from allowing those persons to partake in the administration of public affairs, who were averse from giving a solemn and unequivocal mark of their attachment to the commonwealth—What would be said of a petition of this kind?—Precisely what may be said of the petition against the theatre;—with this difference only, that, in the one instance, the pretence would be for the sake of the political safety, in the other, for the sake of the moral happiness of the people—either of which would, in fact, be endangered by the repeal of the law, or the establishment of the drama.

From these premises, we think, the following inferences are fairly deducible:—

1st. That whether the theatre is, or is not a proper institution, rests, on this occasion, merely upon the opinion of the respective subscribers.

2^d. That it is thought to be advantageous by men, whose profession best enables them to judge upon the subject; by parents, on whom it is incumbent to suppress every real instrument of corruption; and by citizens, whose experienced patriotism, and extensive interest in the state, entitle them to the consideration of the legislature.

3^d. That if a theatre is tolerated, no man sustains an injury, no man is deprived of a means of recreation from the toils and cares of life; nor is any one compelled to act contrary to his principles or his prejudices.

4th. That if a theatre is not tolerated, many respectable citizens will be disappointed in their reasonable wishes, a source of rational amusement is destroyed, and every

freeman must incur a forfeiture of a natural right, which he ought to possess—the right of acting as he pleases, in a matter perfectly indifferent to the well being of the community.

We do not conceive it to be necessary, at this time, to suggest to your honourable house, the arguments which have been employed in favour of the drama, by the wisest and most virtuous characters, in the most enlightened nations. Nor shall we attempt to deny, that men of a similar description, have controverted the utility of the institution. It is enough for our purpose, that the difference of opinion is so evident, as to render the subject, in that respect, a matter of mere speculation; for in addressing the wisdom of the legislature, while, on the one hand, we cannot admit, that a theatre is the temple of vice, we presume not to insist that it is the school of virtue. As a rational amusement, it is the object of our wishes; and the whole force of our reasoning is directed only to shew, that those who regard it in a contrary light, are not entitled to controul our sentiments, or to compel the adoption of what they profess. If, indeed, a mere difference of opinion, shall be thought a sufficient foundation to curtail our rights, and diminish our enjoyments, the boasted liberality of the present age, will be eclipsed by a comparison with the furious bigotry of the middle centuries; and the same authority which proscribes our amusements, may, with equal justice, dictate the shape and texture of our dress, or the modes and ceremonies of our worship.

This, however, is an evil, which, we are confident, cannot receive the countenance of a legislature, elected to protect and insure the equal rights of the citizens of a free commonwealth. The claim of superior wisdom, virtue, and patriotism, arrogantly enforced—will there be disregarded; and we humbly trust, that the decision of your honourable house will, at least, prove that you think the petitioners in favour of the drama, as capable of judging for their own happiness, as anxious for the prosperity of the state, and as sincere in promoting the welfare of posterity, as those who have testified their opposition in the most positive,

though not the most courteous or convincing terms. Signed,

Wal. Stewart, John Barclay,
Robert Bais, Jacob Barge,
Jos. Redman, W. T. Franklin,
T. L. Moore, James Crawford.
John Well,



New-York, Oct. 28, 1788.

Sir,

As I am one of the numerous admirers of your valuable museum, I beg leave to suggest an important production of dr. Franklin's, to your notice—which ought to be wrestled from obscurity—and deserves a place in your museum. I mean a plan of government for America, promulgated at Albany, in 1754. I am surprised it has lain dormant and unnoticed among all the publications on the subject of the new government.—As the outlines of the plan bear so strong a resemblance to the present system, it will not only prove extremely interesting, but will tend to convince the wavering, that the new constitution is not the fabrication of the moment, but urged upwards of thirty years ago by that great man—even when we were subordinate to a superior head. May we not then reasonably suppose he never lost sight of his favourite system, till, in the end of his life, he has lived to see it accomplished?

I am, &c.

A true Patriot and Federalist.

Mr. Carey.

ALBANY PAPERS.

Containing, I. *Reasons and motives on which the plan of union for the colonies was formed*;—II. *Reasons against partial unions*;—III. *The plan drawn by dr. Franklin, and unanimously agreed to by the commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania**, met in congress at Alba-

NOTE.

* This plan was intended for all the colonies; but, commissioners from some of them not attending, their consent to it was not, in this respect, universally expressed. Governor Pownall, however, says, "that he had an opportunity of conversing with, and "knowing the sentiments of the com-

ny, in July 1754, to consider of the best means of defending the king's dominions in America, &c. a war being then apprehended; with the reasons or motives for each article of the plan.

I. *Reasons and motives on which the plan of union was formed.*

THE commissioners from a number of the northern colonies, being met at Albany, and considering the difficulties that have always attended the most necessary general measure for the common defence, or for the annoyance of the enemy, when there were to be carried through the several particular assemblies of all the colonies; some assemblies being before at variance with their governors or councils, and the several branches of the government not on terms of doing business with each other; others taking the opportunity, when their concurrence is wanted, to push for favourite law powers, or points that they think could not at other times be obtained, and creating disputes and quarrels; one; sibly waiting to see what another will do, being afraid of doing more than its share, or desirous of doing less; or refusing to do any thing, because its country is not at present so much exposed as others, or because another will reap more immediate advantage from one or other of which causes the assemblies of six (out of seven colonies) applied to, had granted assistance to Virginia, when lately

NOTE.

"commissioners appointed by their respective provinces, to attend the congress, to which they were called by the crown; of learning from their experience and judgment, the actual state of the American business and interest; and of hearing amongst them, the grounds and reasons of that American union, which they then had under deliberation; and transmitted the plan of the union to the colonies; and, he adds, in another place, "that the sentiments of the colonies were collected in an authentic manner on this subject in the plan proposed by dr. Franklin, and unanimously agreed to in congress. See governor Pownall's administration of the British colonies, vol. I. p. edit. 4, 1774, and vol. II. p. 86.

aded by the French, though purpose-ly convened, and the importance of he occasion earnestly urged upon hem: considering, moreover, that one rincipal encouragement to the French, n invading and insulting the British merican dominions, was their know- edge of our disunited state, and of ur weakness arising from such want f union; and that from hence, disse- nt colonies were, at different times, extremely harrassed, and put to great xpanse both of blood and treasure, ho would have remained in peace, f the enemy had had cause to fear the rawing on themselves the resentment nd power of the whole; the said ommissioners, considering also the resent encroachments of the French, nd the mischievous consequences that ay be expected from them, if not pposed with all our force, came to an nanimous resolution.—That an union f the colonies is absolutely necessary or their preservation.

The manner of forming and esta- blishing this union, was the next point. When it was considered, that the co- lonies were seldom all in equal danger, t the same time, or equally near the anger, or equally sensible of it: that ome of them had particular interests o manage, with which an union might nterfere; and that they were extreme- y jealous of each other; it was thought mpracticable to obtain a joint agree- ment of all the colonies to an union, n which the expence and burden of lesending any of them should be di- vided among them all; and if ever ets of assembly in all the colonies ould be obtained for that purpose, et, as any colony, on the least dis- atisfaction, might repeal its own act, and thereby withdraw itself from the union, it would not be a stable one, or such as could be depended on: for f only one colony should, on any dis- gust, withdraw itself, others might hink it unjust and unequal, that they, y continuing in the union, should be t the expence of defending a colony, which refused to bear its proportion- able part, and would, therefore, one after another, withdraw, till the whole rumbled into its original parts.— Therefore the commissioners came to another previous resolution, viz. That it was necessary the union should be established by act of parliament.

They then proceeded to sketch out a plan of union, which they did in a plain and concise manner, just suffi- cient to shew their sentiments of the kind of union that would best suit the circumstances of the colonies, be most agreeable to the people, and most effectively promote his majesty's service and the general interest of the British empire.—This was respectfully sent to the assemblies of the several colo- nies for their consideration, and to receive such alterations and improve- ments as they should think fit and necessary; after which it was propos- ed to be transmitted to England to be perfected, and the establishment of it there humbly solicited.

This was as much as the commis- sioners could do.

II. Reasons against partial unions.

It was proposed by some of the commissioners to form the colonies into two or three distinct unions; but for these reasons, that proposal was dropped even by those that made it.

1. In all cases, where the strength of the whole was necessary to be used against the enemy, there would be the same difficulty in degree, to bring the several unions to unite together, as now the several colonies; and conse- quently, the same delays on our part, and advantage to the enemy.

2. Each union would separately be weaker than when joined by the whole, obliged to exert more force, be more oppressed by the expence, and the enemy less deterred from at- tacking it.

3. Where particular colonies have selfish views, as New York with re- gard to Indian trade and lands; or are less exposed, being covered by others, as New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland; or have par- ticular whims and prejudices against warlike measures in general, as Penn- sylvania, where the quakers predom- inate; such colonies would have more weight in a partial union, and be better able to oppose and obstruct the measures necessary for the general good, than where they are swallowed up in the general union.

4. The Indian trade would be bet- ter regulated by the union of the whole, than by partial unions. And as Canada is chiefly supported by that trade, if it could be drawn into the

hands of the English, (as it might be, if the Indians were supplied on moderate terms, and by honest traders, appointed by and acting for the public) that alone would contribute greatly to the weakening of our enemies.

5. The establishing of new colonies westward on the Ohio and the lakes, (a matter of considerable importance to the increase of British trade and power, to the breaking that of the French, and to the protection and security of our present colonies) would best be carried on by a joint union.

6. It was also thought, that, by the frequent meetings together of commissioners or representatives from all the colonies, the circumstances of the whole would be better known, and the good of the whole better provided for; and that the colonies would, by this connexion, learn to consider themselves, not as so many independent states, but as members of the same body; and thence be more ready to afford assistance and support to each other, and to make diversions in favour even of the most distant, and to join cordially in any expedition for the benefit of all, against the common enemy.

These were the principal reasons and motives for forming the plan of union as it stands. To which may be added this, that as the union of the

The remainder of this article is lost.

III. *Plan of a proposed union of the several colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina; and South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British settlements in North America, with the reasons and motives for each article of the plan, as far as could be remembered.*

It is proposed,—that humble application be made for an act of parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies; within and under which government, each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change

may be directed by the said act, and hereafter follows.

President general, and grand council.

THAT the said general government be administered by a president general to be appointed and supported by the crown*; and a grand council

NOTE.

* It was thought that it would be best the president general should be supported as well as appointed by the crown; that so all disputes between him and the grand council, concerning his salary, might be prevented as such disputes have been frequently of mischievous consequence, in particular colonies, especially in time of public danger. The quit-rents on crown-lands in America, might, in short time, be sufficient for this purpose. The choice of members for the grand council is placed in the hands of representatives of each government, in order to give the people share in this new general government as the crown has its share by the appointment of the president general.

But it being proposed by the gentlemen of the council of New York and some other counsellors among the commissioners, to alter the plan in this particular, and to give the governors and council of the several provinces a share in the choice of the grand council, or at least a power of approving and confirming, or of disallowing the choice made by the house of representatives, it was said:

“That the government or constitution, proposed to be formed by the plan, consists of two branches: a president general appointed by the crown, and a council chosen by the people, or by the people’s representatives, which is the same thing.

“That by a subsequent article, the council, chosen by the people, can effect nothing without the consent of the president general, appointed by the crown; the crown possessing therefore full one half of the power of this constitution.

“That in the British constitution, the crown is supposed to possess but one third, the lords having their share.

“That this constitution seemed rather more favourable for the crown.

to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies.

NOTE.

“ That it is essential to English liberty, [that] the subject should not be taxed but by his own consent, or the consent of his elected representatives.

“ That taxes, to be laid and levied by this proposed constitution, will be proposed and agreed to by the representatives of the people, if the plan in this particular be preserved :

“ But if the proposed alteration should take place, it seemed as if matters may be so managed as that the crown shall finally have the appointment not only of the president general, but of a majority of the grand council : for, seven out of eleven governors and councils are appointed by the crown :

“ And so the people in all the colonies would in effect be taxed by their governors.

“ It was therefore apprehended that such alterations of the plan would give great dissatisfaction, and that the colonies could not be easy under such a power in governors, and such an infringement of what they take to be English liberty.

“ Besides, the giving a share in the choice of the grand council would not be equal, with respect to all the colonies, as their constitutions differ. In some, both governor and council are appointed by the crown. In others, they are both appointed by the proprietors. In some, the people have a share in the choice of the council ; in others, both governor and council are wholly chosen by the people. But the house of representatives is every where chosen by the people ; and therefore placing the right of choosing the grand council in the representatives, is equal with respect to all.

“ That the grand council is intended to represent all the several houses of representatives of the colonies, as a house of representatives doth the several towns or counties of a colony. Could all the people

Election of members.

That within months after the passing of such act, the houses of representatives that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, may

NOTE.

“ of a colony be consulted, and unite in public measures, a house of representatives would be needless : and could all the assemblies conveniently consult and unite in general measures, the grand council would be unnecessary.

“ That a house of commons, or the house of representatives, and the grand council, are thus alike in their nature and intention. And as it would seem improper, that the king, or house of lords, should have a power of disallowing or appointing members of the house of commons ; so, likewise, that a governor and council, appointed by the crown, should have a power of disallowing or appointing members of the grand council, (who, in this constitution, are to be the representatives of the people.)

“ If the governors and councils, therefore, were to have a share in the choice of any that are to conduct this general government, it should seem more proper that they chose the president general. But this being an office of great trust and importance to the nation, it was thought better to be filled by the immediate appointment of the crown.

“ The power proposed to be given by the plan to the grand council, is only a concentration of the powers of the several assemblies, in certain points, for the general welfare : as the power of the president general is of the powers of the several governors, in the same points.

“ And as the choice, therefore, of the grand council, by the representatives of the people, neither gives the people any new powers, nor diminishes the power of the crown, it was thought and hoped the crown would not disapprove of it.”

Upon the whole, the commissioners were of opinion, that the choice was most properly placed in the representatives of the people.

and shall choose members for the grand council, in the following proportion, that is to say,

Massachusetts Bay,	-	-	7
New Hampshire,	-	-	2
Connecticut,	-	-	5
Rhode Island,	-	-	2
New York,	-	-	4
New Jersey,	-	-	3
Pennsylvania,	-	-	6
Maryland,	-	-	4
Virginia,	-	-	7
North Carolina,	-	-	4
South Carolina,	-	-	4

* 48

Place of first meeting.

—who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, being called by the president general as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.†

(To be continued.)

NOTES.

* It was thought that if the least colony was allowed two, and the others in proportion, the number would be very great, and the expense heavy; and that less than two would not be convenient, as a single person, being by accident prevented appearing at the meeting, the colony he ought to appear for, would not be represented. That as the choice was not immediately popular, they would be generally men of good abilities for business, and men of reputation for integrity; and that forty-eight such men might be sufficient. But, though it was thought reasonable that each colony should have a share in the representative body, in some degree, according to the proportion it contributed to the general treasury; yet the proportion of wealth or power of the colonies is not to be judged by the proportion here fixed; because it was at first agreed that the greatest colony should not have more than seven members, nor the least less than two; and the settling the proportions between these two extremes was not nicely attended to, as it would find itself, after the first election, from the sums brought into the treasury, as by a subsequent article.

† Philadelphia was named, as being nearest the centre of the colonies, where the commissioners would be well and cheaply accommodated. The

Copy of the petition of congress to the king of England, to which an answer was refused to be given.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves, and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, intreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy con-

NOTE.

high-roads through the whole extent are for the most part very good, in which forty or fifty miles a day may very well be and frequently are travelled. Great part of the way may likewise be gone by water. In summer-time, the passages are frequently performed in a week from Charlestown to Philadelphia and New York; and from Rhode Island to New York, through the sound, in two or three days; and from New York to Philadelphia, by water and land, in two days, by stage-boats and wheel-carriages that set out every other day. The journey from Charlestown to Philadelphia may likewise be facilitated by boats running up Chesapeal Bay three hundred miles. But if the whole journey be performed on horse back, the most distant members, (viz the two from New Hampshire and from South Carolina) may probably render themselves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty-days;—the majority may be there in much less time.

nexion being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonists, having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your

majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, that have from time to time been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing thro' a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and, if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty: and we therefore pray, that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable construction of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your majesty's person, family, and government with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty, and of our mother country.

We therefore beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful co-

lonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that, in the meantime, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies may be repealed.

For by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer. JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire. Benj. Franklin,
John Langdon. George Ross,
Thomas Cushing. James Wilson,
Massachusetts Bay. Chs. Humphreys,
Samuel Adams, Edward Biddle.
John Adams, *Delaware Count.*
Rob. Trear Paine. Cæsar Rodney,
Rhode Island. Ths. M'Kean,
Stephen Hopkins, George Read.
Samuel Ward, *Maryland.*
Eliphalet Dyer. Matt. Tilghman,
Connecticut. Tho. Johnson, jun.
Roger Sherman, William Paca,
Silas Dean. Samuel Chase,
New York. Thomas Stone.
Ph. Livingston, *Virginia.*
James Duane, P. Henry, jun.
John Alsop, R. Henry Lee,
Francis Lewis, Edm. Pendleton,
John Jay, Benj. Harrison,
R. Livingston, ju. Thos. Jefferson.
Lewis Morris, *North Carolina.*
William Floyd, William Hooper,
Henry Wisner. Joseph Hewes.
New Jersey. *South Carolina.*
Wm. Livingston, Henry Middleton,
John Deharts, Thomas Lynch,
Richard Smith. Christ. Gadsden,
Pennsylvania. J. Rutledge,
John Dickinson, Edwd. Rutledge.
Philadelphia, July 8, 1775.

An account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, published by a committee of the provincial congress of Massachusetts.

IN obedience to the order of the congress, this committee have enquired into the premises, and upon the best information obtained, find, that the commanders of the New England army had, about the 14th ult. received advice that general Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command, to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula at Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed; upon which it was determined, with the advice of this committee, to send a party who might erect some fortifications upon that said hill, and defeat this design of the enemies. Accordingly on the 16th ult. orders were issued, that a detachment of 1000 men should that evening march to Charlestown, and entrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill situated on the farther part of the peninsula next to Boston, (for by some mistake this hill was marked out for the entrenchment instead of the other.) Many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the entrenchments being thrown up which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design, it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon. They were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity; so that by the dawn of the day they had thrown up a small redoubt, about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy, upon Cops Hill in Boston, directly opposite to our little redoubt. A incessant shower of shot and bullets was rained by these upon our works. The provincials continued to labour indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy. Between twelve and one o'clock, a number of boats and barges, filled with the regular troops from Boston, were observed approaching towards the point. V.

Charlestown: these troops landed at a place called Moreton's Point, situated a little to the eastward of our works. This brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them; having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march towards our lines. At this instant, smoke and flames were seen to arise from the town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, that the smoke might cover their attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two regiments of provincials who had been posted in that town. If either of these was their design, they were disappointed, for the wind shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the regiments were already removed. The provincials within their entrenchments impatiently waited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of small arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were observed by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up with apparent reluctance towards the entrenchment; the Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable reluctance to fighting in this cause, were again successful. They formed once more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breast work from one end of it to the other, the provincials retreated within their little fort. The ministerial army now made a decisive effort.

A a

The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in the front of their army, was redoubled. The officers in the rear of their army, were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions, and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breast-work on the outside of the fort was abandoned; the ammunition of the provincials was expended, and few of their arms were fixed with bayonets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party to retreat? But this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with regulars, and the provincials had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the butt ends of their muskets. The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of the provincials who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach; the engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evidenced a courage worthy of a better cause: all their efforts, however, were insufficient to compel the provincials to retreat till their main body had left the hill; perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had been no longer under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.

In this retreat, the Americans had to pass over the neck which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land. This neck was commanded by the Glasgow man of war, and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner, that their shot raked every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this neck had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements from getting to the provincials on the hill, and it was feared it would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the ministerial generals again took possession of the hill which had

served them as a retreat in flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant but three miles, and which was not then in a state of defence. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased, when by the best account from Boston we are told, that of 3000 men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than 1500 (nearly half of which were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded; and about 1200 of them of either killed or mortally wounded. Such a slaughter perhaps never before made upon English troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of engagement lasted, by about 1500 men which were the most that were at the time engaged on the American side.

The loss of the New-England army amounted, according to an exact return, to 145 killed and missing, 304 wounded; thirty of the first wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was the general Joseph Warren, a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and value shall be esteemed among mankind. The heroic colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, has died of his wounds; and the brave lieutenant colonel Parker, of Chesham, who was wounded and taken prisoner, perished in Boston jail. Three, with major Moore and major M'Clary, who nobly struggled in the cause of their country, were the officers of distinction, which we lost. Some officers of great worth, though inferior in rank, were killed, whose loss is deeply lamented. But the officers and soldiers in general, who were wounded, are in a fair way of recovery. The town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were in general lofty and elegant, and which contained many fine houses belonging to the unhappy fugitives in Boston, to a very great amount, was entirely destroyed, and its chimneys and cellars now present a prospect to the Americans, exciting indignation in their bosoms, which nothing can appease but the sacrifice of those miscreants who have intro-

error, desolation, and havock into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty.

We wish for no further effusion of blood, if the freedom and peace of America can be secured without it; but if it must be otherwise, we are determined to struggle. We disdain life without liberty.

Oh Britons! be wise for yourselves, for it is too late; and secure a commercial intercourse with the American colonies before it is forever lost; farm your ministerial assassins, put an end to this unrighteous and unnatural war, and suffer not any rapacious despots to amuse you with the unprofitable ideas of your right to tax and officer the colonies, till the most profitable and advantageous trade you have, is irrecoverably lost. Be wise for yourselves, and the Americans will contribute to and rejoice in your prosperity.

J. PALMER, per order.

July, 1775.



General Gage's account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, in a letter to the earl of Dartmouth. Dated Boston, June 25, 1775.

My lord,

I AM to acquaint your lordship of an action that happened on the 17th instant between his majesty's troops and a large body of the rebel forces.

An alarm was given at break of day, on the 17th instant, by a firing from the Lively ship of war; and advice was soon after received, that the rebels had broke ground, and were raising a battery on the heights of the peninsula of Charlestown, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and, in a few hours, a battery of six guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made, for landing a body of men to drive them off, and ten companies of the grenadiers, ten of light infantry, with the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under the command of major general Howe and brigadier general Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, by whose

fire the rebels were kept within their works.

The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry were posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon their left. The 5th and 38th battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the 43d and 52d battalions made a third line. The rebels on the heights were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt, thrown up on the 16th at night, with other works, full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body, posted in the houses in Charlestown, covered their right flank, and their centre and left were covered by a breast-work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystic or Medford river.

This appearance of the rebels' strength, and the large columns seen pouring in to their assistance, occasioned an application for the troops to be reinforced with some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the 47th battalion, and the 1st battalion of marines; the whole when in conjunction, making a body of something above 2000 men. These troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began by a sharp cannonade from our field pieces and howitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry was directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the rebel line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the 5th and 52d battalion. These orders were executed with perseverance, under a heavy fire from the vast numbers of the rebels; and notwithstanding various impediments before the troops could reach the works, and though the left under brigadier general Pigot, was engaged also with the rebels at Charlestown, which, at a critical moment, was set on fire, the brigadier pushed his point, and carried the redoubt.

The rebels were then forced from other strong holds, and pursued till they were drove clear off the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them.

The loss the rebels sustained must have been considerable, from the great numbers they carried off during the time of action, and buried in holes,

since discovered, exclusive of what they suffered by the shipping and boats; near one hundred were buried the day after, and thirty found wounded in the field, three of which are since dead.

I enclose your lordship a return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's troops.

This action has shewn the superiority of the king's troops, who, under every disadvantage, attacked and defeated above three times their own number, strongly posted, and covered by breast-works.

The conduct of major general Howe was conspicuous on this occasion, and his example spirited the troops, in which major general Clinton assisted, who followed the reinforcement. And in justice to brigadier general Pigot, I am to add, that the success of the day must in a great measure be attributed to his firmness and gallantry.

Lieutenant colonels Nesbit, Abercrombie, and Clarke; majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairne, and Short, exerted themselves remarkably; and the valour of the British officers and soldiers in general, was at no time more conspicuous than in this action.

Killed and wounded.

1 Lieutenant colonel, 2 majors, 7 captains, 9 lieutenants, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 191 rank and file, killed. 3 majors, 27 captains, 32 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 40 serjeants, 12 drummers, 706 rank and file, wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THO. GAGE.



An eulogium on the memory of major general Warren who fell June 17, 1775, at Bunker's Hill. Written shortly after that lamented event.

WHEN an amiable man, with a promising family of children, perishes in the bloom of life, every friend to humanity must share in the distress which such a calamity occasions in the circle of his acquaintance. This distress is heightened when we hear that the virtues of the man were blended with the exalted qualities of a patriot. We rise in our expressions of grief, when we are told that he possessed not only the zeal of a pa-

triot, but the wisdom, the integrity, and the eloquence of a senator. But when we hear that these shining qualities were crowned with the patience, the magnanimity, and the intrepidity of a warrior, we are led to contemplate one of the most august characters in human nature; when such a man falls, grief is dumb, and eloquence is obliged for a while to muse eulogiums, which it cannot express.

Such were our feelings upon hearing of the death of the illustrious general Warren, who fell on the 17th of June, at the head of a detachment of the American army near Boston. It is impossible to do justice to his full orb'd character. He filled each of the numerous departments in life, that were assigned to him, so well, that he seemed born for no others. He had displayed, in the course of three and thirty years, all the talents and virtues of the man, the patriot, the senator, and the hero. He was unlike the Spartan general, only in not expiring in the arms of victory. But even in this unfortunate event he has served his country, for he has taught the sons of freedom in America, that laurel may be ingrafted upon the cypress, and that true glory may be acquired not only in the arms of victory but in the arms of death.

If our pleasures are exalted in proportion to the extent and degrees of our benevolence, how shall we describe those pleasures which the hero feels, who performs the highest act of benevolence to mankind, by dying in defence of the liberties of his country! He enjoys a prelibation, the most like the joys of heaven that mortals can taste upon earth—he partakes of the nature and happiness of God.

Say, illustrious shade! what new resentments kindled in thy bosom at the prospect of executing vengeance upon the foes of liberty? Say what were the transports of thy mind when the twice-repulsed enemy fled before thy powerful arms? But when, alas! borne down with numbers, thou wast forced to retreat, and death shewed his commission to the ball that pierced thy bosom, say what joy thrilled after it, at the prospect of having thy brows encircled with the patriot's crown of martyrdom? Tell me, ye brave Americans, who beheld our hero fall,

did he not in his last moments pour forth his usual expressions of loyalty to the crown of Britain, and his wonted prayers for the welfare of his country? Did he not, in faltering accents, call upon his fellow-soldiers to forget his death, and to revenge his country's wrongs alone? Ah, he breathes his last! Croud not too closely on his shade, ye holy ministers of heaven.

Make room for yonder spirit!—It is the illustrious Hampden, who flies to embrace him, and pointing to the wound that deprived him of life in a conflict with arbitrary power, above an hundred years ago; he claims the honour of conducting him to the regions of perfect liberty and happiness.

How ineffable are the delights of heaven to a virtuous lover of liberty? To behold the power of the Sovereign of the universe directed by unerring wisdom, and limited by the eternal laws of justice! To see perfection in government consisting in the happiness of every member that composes it! To enjoy the most perfect freedom, and yet to choose nothing but such things as are agreeable to the will of the Supreme Being. These, blessed shade, now constitute a part of thy enjoyments! Oh, could'st thou tell us what other pleasures now occupy thy capacious mind! Dost thou still direct, by an invisible influence, the counsels of thy native colony? dost thou still inspire whole battalions of thy countrymen with courage, and lead them on to danger and glory? These, we know, would be a happiness suited to the benevolence and activity of thy spirit, and we hope not an inferior part of the happiness of heaven. But it is not for mortals to pry too minutely into the secrets of the invisible world.

What a noble spectacle is the body of a hero who has offered up his life as a ransom for his country! come hither, ye vindictive ministers, and behold the first fruits of your bloody edicts! what atonement can you make to his children for the loss of such a father?—to the king for the loss of such a subject—and to your country for the loss of such a member of society? you may now recal your military executioners. Here you may satiate

your lust for arbitrary power. You have slain its most implacable enemy.

Come hither, ye mercenary wretches who are hired to commit murder upon your fellow-subjects, and behold the victim of your cruelty!—You have no tears to shed over a brother whom you have butchered, for you have given up your title to humanity. You have ceased to be men, and we have nothing to expect from you but the vices of slaves. We only beseech you not to insult the body of our departed hero. Spare the anguish of an aged mother, whose affection extends to the corpse of her beloved son. You have nothing now to fear from his eloquence or his arms. Sheath your swords, you have performed an exploit which has filled up the measure of your infamy, and while the name of Liberty is dear to Americans, the name of Warren will fire our hearts, and nerve our arms against the execrable mischief of standing armies.

Come hither, ye American senators, who are met to consult for the safety and liberty of the united colonies. Here contemplate a spectacle that shall—but I forget the dignity of my auditors. Let the wounds of the breathless hero before your eyes address you. Methinks I hear him call upon you with an energy that should be irresistible, never to listen to terms of accommodation with Great Britain that shall deprive you of a single privilege of Englishmen. Oh, interrupt not (methinks I hear him say) my present felicity with the least apprehension that I have sold my life for a country of slaves. I will listen with rapture to your wise deliberations, but I will haunt the midnight hours of that traitor who sues for peace or liberty with the bayonet at his breast, or who suspends for a moment the execution of vengeance upon the enemies of our country.

Come hither, ye military champions for American liberty and glory, come and behold a spectacle that shall rouse in your bosoms new principles of courage and ambition. Mark the widening lustre of that path of glory which he trod!—But remember his ghost walks unrevenged among us!—Ten thousand ministerial troops cannot atone for his death. Let not the remembrance of your former con-

nexion with them enervate your arms, nor silence the clamours of justice in your breasts. The enemies of liberty are no longer the brethren of freemen. Whet your swords once more, and let them never be returned to their scabbards till the monster tyranny is expelled from the British empire, or till its bounds are prescribed, and America remains the land of perfect freedom and happiness.

Come hither, in the last place, ye American fathers and mothers, and behold the sad earnestness of arbitrary power!—Behold your friend, your fellow-citizen, one of the guardians of your liberty, the pride of your country, the pillar of your hopes: behold this illustrious hero covered with blood and wounds! But pause not too long in bedewing his body with your tears! Fly to your houses, and tell your children the particulars of the melancholy fight!—Chill their young blood with histories of the cruelty of tyrants, and make their hair to stand an end, with the descriptions of the horrors of slavery! Equip them immediately for the field! Shew them the ancient charter of their privileges! Point to the roofs under which they drew their first breath, and shew them the cradles in which they were rocked!—Call upon heaven to prosper their arms, and charge them, with your last adieu, to conquer, or, like Warren, to die in the arms of liberty and glory!

O, posterity, posterity, you will often look back to this memorable era! You will transfer the epithets of rebels and traitors from the loyal people of America to their just originals. You will unfold every part of that system of despotism which has been contrived for the British empire. You will shew pious kings misled by arbitrary ministers, and pious ministers misled by arbitrary kings. You will shew that even the monarchs of Britain have shed tears in prevailing upon their subjects to accept of their hateful commissions, and at the same time have exulted in the society of a few parricides, at the prospect of seeing a continent deluged with the blood

of freemen. Oh, save human nature from the worst of infamy, by turning your eyes to the American colonies! Here let your historians and orators, kindle with Roman or ancient British eloquence! Prize the liberty we have transmitted to you. It cost us much treasure and blood. It cost us, (oh, how high the prize!) it cost us a Warren's life!



*Association unanimously agreed to
in the provincial congress of South
Carolina.*

THE actual commencement of hostilities against this continent by the British troops, in the bloody scene on the 19th of April last, near Boston, the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic ministry, and the dread of infligated insurrections in the colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms: we, therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of South Carolina, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations, the duty of good citizens towards an injured country, and thoroughly convinced, that under our present distressed circumstances we shall be justified before God and man, in resisting force by force, **DO UNITE** ourselves under every tie of religion and honour, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging, that whenever our continental or provincial councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth, and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon constitutional principles: an event which we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberties of the colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe to this association.

Subscribed by every member present, and certified by

HENRY LAURENS, pref.

July, 1775.

The court of Vice. An apologue.

VICE "on a solemn night of state,
In all the pomp of terror fate,"
Her voice in deep, tremendous tone,
Thus issu'd from her ebony throne;
This night, at our infernal court,
Let all our ministers resort:
Who most annoys the human race,
At our right hand shall take his place,
Rais'd on a throne—advanc'd in
fame—
Ye Crimes now vindicate your claim.

Eager for praise, the hideous host
All spake, aspiring to the post.

Pride said, to gain his private ends,
He sacrific'd his dearest friends;
Insulted all with manners rude,
And introduc'd ingratitude.
'Twas he refus'd domestic hate,
And party spirit in the state;
Hop'd they'd observe, his mystic plan
Destroy'd all confidence in man;
And justifi'd his high pretensions,
By causing envy and dissensions.

Intemperance, loud, demands the
place,
He'd long deceiv'd the human race;
None could such right as he maintain,
Disease and death were in his train.

Theft next appears, to claim the
station,
E'er constant in his dark vocation;
He thought the place might well repay
The Crime that labour'd night and
day.

Fraud own'd (though loth to speak
his praise)
He gain'd his point by secret ways;
His voice in cities had been heard,
And oft in senates been preferr'd:
Yet much derision had he borne,
Treated by honest fools with scorn;
His influence on the western shore
Was not so great as heretofore:
He own'd each side alike assail'd,
Complain'd how sadly he was rail'd,
Curst by the name, in ev'ry street,
Of paper, tendry, rogue, and cheat:
Yet if some honour should requite
His labour—things might still go right.

Murder before the footstool stood,
With tatter'd robe distain'd in blood;
And who, he cry'd, with daring face,
Denies my title to the place?
My watchful eyes mankind survey,
And single out the midnight prey;
Not coward-like I meet the foe,
With footsteps insecure and slow,

Or cause his death by languid strife—
Boldly this dagger ends his life.
Give back, ye Crimes: your claims
relinquish,
For I demand the post as mine.

Av'rice declar'd, for love of gold,
His nation, or himself he sold;
He taught the sin of pride betimes;
Was foster-father of all crimes:
He pawn'd his life: he stak'd his soul,
And found employment for the whole:
Acknowledg'd that he gain'd his
wealth,
By fraud, by murder, and by stealth:
On one so useful in her cause,
Vice well might lavish due applause.

The haggard host bow low the
head;
The monster rose, and thus she said:
Ye ministers of Vice, draw near,
For fame no longer persevere;
No more your various parts disclose,
Men see, and hate you all as foes,
One yet remains among your crew,
Then rise, Seduction! claim your due.
Your baleful presence quickly parts
The tie which holds the happiest
hearts;
You rob—what wealth can ne'er re-
pay!

Like Judas, with a kiss betray:
Hence come the starving, trembling
train,
Who prostitute themselves for gain,
Whose languid visages impart
A smile, while anguish gnaws the heart;
Whose steps decoy unwary youth,
From honour, honesty, and truth,
Which, follow'd 'till too late to mend,
In ruin, and the gallows end—
Be thine the post. Besides, who
knows

Where all thy consequences close?
With thee, Seduction! are ally'd
Horror, Despair, and Suicide.
You wound—but the devoted heart
Feels not alone—the poignant smart:
You wound—th' electric pain extends
To fathers, mothers, sisters, friends,
Murder may yet delight in blood,
And deluge round the crimson flood:
But sure his merits rank above,
Who murders in the mask of love.

—♦♦♦♦♦—

The gliding sleigh.

IMMUR'D too long, Fiorella
sighs
For purer air and genial skies;
And plans, with youth and beauty gay,
New conquests in the gliding sleigh.

Ev'n age, forgetting pains and cares,
For wholesome exercise prepares,
And, tempted by the glorious day,
Once more enjoys the gliding sleigh.

With second youth his bosom swells,
His former triumphs as he tells;
Then grasps the whip, and drives away,
Exulting in the gliding sleigh.

Secur'd by furs, in decent pride,
His spouse sits smiling by his side;
In gentle hints prescribes the way,
And half directs the gliding sleigh.

Where yonder cheering signs invite,
With stomachs keen, the pair alight;
Confessing, as the bill they pay,
That health attends the gliding sleigh.
The maid, refresh'd with cakes and
wine,

Forbids her tender swain to pine;
But lest mama should chide her stay,
She enters soon the gliding sleigh.

Though many a stream by frost is
bound,
Thus health and pleasure may be
found;

Then who would fret, to spleen a prey,
When joy prepares the gliding sleigh?



S O N G,

By the hon. Francis Hopkinson, esq.

I.

MY gen'rous heart disdains
The slave of love to be,
I scorn his servile chains,
And boast my liberty.

This whining,

And pining,

And walling with care,
Are not my taste, be she ever so fair.

II.

Shall a girl's capricious frown
Sink my noble spirits down?
Shall a face of white and red
Make me droop my silly head?
Shall I let me down and sigh
For an eye-brow, or an eye?
For a braided lock of hair
Curse my fortune, and despair?

My gen'rous heart disdains, &c.

III.

Still uncertain is to-morrow,
Not quite certain is to-day—
Shall I waste my time in sorrow—
Shall I languish life away—
All because a cruel maid
Hath not love with love repaid?

My gen'rous heart disdains, &c.

*Pasquinade stuck up in the city of
New York, August 12, 1781.*

I.

YOU know there goes a tale,
How Jonas went on board a
whale,

Once for a frolic;
And how the whale
Set sail

And got the cholic;
And, after a great splutter,
Spewed him up upon the coast,
Just like a woodcock on a toast
With trail and butter.

II.

There also goes a joke,
How Clinton went on board the
Duke,*

Count Rochambeau to fight;
As he did n't fail
To set sail

The first fair gale,
For once we thought him right.
But after a great clutter,
He turn'd back along the coast,
And left the French to make their
boast,

And Englishmen to mutter.

III.

Just so, not long before,
Old Knyp,†
And Old Clip‡
Went to the Jersey shore,
The rebel rogues to beat;
But, at || Yankee farms,
They took alarms,
At little harms,
And quickly did retreat.

IV.

Then after two days wonder,
Marched boldly on to Springfield§
town,

And swore they'd knock the rebels
down.

But as their foes
Gave them some blows,
They, like the wind,
Soon chang'd their mind.
And, in a crack,
Return'd back,

From not one third their number.

NOTES.

* The Grand Duke transport.

† General Knyphausen,

‡ General Robertson.

|| Connecticut Farms, a small settle-
ment about four miles from Elizabeth
town, in New Jersey.

§ A small village, seven miles from
Elizabeth town.

On the prospect of affairs in Europe.

ON Europe's plains the sounds of war are heard ;
 Her sons for scenes of fury are prepar'd.
 Her haughty chiefs no more their rage conceal,
 And licens'd Murder whets the venal steel.
 Torn from his hoary fire or weeping bride,
 The youth is forc'd to prop a despot's pride,
 Compell'd, though e'en success no hope can bring,
 To serve that worst of foes, a tyrant king.
 In vain the promis'd harvest cheers his toil ;
 Some minion now shall revel in the spoil,
 And, proud his master's orders to obey,
 Glory in rapine, and enjoy the prey.

Far from ambition's eye and grandeur's woes,
 In modest pride, yon decent village rose.
 There Industry his various toils pursued,
 Mildly conducting to the gen'ral good.
 Six days to unremitting toil were giv'n ;
 The seventh was sacred held to ease and heav'n.
 In vain religion would her shield oppose ;
 The fierce Hussar no holy Sabbath knows.
 In vain for life the trembling peasant kneels ;
 The cruel Tartar no compassion feels,
 But glut his rage ; or, eager for reward,
 To slav'ry dooms the wretch, whom av'rice spar'd.
 No comfort, thus, the helpless suff'rer knows ;
 But dreads alike false friends, and real foes.

And now a darker cloud of woes impends ;
 Wide, and more wide, the scene of rage extends.
 Poles, Austrians, Russians in full league engage,
 Whom policy fires with unchristian rage.
 Sweden obeys a monarch's furious mood,
 And Denmark draws the sword, disus'd to blood.

By fear and desperation forc'd to arm,
 Swift to the field the sons of Osman swarm.
 On distant lands Byzantium calls for aid ;
 Her voice by various nations is obey'd.
 These sacred fury fires ; these sordid gain ;
 And Europe, Asia, Afric croud the plain.
 Thy standard, Mahomet ! insults the skies.
 And shouts of frantic zeal from millions rise.

Whilst fury thus inflames the great and proud,
 We scorn the tyrants, but lament the croud ;
 And chiefly her, whose sons with gen'rous strife
 In Freedom's cause were prodigal of life,
 Germania's woes who can, unmov'd, repeat !
 The grave of Europe ! war's tremendous seat !
 Hither O ! may her gallant sons repair,
 And breathe, on happier regions, Freedom's air,
 Their former despots, sworn with fury, scorn,
 Nor think a nation for a tyrant born.

Here many a German, free'd from servile toil,
 Sees plenty springing from his labour'd soil ;
 No more the soldier's lawless fury weeps,
 But sows in safety, and in safety reaps.

Here may he find a permanent retreat.
 Whilst Freedom, Industry and Worth shall greet !
 Here may his valour ever find success,
 Guarding that country, which his labours bless !

New-York, Jan. 17, 1789.

A. T.

The Indian convert.

WHEN our fathers were driv'n by British oppression,
Of their dear native country to quit the possession,
And fled to this land to enjoy their opinions,
They were welcom'd by Indians to Indian dominions.

Now zealous to propagate christian religion
In such an idolatrous, ignorant region,
They courted the natives with generous liquor,
Expecting that they'd become christians the quicker.

In a neighbouring wigwam resided two brothers,
The heathen was one's faith, but christian the other's,
To the English *his* visits were frequent and pleasant,
They gave him good liquor, and many a present.

The heathen begrudg'd the good luck of his brother,
And resolved to share with him some way or other.
"How is it," quoth he, "the white folks are so friendly,
"To make you such presents, and treat you so kindly?"
He answer'd, "I give them a piece out of scripture,
"And now and then quote them a piece of a chapter;
"This pleases them well, and good cyder they give,
"If you do the same, the same you'll receive."

Quoth he to himself, "So I will if am able,"
Then getting some names by rote from the bible,
He went and sat himself down on the floor,
And said "Adam, Eve, Cain, the Devil, Job, Koar."

He was ask'd, with surprise, what he meant by all this?
Quoth he, "I mean cyder, why could not you guess?"

*Verses on the commencement of the year 1789.*

NOW Sol's bright beams propitiously appear,
And usher in, with joy, the new-born year.
Each fed'ral patriot, at fair freedom's shrine,
With honest zeal, cries, "hail blest eighty-nine!"

The soldier, who his country's foes withstood,
And bravely purchas'd freedom with his blood;
The able statesman, whose sage counsel plann'd
Freedom and safety for an injur'd land;
The worthy citizen, whose wealth was giv'n
To aid the cause of liberty and heav'n;
The generous ally, who supplied from far,
The line's of a long and doubtful war;
All, all rejoice to see Columbia rise,
By fed'ral laws exalted to the skies;
Nor deem their gen'rous efforts thrown away,
Since they have liv'd to see the happy day
When all their labours are with glory crown'd,
And "the NEW ROSE" ev'n infant-lips resound.
The martyr'd hero, too, untimely slain,
By tyrant-foes, upon th' ensanguin'd plain,
Where patriotic ardour fir'd his soul,
And urg'd him on to glory's utmost goal,
With an approving smile from heav'n surveys
This monument erected to his praise—
For freedom's dome to latest times shall tell
What patriot blood was spilt, what heroes fell;
And how they nobly yielded up their breath,
Greatly victorious—in the arms of death;

Rescu'd their country from a tyrant's sway ;
 And soar'd immortal to the realms of day.
 Each friend of virtue joins the joyous throng,
 And celebrates, with all the charms of song,
 Fair freedom's fabric, which shall ever be
 The guardian, pride, and glory of the free.

While thus Columbia's chosen sons rejoice,
 And fed'ral music tunes each patriot's voice,
 A youthful bard aspires, with humble lays,
 To join the happy choir, and sing the praise
 Of this thrice welcome, this important year,
 To justice sacred, and to virtue dear——

What prospects open to my ravis'd sight !
 Methinks I view the heav'nly orbs of light
 With beams celestial on our country shine,
 To hail the great events of eighty-nine !

His much lov'd country, at each dire alarm,
 Summons th' illustrious FABRUS from his farm,
 Her rights asserted, and her wrongs redress'd,
 Again his calm retreat affords him rest.
 Lo now once more he quits his Sabine field,
 With all the rural charms 'tis wont to yield ;
 Foregoes the pleasures of domestic life,
 And comes to quell the feuds of civil strife.
 At his approach vile Faction stands aghast,
 And civil Discord breathes, in pangs, her last ;
 Paper emissions too, at his command,
 With legal tenders, fly this happy land ;
 While Justice to these states returns again,
 With all the social virtues in her train.
 Now Commerce with her num'rous sails unfurl'd,
 Bestows her blessings on our western world :
 A due reward awaits the farmer's toil,
 (Happy possessor of a fertile soil !)
 Our infant manufactures raise their head :
 Worthy mechanics, destitute of bread,
 Shall now no more without employment lie,
 Nor heave the piteous unavailing sigh.
 Bright Science too, beneath our sacred dome,
 Shall find a last retreat, a fav'rite home,
 And, freed from schoolmen's trammels, shall impart
 Her cheering influence to each useful art,
 Diffuse her blessings, to the humblest cell,
 And with the lowliest peasant deign to dwell.

Hence my mankind with pleasing fondness see,
 That to be happy—is but to be free,

Philadelphia, Jan. 1789.

W. I.

Foreign Intelligence.

Vienna, Oct. her 23.

WE are assured for certainty, that the Turks have totally evacuated the Bannat, after entirely destroying the face of the country which they occupied. The damage they have done is estimated at many millions.

Warsaw, November 4.

The king and the diet act mani-

mously in every thing, and have already given the emperors to understand, "they must be considered as a neutral and independent nation."

This stroke, evidently brought about through the declaration of the king of Prussia, who keeps all his troops ready for marching and action, (though none of them have yet actually marched) cannot fail of causing the Turks to persist in the prosecution of the war.

Paris, December 1.

We can speak from authority, that the states-general of France will not meet till the month of May next. The notables are expected to finish their sitting the 18th instant.

London, November 17.

A new fur trade might be established on the western coast of America, that would be the means of founding a new manufactory in this country. The furs of that coast are so far superior to those of Hudson's Bay, as not to admit of comparison. Some ships have sailed from this country in the pursuit—but the protection and aid of government is necessary to give permanency to the plan.

Of the furs brought from the western coast of America, by the officers of captain Cooke, some curious experiments have been made—the texture is so fine, that very beautiful gloves and stockings, and a cloth as fine as an Indian shawl, were manufactured from them.

Nov. 27. A letter from Frankfort, dated Nov. 1, says, “They reckon one hundred and twenty-seven villages laid waste by the Turks during their stay in the Bannat; part of the inhabitants of that unfortunate country fled into Hungary, the rest were massacred, or made slaves. The Turks did not leave a place without carrying off all the iron work of the houses, the moveables, even bells of churches, and every thing that was portable, and afterwards set fire to the buildings: in short, they spread desolation wherever they came.”

Dec. 3. His majesty is very much emaciated in body, occasioned by confinement, and a restriction from that exercise which he used to take.

All our accounts agree, that the greatest preparations for war are carrying on at Berlin, orders having been given for all the ammunition wagons to be prepared for service.

The imperial armies, on going into winter quarters, thus state the accounts of the campaign:

The Turks with no gain, unless the pillage of the Bannat can be called so.

The Austrians gain Choczün, and the dependent territory; the fortresses of Novi, Dubitza, Dresnick, and Scabitz, and the posts of Sabecz, and Palesch. The Russians have Jassy.

Dec 5. Mr. Adams, some time since ambassador from the American states to Great Britain, who resided some months in Flanders, previous to his final departure for America, is on the eve of seeing his project of a commercial alliance between America and the Flemings put in execution, an American company being now on the point of establishing themselves at Ostend, with particular privileges.

Dec. 11. The Danish forces have totally abandoned Sweden. But some difference has occurred between the prince of Hesse and the king of Sweden, from the former's having insisted that the sum of one hundred thousand dollars should be paid the king of Denmark, as a contribution, in the space of four months.

As a security for the payment of this fine, the prince took with him from Udewalla, three of the principal merchants as hostages. But it is much doubted, whether the money will ever be paid.

This contribution, as well as some others which the prince of Hesse endeavoured to exact in the Swedish territories, had nearly rekindled the flames of war.

The king of Sweden opposed this conduct in the warmest manner, and sent an officer to the Danish camp, with the following declaration:

“That if the prince of Hesse persisted in his design to levy contributions in his states, he should immediately dissolve the armistice agreed on; nor should he abandon his subjects to such oppressions without affording them his assistance.”

To this declaration the prince replied—“That he should refer those differences to be settled by the mediating powers.”

The king of Sweden acquiesced in this proposition, and thus the matter is terminated for the present.



American Intelligence.

Alexandria, January 22.

By information received from Kentucke, we learn that many of the principal people of that district, are warmly in favour of a separation from the union, and contend that it is injurious to the interests of that country, to be connected with the Atlantic states.

This idea, so pregnant with mischief to America, is said to be much checked by the intelligence carried there by Mr. Brown, member of congress—on this effect—that he had the strongest assurance from the Spanish ambassador, that on such a declaration, Spain would cede to them the free navigation of the Mississippi, and give them every support and encouragement in her power.

Worcester, February 5.

Several gentlemen are about establishing a cotton manufactory in this town. A subscription for defraying the expense of making the spinning machine, called a jenny, &c. is already filled.

Among the acts of the legislature of Connecticut, passed the last month, is one, entitled, “an act to suspend all suits on actions in favour of any citizen of Rhode Island, now brought, or which hereafter may be brought in this state.”

New York, February 7.

The assembly, we are informed, have at length got through the fee bill; by which the officers and ministers of justice within this state, will have their fees reduced, in some instances, fifty per cent.

Feb. 23. Letters received by the last Albany post, communicate the happy and long-expected account of the two houses having agreed to appoint senators to represent this state in congress; and that a committee was appointed for that purpose.

Baltimore, Feb. 10.

We learn with pleasure, that the merchants, and others, of this place, are subscribing to a provisional loan for erecting a house for holding the sessions of congress, with other proper buildings for the great offices of the United States. This loan, we understand, is to be handed to our representatives, to be communicated by them to congress on their first meeting.

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Philadelphia, Feb. 5.

Extract of a letter from Fayetteville, dated January 1.

“The commonwealth of Franklin is no more. Typton with his party, in the absence of governor Sevier, surprised the metropolis, and carried off all the records, &c. By a number of commissions, found amongst

those papers, it appears, that most of the officers under Sevier’s administration, resigned their trust, previous to this fatal catastrophe taking place; whether this will restore peace and good order, on the western side of the mountains, is yet doubtful. Sevier, with a corps of five hundred rifle men, has taken up his winter quarters in the heart of the Cherokee nation, after killing and destroying all that came in his way. Unmindful and unacquainted with the great revolutions that have taken place at home, his excellency, like Charles the XIIth, king of Sweden, is fond of foreign conquest: while victory crowns his arms in distant parts, he loses his own country, and, very probably, his life at last in the defence of it. Our assembly is now sitting, and a bill has been brought into the house for calling a new convention: its fate is yet unknown.”

A letter from Louisville, dated Jan. 16, says, “our friend general W—k—s—n has fitted out a small fleet, for a second expedition to New Orleans; it consists of twenty-five large boats, some of which carry three pounders, and all of them swivels, manned by 150 hands, brave and well armed, to fight their way down the Ohio and Mississippi into the gulf of Mexico.

“This is the first armada that ever floated on the western waters—and, I assure you, the sight of this little squadron, under the Kentucke colours, opens a field for contemplation—what this country may expect from commerce at a future day.

“The cargoes consist chiefly of tobacco, flour and provisions of all kinds,—some have been packed up in ware-houses these three or four years past; and where it certainly would have remained, had not the general through his indefatigable enterprize and genius, opened the too long barricaded gates.”

Feb. 24. Friday last, the general assembly resolved, that a special committee be appointed to prepare and bring in a bill, repealing any act or part of an act which prohibits theatrical representations, and to provide against the abuses of the theatre by representations injurious to morals.—
Yeas 35—Nays 29.

A bill to the above effect has been since brought in, read twice and printed for public consideration.

Feb. 26. The *Pittsburg gazette*, of the 24th ult. advises, that the treaty between his excellency governor St. Clair and the various Indian Nations, at Muskingum, had been happily concluded, these nations having agreed to the governor's proposals—and that the commissioners on the part of the state of Pennsylvania, had purchased a tract of land, of the Indians who claimed it, on Lake Erie.

Feb. 27. A letter from London, dated Dec. 3, says, "that very pointed orders have been sent by the board of controul to the different presidencies, to prevent the American ships from trading at the settlements belonging to the British East India company.

On Tuesday the 17th inst. the report of the committee in favour of a repeal of the test laws, was adopted by the house of assembly, and Mr. Lewis, Mr. Wynkoop, and Mr. M'Leane appointed to bring in a bill to repeal all the laws which require any oath or affirmation of allegiance from the citizens of this state—and of abjuration of any foreign power—and to insert a clause therein, requiring a test of allegiance from all foreigners coming to settle with this commonwealth, agreeably to the 42d section of the constitution.

The following advertisement, copied from a late New York paper, must give the most sincere pleasure to every real friend of American prosperity: *American Woollens.*

Just come to hand, a fresh importation from the flourishing manufactory of Hartford, viz. Twilled coatings, Hartford serge, mixed grey, bottle-green, dark brown, and Hartford grey cloths.—Apply to Nathaniel Hazard, No. 51, Water-street.

The manufacturing society of this city have addressed a number of judicious queries to several tradesmen and manufacturers, in each line of business carried on here, respecting the present state of their particular branches. The object in view is truly laudable; being to collect together such a stock of information, to lay before congress, as may enable them to regulate the import duty, in the manner best calculated to raise a

revenue, and to protect domestic manufactures.

The tradesmen and manufacturers of Baltimore have it in agitation to make application to congress for their legislative interference in favour of American manufactures. It is hoped the example will be generally followed.

From the preceding circumstances, and the prevailing disposition to encourage American arts and manufactures, a happy omen may be drawn of the future prosperity of this country.

An example set by the illustrious president, and the members of congress, of appearing wholly dressed in American manufactures, could not fail of producing the happiest effects.

An arret has lately been published by the court of Versailles, offering a bounty of thirty sous for every quintal of wheat, and forty for every quintal of flour imported into France from the united states, from the 15th inst. to the 30th of June next; all vessels, without distinction, carrying wheat and flour to France during the above period, are exempted from freight duty.

It is with singular pleasure we mention that the legislature of Massachusetts has passed an act for abolishing the right of primogeniture.

Feb. 28. To the honour of our general assembly, they have passed an act, vesting five thousand acres of land, with usual allowance, in the corporation of the German Lutheran congregation, in and near the city of Philadelphia, for the purpose of endowing a free school for the use of the poor of said congregation.

A letter from France, dated Nov. 21, says, 'No conveyance direct for your port has offered for several weeks, otherwise before this I should have informed you of an edict published in this kingdom the last month, prohibiting the importation of foreign whale oil into any of our ports. Some doubts arose whether the oil landed at our free ports, before the edict was known at said ports, should be allowed a sale through the kingdom; when application being made to the minister, he permitted the oil so landed, to have a free sale through the kingdom. All I can say on this head is, that you are on the same footing as the most favoured nation.'

MARRIED.

In Philadelphia. Mr. Benjamin Bostack to miss Harriet Budden.— Captain A. G. Claypoole to miss Eliza Faulkner.

Near Dover, in Delaware. Mr. Joseph Syker to miss Angelica Killen.

In Wincheller. Mr. Nathaniel Villis to miss Mary Cartmill.

In Charleston. Major Edward Phenix to miss Susannah Frances Barkdale.

DEATHS.

In Philadelphia. John Henry Bed-

ken, esquire, late captain of dragoons in the service of the united states.

At Millington, in Connecticut. Major general Joseph Spencer.

In Elizabethtown. Mr. Baker Hendricks.

In Salem county, West Jersey. Mrs. Mary Purviance, aged 76.

In Wilmington, Delaware. Mr. Christopher Henderson, aged upwards of 100 years.

In Virginia. General Nelson.

In South Carolina. Judge Pendleton.

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A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For M A R C H, 1789.

Remarks upon the navigation from Newfoundland to New York, in order to avoid the gulf stream on one hand, and on the other the shoals that lie to the southward of Nantucket and of St. George's Banks.
By Dr. Franklin.

AFTER you have passed the Banks of Newfoundland in about the 44th degree of latitude, you will meet with nothing, till you draw near the isle of Sables, which we commonly pass in latitude 43. Southward of this isle, the current is found to extend itself as far north as $41^{\circ} 20'$ or $30'$, then it turns towards the E. S. E. or S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.

Having passed the isle of Sables, shape your course for the St. George's Banks, so as to pass them in about latitude 40° , because the current southward of those banks reaches as far north as 39° . The shoals of those banks lie in $41^{\circ} 35'$.

After having passed St. George's Banks, you must, to clear Nantucket, form your course so as to pass between the latitudes $38^{\circ} 30'$ and $40^{\circ} 45'$.

The most southern part of the shoals of Nantucket lies in about $40^{\circ} 45'$. The northern part of the current directly to the south of Nantucket, is felt in about latitude $38^{\circ} 30'$.

By observing these directions, and keeping between the stream and the shoals, the passage, from the Banks of Newfoundland to New York, Delaware, or Virginia, may be considerably shortened; for so you will have the advantage of the eddy current, which moves contrary to the gulf stream. Whereas, if, to avoid the shoals, you keep too far to the southward, and get into that stream, you will be retarded by it at the rate of sixty or seventy miles a day.

The Nantucket whalers being extremely well acquainted with the gulf stream, its course, strength, and extent, by their constant practice of whaling on the edges of it, from their island quite down to the Bahamas,

the annexed draft of that stream was obtained from one of them, captain Folger, and caused to be engraved on the old chart in London, for the benefit of navigators by B. Franklin.

The Nantucket captains, who are acquainted with this stream, make their voyages from England to Boston in as short a time generally as others take in going from Boston to England, viz. from twenty to thirty days.

A stranger may know when he is in the gulf stream, by the warmth of the water, which is much greater than that of the water on each side of it. If then he is bound to the westward, he should cross the stream, to get out of it as soon as possible.



The plan of government adopted by the Oneida Nation.

I. TO fix the bounds and limits of the sovereignty of the Oneida nation—to let their vacant lands be properly surveyed, laid out into lots and numbered, and have an exact map made of the same,

II. Two men shall be appointed by the grand council, that are well known to be men of principle and interest in the nation; they shall be invested with power to act and transact all business concerning the leasing and dividing the said land or lands into equal shares, to each person and family, and they shall be obliged to render a true and just account of all their proceedings, from time to time, to the national council.

III. From the lines of property, a certain tract of wood-land shall be reserved for the benefit of both parties, to wit, the farmers of the states, and the farmers of the proprietors of the Oneida nation, to prevent any difficulties that may arise on either side.

IV. A tract of land, of four miles in breadth, and extending from the line of property to the western boundary of the Oneida territory, secured

by the treaty at Fort-Stanwix, shall be rented out for the sole benefit of the said nation; which said land shall stand for a township forever.

V. The Oneida territory (except that which is fixed by treaty, to be rented out) must be equally divided into equal shares, to every man, woman, and child of the Oneida nation, without any exception. One tract of this said land to remain forever as a national fund, without any part thereof being alienated; and the revenues arising from the same, are to defray all public charges that may or shall hereafter accrue. The administration of this said tract, to be ordered and directed by the chiefs, in council, who shall render a true and just account, twice in every year, to the grand assembly of the said nation.

VI. No man, woman, or child, of the said Oneida nation, shall have it in his or her power, to sell one foot of land that shall fall to his or her lot or share, except it be to one of their own nation. All other bargains for such land shall be void and of none effect.

VII. If any mine or mines shall be discovered in any part of the Oneida territories, by any inhabitants settling their lands, he or they shall immediately acquaint the chief of said nation, and he shall take notice of the same: if it proves of value, the Oneida nation to receive the tenth part of the same. If any salt-spring or springs are discovered, or shall be discovered, they must be reserved for the benefit of the nation in general.

VIII. The grand council of the Oneidas shall have power to inform the several families of our nation at Niagara, or elsewhere scattered abroad, and if, when we call on them to return to their native place, they shall return with us, they shall be partakers of all our happiness and benefits, and we will be as one in every thing to the promoting of our welfare. But if, after one year and one day, they do not mind to return, after being timely warned, they shall not afterwards be benefitted by any of our incomes that shall hereafter arise, by virtue of our lands and tenements; but their rights must be forever confiscated to the use and benefit of us now present.

IX. The grand council shall have power (so soon as the lands are rented out, and the rents drawn in) to pay all debts which are due to every one in the nation. Each one, however, to be paid out of his or her own share of land so rented out.

X. The grand council shall have power to call on the state, to have an act or law passed, that, in case any person or persons settling in our lands, shall not comply with these articles of agreement, we may appeal to the first justice of the peace, that may be found in any county next to our territory, for rectifying our grievances, be they of what nature soever. The same justice and law shall also take place in this grand council, against any man, woman, or child, who shall hurt, wrong, or defraud any person or persons, inhabiting any of our said hired lands.

XI. The national or grand council shall consist of nine members—two chiefs and one head warrior of each tribe. The nomination of the nine chiefs, shall be by the great assembly of the nation. No person to approach in time of business, without being called for by the chiefs of said council. These nine members of council shall be vested with power to act and transact all and every business, belonging to the nation, and, in behalf of the same, shall, once in every year, call a general assembly, in which every person who is eighteen years old, can have a hearing; and, where every business for that year shall have a hearing.

XII. All children born in the Oneida nation, shall be in subjection to their parents, till they arrive to the age of maturity: boys to twenty-one, and girls to eighteen years of age; at which time of age, the father and mother may, if they have any thing to bestow, bestow it on them. It shall be equal with the daughter as with the son, without any distinction; and, in case a father dies, one-third part of all that pertained to him, shall be reserved for his widow, so long as she lives; but, when the mother also be dead, the whole to be divided among the children of the deceased.

XIII. If any man or woman of said nation die without issue, and has not disposed of his or her lands, or

oods, to any friend, or an adopted friend in his or her life-time, then all that is found of the deceased, shall be given to the orphans, if any such are to be found—if none, the whole to be distributed to the nation in general, so far as it will extend.

XIV. The grand council shall also be empowered to choose one man of sober and honest character, to overlook the children in town, and see that, in general, they behave well to their parents and superiors; as also, to have a strict lookout, that no strong liquors, by any merchant or trader, are sold in the castle; and, from this council, he shall have power to break the vessels where such liquor is found, after the first warning; and if any merchant or trader shall attempt the second time, after being warned not to sell any rum or spiritous liquors, all his liquors shall be stove, and his other goods become a public prize.

XV. A regular school to be opened in the English tongue, for the benefit of the Oneida nation. The nation building a house which shall prove convenient for that purpose; and setting apart a tract of clear land, part for the maintenance of the master and family, and the remainder to be hired out by the said master for his benefit, so long as he may continue in the aforesaid service, and then to go to the one who shall succeed him.

XVI. At the grand council it is also found beneficial that they be provided with one or two surveyors, to survey their lands from line to line, and then to lay all out in proper lots, with their numbers, as the map shall direct, to prevent any trouble or debate that might hereafter arise.

XVII. It is also judged necessary, that the grand council of the Oneida nation, should be furnished with one interpreter of their own; that they may always depend that he declares the truth of all business committed to his charge—to prevent mistakes, and save them from the alarm of false interpreting.

XVIII. So soon as the revenues of the nation will permit, the grand council will, at their discretion, look out six young men, of the age of twelve or thirteen years, that are of quick apprehension, apt to learn, as also of good and honest mo-

vals, to travel abroad—perhaps two to England, two to France, and two to some parts of the neighbouring states, or elsewhere, as their inclination may direct them, amongst the white people; to learn not only the languages, but to observe their ways and manners, which may and will prove very advantageous to the whole nation, in a few years, if rightly attended to.

XIX. The national assembly's desire is, that distinct rule, order, submission, and obedience be paid to the chiefs of the grand council, who shall be fitted with marks of distinction: in consequence of the same, it is resolved, that so soon as convenient materials can be procured, eighteen proper marks of distinction shall be given for that purpose; three, representing the tribe of the bear; three, the tribe of the wolf; and three, the tribe of the tortoise. The marks of the chiefs of war are, a green riband striped on the side with red, to be worn on the left side. Nine marks of distinction for the chiefs of the counsellors, with the mark of an eagle, on a red riband, to go round the neck, and hang between the breasts. Be it remembered, that those chiefs, whether warriors or counsellors, who wear this badge, must be men of truth, honour, and wisdom to discharge the great trust of national business now put into their hands; and whether at home, or abroad, when these marks are seen, it will be remembered, that they are of this great council, and great respect will, at all times, be shewn them.

XX. All things that will be for the national benefit, and may hereafter happen or occur, which are not here written, will, at all times, by this great council, be rectified to the satisfaction of the whole nation.

WE, the sachems, chiefs, and head warriors, in behalf of all the Oneida nation, after consideration of our present situation, have desired to establish a regular government, good rules, religion and principles, not only to the advancement of civilization, but also, to assure our friendship and zeal to all our brethren the Americans, as well as their allies, the French nation: in consideration whereof, we, the aforesaid nation, have established twenty articles of government, in the pre-

sence of the honourable Peter Penet, esq. our true and trully friend, adopted and chosen agent forever; to act for us, and for the good and happiness of our nation; which twenty articles of government, we, the Oneida nation, in council assembled, do hereby assent to, ratify, and confirm, and firmly bind ourselves, and all our nation, to hold, comply with, and fulfil the above-mentioned articles, and every of them, for the future happiness of ourselves and our posterity, forever, that we may obtain the character of a sociable and credible nation, and be looked on as such by all the nations of the world. In confirmation whereof, we have signed our names and set our seals, in behalf of our nation; two copies whereof are to be drawn, one for his excellency the governor of New York, and the other for the French ambassador, now residing in New York.

Given in the great house of Scandonoe, this twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and of our new government the first.

<i>Gashaweda,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Jeaghswangololis Puliol,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Agwilentengwas, Dem. Peter,</i>	X.
<i>Joneaghslieheu, Daniel,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Thaaccageandagoyon,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Allowestones, Blacksmith,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Kenjako, David,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Kahiktaton,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Sageyontha,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Shonondough,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Hannah Sodath,</i>	her X mark.
<i>Seyonglnchalk, Konwagalet,</i>	X.
<i>Kononwayete,</i>	her X mark.
<i>Odaghfighte,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Kanaghguraya,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Peter Ofsiquette,</i>	
<i>Thaghniyongo,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Thonigweeghschote,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Jekcandyakkon,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Ossulute, Hanury,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Ostetegen,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Teyehagwanda,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Onryanha, Beech Tree,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Thaghneghtolis, Hendrick,</i>	X.
<i>Ohonouglego, Anthony,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Thaghtagwifca,</i>	his X mark.
<i>Shanaghjukigh,</i>	his X mark.

Signed and sealed in the presence of
P. Pennet,

Edward Johnston, interpreter,
P. Chevalier de Goyon,
James Baudron,
Vaumane de Fonclaire,
J. F. Lebon,
Colonel Luc Cook, his X mark.
Witnesses, Rotgienher,
Margritte Guarinda see theene, her X mark.

These two witnesses, one a young man, and the other a young woman, were called by the grand council of our assembly, to remember this new plan of government, this day ratified, confirmed, and finished.

The two men mentioned in the second article, to act and transact the national business, are nominated and appointed by the great council of the Oneidas, to wit: colonel Luc Cook and Peter Ofsiquette.

Attested, P. PENNET, Agent.



An Indian anecdote.

THE world has ever considered, with the highest veneration, those who have devoted themselves to death, for the glory or the safety of their country and friends.

Regulus, Leonidas, the six famous burghers of Calais, with other great examples which occur in history, have in all ages been justly admired, as displaying the greatest nobleness of soul, whilst many particulars of their history have been esteemed fabulous by critics, as beyond the power of human resolution: and yet, in the history of those people we call savages, and whom we are too apt indiscriminately to treat with contempt, and consider as incapable of any sentiment above the level of the animal creation. We often find instances of greatness of mind which would do honour to the heroism and patriotism of the greatest and most polished nations. Perhaps the following interesting anecdote cannot be paralleled in ancient or modern history: it happened about twenty-eight years ago in the neighbourhood of New Orleans, and may be considered as authentic, being communicated by M. Bosse, an officer of distinction, who then enjoyed a considerable command in that country.

"The tragical death of an Indian of the Collapissa nation," says this gentleman, "who sacrificed himself

for his country and son, I have often admired as displaying the greatest heroism, and placing human nature in the noblest point of view. A Chactaw Indian, having one day expressed himself in the most reproachful terms of the French, and called the Collapissas their dogs and their slaves, one of this nation, exasperated at his injurious expressions, laid him dead on the spot. The Chactaws, the most numerous and most warlike tribe on that continent, immediately flew to arms; they sent deputies to New Orleans to demand from the French governor the head of the savage, who had fled to him for protection. The governor offered presents as an atonement: they were rejected with disdain: they threatened to extirpate the whole tribe of the Collapissas. To pacify this fierce nation, and prevent the effusion of human blood, it was at length found necessary to deliver up the unhappy Indian. The sieur Ferrand, commander of the German posts on the right of the Mississippi, was charged with this melancholy commission; a rendezvous was in consequence appointed between the settlement of the Collapissas and the German posts, where the mournful ceremony was conducted in the following manner:

“The Indian victim, whose name was Tichou Mingo (i. e. servant to the cacique or prince) was produced. He rose up, and agreeably to the custom of the people, harangued the assembly to the following purpose: “I am a true man; that is to say, I fear not death, but I lament the fate of my wife, and four infant children, whom I leave behind in a very tender age; I lament, too, my father and mother, whom I have long maintained by hunting; them, however, I recommend to the French; since, on their account, I now fall a sacrifice.”

“Scarcely had he finished this short and pathetic harangue, when the old father, struck with the filial affection of his son, arose, and thus addressed himself to the audience. “My son is doomed to death; but he is young and vigorous, and more capable than me to support his mother, his wife, and his four infant children; it is necessary that he remain upon earth to protect and provide for them; as for me, who draw towards the end of my career,

I have lived long enough; may my son attain to my age, that he may bring up his tender infants; I am no longer good for any thing; a few years more or less, are to me of small moment. I have lived as a man—I shall die as a man. I therefore take the place of my son*.”

“At these words, which expressed his paternal love and greatness of soul in the most touching manner, his wife, his son, his daughter-in-law, and the little infants, melted into tears around this brave, this generous old man. He embraced them for the last time, exhorted them to be ever faithful to the French, and to die rather than betray them by any mean treachery unworthy of his blood. “My death,” concluded he, “I consider as necessary for the safety of my nation, and I glory in the sacrifice.” Having thus delivered himself, he presented his head to the kinsmen of the deceased Chactaw; they accepted it; he then extended himself over the trunk of a tree, when, with a hatchet, they severed his head from his body.

“By this sacrifice all animosities were forgotten; but one part of the ceremony remained still to be performed. The young Indian was obliged to deliver to the Chactaws the head of his father: taking it up, he addressed it in these words: “Pardon me your death, and remember me in the world of spirits.”—The French, who assisted at the tragedy, could not contain their tears, whilst they admired the heroic constancy of this venerable old man, whose resolution bore a resemblance to that of the celebrated Roman orator, who, in the time of the triumvirate, was concealed by his son: the young man was most cruelly tortured in order to force him to discover his father, who, not being able to endure the idea, that a son so virtuous and so generous, should thus suffer on his account, went and presented himself to the murderers, and begged them to kill him and save his son; the son

NOTE.

* The Indian nations follow the law of retaliation: death they consider as an atonement for death: and it is sufficient that it be one of the same nation, although he should not be a kinsman: they except none but slaves.

conjured them to take his life and spare the age of his father; but the soldiers, more barbarous than savages, butchered both instantly.”



Some experiments concerning the impregnation of the seeds of plants, by James Logan, esq. communicated in a letter from him to mr. Peter Collinson, F. R. S.

Philadelphia, Nov. 20, 1735.

AS the notion of a male seed, or the farina fecundans in vegetables, is now very common, I shall not trouble you with any observations concerning it, but such as may have some tendency to what I have to mention—and, first, I find from Miller's dictionary, that M. Geoffroy, a name I think of repute amongst naturalists, from the experiments he made on maize, was of opinion, that seeds may grow up to their full size, and appear perfect to the eye, without being impregnated by the farina, which possibly, for aught I know, may in some cases be true; for there is no end of varieties in nature:—but in the subject he has mentioned, I have reason to believe it is otherwise, and that he applied not all the care that was requisite in the management.

When I first met with the notion of this male seed, it was in the winter time, when I could do no more than think of it; but in the spring I resolved to make some experiments on the maize, or Indian corn. In each corner of my garden, which is forty foot in breadth, and near eighty in length, I planted a hill of that corn; and, watching the plants when they grew up to a proper height, and were pushing out both the tassels above, and ears below, from one of those hills I cut off the whole tassels; on others I carefully opened the ends of the ears, and from some of them I cut or pinched off all the silken filaments; from others I took about half, from others one fourth, and three fourths, &c. with some variety, noting the heads, and the quantity taken from each: other heads I tied up at their ends, just before the silk was putting out, with fine muslin, but the most nappy I could find, to prevent the passage of the farina; but that would

obstruct neither sun, air, nor rain. I fastened it also so very loosely, as not to give the least check to vegetation.

Of the five or six ears on the first hill, from which I had taken all the tassels, from whence proceeds the farina, there was only one that had so much as a single grain in it, and in about four hundred and eighty cells, had but about twenty or twenty-one grains; the heads, or ears, as they stood on the plant, looked as well to the eye as any other; they were of their proper length, the cores of their full size, but to the touch, for want of the grain, they felt light and yielding. On the core, when divested of the leaves that cover it, the beds of seed were in their ranges, with only a dry skin on each.

In the ears of the other hills, from which I had taken all the silk, and in those that I had covered with muslin, there was not so much as one mature grown grain, nor other than as I have mentioned in the first: but in all the others, in which I had left part, and taken part of the silk, there was in each the exact proportion of full grains, according to the quantity or number of the filaments I had left on them. And for the few grains I found on one head in the first hill, I immediately accounted thus: that head, or ear, was very large, and stood prominent from the plant, pointing with its silk westward directly towards the next hill of Indian corn; and the farina, I know, when very ripe, on shaking the stalk, will fly off in the finest dust, somewhat like smoke. I therefore, with good reason, judged that a westerly wind had wasted some few of these particles from the other hill, which had lighted on the stiles of this ear, in a situation perfectly well fitted to receive them, which none of the other ears, on the same hill, had. And indeed I admire that there were not more of the same ear than I found, impregnated in the same manner.

As I was very exact in this experiment, and curious enough in my observations, and this, as I have related it, is truly fact, I think it may be reasonably allowed, that notwithstanding what M. Geoffroy may have delivered of his trials on the same plant, I am positive, by my experiment on those heads, from which the silk was taken

quite away, and those that were covered with muslin, that none of the grains will grow up to their size, when prevented of receiving the farina to impregnate them, but appear, when the ears of corn are disclosed, with all the beds of the seeds, or grains, in their ranges, with only a dry skin on each, about the same size as when the little tender ears appear filled with milky juice before it puts out its silk. But the few grains that were grown on the single ear, were as full and as fair as any I had seen; the places of all the rest had only dry empty pellicles, as I have described them; and I much question whether the same does not hold generally in the whole course of vegetation, though, agreeably to what I first hinted, it may not be safe to pronounce absolutely upon it, without a great variety of experiments on different subjects. But I believe there are few plants that will afford so fine an opportunity of observing on them as the Indian corn; because its stiles may be taken off or left on the ear, in any proportion, and the grains be afterwards numbered in the manner I have mentioned.



Resolves of the general assembly of Pennsylvania respecting alterations in the constitution of this state.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this house, alterations and amendments of the constitution of this state are immediately necessary.

And whereas, by the declaration of independence, it is declared as a self-evident truth, "that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations in such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness:" and whereas it is also declared by our own bill of rights, "that government is or ought to be

instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation, or community, and not for the particular emolument or advantage of any single man, family, or set of men, who are a part only of that community; and that the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish government, in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal:" from all which, as well as from the nature of society and the principles of government, it manifestly appears that the people have at all times an inherent right to alter and amend the form of government, in such manner as they shall think proper; and also that they are not and cannot be limited to any certain rule or mode of accomplishing the same, but may make choice of such method as to them may appear best adapted to the end proposed.

And whereas the burden and expenses of the present form of government are with difficulty borne, and various instances occur wherein this form is contradictory to the constitution of the united states, which every member of the legislature and all executive and judicial officers must be bound by oath or affirmation to support—circumstances which will not admit of the delay of the mode prescribed in the constitution—It is, therefore, further

Resolved, That it be and it is hereby proposed and earnestly recommended by this house, in execution of their trust, as faithful, honest representatives and guardians of the people, to the citizens of this commonwealth, that they take this important subject into their serious consideration. And should they concur in opinion with this house (it being the right of the people alone to determine on this interesting question) that a convention, for the purpose of revising, altering, and amending the constitution of the state, is necessary, it is hereby submitted to their decision, whether it will not be most convenient and proper for them to elect members of convention, of the same numbers and in the like proportions, for the city of Philadelphia and the several counties, with those of their representatives in assembly, on the

day of the next general election, at the places and in the manner prescribed in cases of elections of members of assembly by the laws of the state.

That this house, on the pleasure of the people in the premises being signified to them, at their next sitting, will provide by law for the expenses which will necessarily be incurred by the proposed convention, and will, if requested, appoint the time and place for the meeting thereof. And that the supreme executive council be, and they are hereby requested to promulgate this recommendation to the good people of this state, in such way and manner as to them shall seem most expedient for the purposes herein intended.

Philadelphia, March 24, 1789.

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The friend.—Written by the rev. Timothy Dwight, under the signature of James Littlejohn, esq. P. 71.

No. II.—The writer's account of himself.

AS every reader is generally possessed of a strong curiosity to know the character, and circumstances, of the author he reads, I shall exhibit my friendship to my readers, by an immediate attempt to gratify this curiosity.

I was born in the year 1748, in an inland town of this state. From its exact conformity to a description in Hudibras, I should conjecture it was the very place, the author of that poem had in his eye, when he observed—In the western clime there is a town, To those that dwell therein, well known;

Therefore there needs no more be said here,

We unto them refer our reader.

The circumstances of my birth were, as far as I can learn, in no respects different from those of infants in general. Neither owls, nor eagles, betokened my future greatness by perching, or hooting: nor have I the least reason to believe, that my father experienced more lively emotions of pleasure, upon the news of my arrival in his family, than are commonly experienced upon such occasions. Nothing singularly brilliant marked the dawn of my reason. I could nei-

ther speak, nor walk, sooner than is usual; nor was I less indebted than other infants, to the protection of those early guardians, the standing-school, and the go-cart.

The first thing, by which my character was distinguished, as my grandmother has long since informed me, was that good nature, which usually fixes upon children the stigma of wanting common sense. I always gave up my top to my brother, when he cried for it; and frequently imparted my gingerbread to my sister, because she had eaten hers, and looked sorry.

“O the fool!” exclaimed my mother, upon seeing me so tamely yield up the favourite objects of infantine desire—I fear, said my father, all is not as it should be, with poor James—little did either of them then think that I should one day become a great man, commence author, and have my name printed as a writer of essays.

But my grandmother, who was a person of piety, was not a little pleased with these appearances of benevolence, in one so nearly connected with her. She often pressed me to her bosom, uttered over me all the epithets of tenderness, and told me, I was a dear little John; deriving the name from her favourite apostle, who, it is well known, excelled in the amiable attribute she so much praised and practised. As she often repeated this name, at the sight of some effusion of my benevolence, I soon became distinguished by it, in the family, and through the neighbourhood; and when I had arrived at the age of nine years, was scarcely known by any other.

The opinion which my parents entertained of my understanding, was not confined to the family. I was considered, as a poor, weak child, by every body except my grandmother, and the schoolmaster, whose praise I never failed to acquire, by excelling all my companions in the ease and exactness with which I performed the task assigned me. My uncommon progress in the acquisition of knowledge at school, which, it will be easily supposed, the master took proper care to communicate to my parents, was attributed to the extraordinary memory, usually believed to accompany feeble intellects. The character, I had gain-

I at home, was rivetted by my conduct at school. I rarely joined with the school boys in their sports, because some of them appeared to me so insignificant, and others too cruel. While my companions were making mud puddings, or digging ovens in the sand, I was perusing the curious structure of a flower, or gazing at the sky, and wondering who lived beyond it. I often vexed them while killing the frogs in a neighbouring pond, by rehearsing the fable of Æsop, on a similar occasion; and by frightening the butterflies, while they were reaching out their waistcoats to destroy them. But I easily regained their good will, and my own insignificance, by imparting to them the oranges, which daily rewarded my diligence.

As I increased in years and in size, different opinions began to be formed of my character, and destination. I totally shunned the diversions, which grossed the attention of my fellows. Ardour gave me the highest sensations of pain, when I saw to what distress the parent bird was reduced by the loss of her eggs, or the plunder of her young. When the training of the militia assembled upon the parade all the boys of the school, I was employed in ruminating, with a small terror, on the dangers which threatened the limbs and lives of the multitude; and in sinking under a sense of the brutism, to which drunkenness would reduce many of them before the close of the evening. A base race I abhorred as a gambling match, concerted by sharpers, who, with security, would have robbed on the highway; and lamented with anguish, the loss of comfort to the numerous families of the spectators, in idleness, profusion, and immorality, created by this sordid amusement. I hated cards and dice, for the uniform meanness of the human character which I saw them produce; and despised them, because of the supreme insignificance of an honest player. I could not swear, because I loathed to offend my Maker; and because I was unwilling to be excelled in any practice which I called my own, by tars and shoe-blacks. The peculiarity of my conduct gained me many titles of distinction; and Littlejohn was in different mouths, a strange boy—a youth

of no life—a coward—and a simpleton.

In the means time, I was not without my pleasures. Every production of nature gave me peculiar satisfaction; and every occurrence of happiness expanded my bosom with joy. The cheerful, the beautiful, the solemn, and the sublime, varied my sensations with a delightful series of agitation. In flowers, I traced a pencil, compared to which I believed Titian was a dauber; and in many a human form, an elegance of moulding, compared to which I convinced myself the author of the Venus de Medicis was but a carver of radishes. A solemn dignity swelled all my feelings, beneath the wild grandeur of the rude and lofty mountain. From the summit of that mountain, I beheld with transport the majestic diversities of infinite workmanship; and anticipated, with ecstatic vision, the period, when I would waft me to a distant world, more easily than I beheld the eagles sail from one summit to another.

As I was literally “good for nothing to work,” my father sent me to a neighbouring college, to see if he could make any thing of me. The original cast of nature is irresistible. Amidst all my father’s wishes, and my tutor’s laborious efforts, I was still Littlejohn. To money I was totally indifferent, but of my books was highly enamoured. Possessed, as my father emphatically remarked to my tutor, of an extraordinary memory, I easily became a scholar, and by diligence and obsequiousness, soon gained a place in my tutor’s affections. Often did he commend me in such terms, as proved his earnest wish, that nature had done more for me; nor could he easily conceive how a person possessed of so much ability to learn, should at the same time possess so little sense. My fellow students loved, and laughed at me; some of them thought me a great genius, and some of them thought me a blockhead; but all agreed that I was a strange creature.

After I quitted my academical life, I applied myself to the study of healing. I have often thought it owing to mere misfortune, not to want of abilities, that I gained but little reputation in the medical character. My extreme fears of doing harm com-

monly prevented me from doing any good: in my anxiety to accomplish their relief with expedition, I frequently forgot the medicines, with which I hoped to produce it: and in the indulgence of a compassionate disposition to the poor of the vicinity, I was often necessitated to tell my customers, that I would visit the sick, as soon as my neighbour Frost returned from the mill. From these circumstances was derived a proverbial remark, in the town where I lived, that dr. Littlejohn was always too late.

While I was despairing of either character, or practice in my profession, my father's death furnished me with a competent sinecure, and determined me to quit every kind of business. In the execution of this design, I became a mere, but not a cool spectator of human life; and, separated from every personal concern, soon made the business of all others my own. I was not indeed manager, or meddler; but I earnestly wished the happiness of my fellow men: and, to promote it, cheerfully tendered my advice and assistance.

A character like this will ever be exposed to adventures. Most of those I met with, were more entertaining to my companions than to myself. The first of April was always a merry-making at my expense; and no small number of sacrifices did I annually offer at the shrine of the saint, to whom that festival is dedicated. To the wits, and the blockheads, my mistakes furnished equal diversion; and the size of six feet three inches, to which I arrived at fifteen, while it fixed on me beyond recall, the name of my childhood, added not a little to the sport of innumerable successful rogueries by which I was daily a sufferer.

The well known custom of asking a stranger his name, in various parts of New England, has furnished me with numerous adventures. Though it frequently subjects me to not a little impertinence, I communicate my name with the utmost readiness to every enquirer. Not long since, after I had passed several hundred yards by a house in the interior country, I was summoned back by the owner, with no small vociferation. As I approached him, he very gravely and authorita-

tively asked me my name. "Littlejohn, sir." "Littlejohn! are you a cousin of Joseph Littlejohn of this town?" "Not that I know, sir," rejoined I. "Well, sir," answered he, "you may go on then, that was what I wished to know, when I hailed you." From a warm temper, the man might have received a caning; I very quietly turned my horse, and was not a little pleased in the satisfaction the stranger enjoyed in such an interesting discovery.

A similar disposition induced me to overcome my natural modesty, and appear at the head of this paper. Beside the hopes I entertain of adding to the stock of human knowledge, I have no small expectation of furnishing the tea-table with a subject of convenient chit chat; of assisting children in learning to read; of aiding the smoker to light his pipe, and his wife to bake her gingerbread. In my lucubrations, the student may find arguments he is too lazy to invent; the retailer of private history may make himself happy, in his pretended acquaintance with my real character: and the magazine critic may exhibit his taste and indulge his good nature, in learned strictures on the style and sentiments of friend Littlejohn.

Newhaven, March 30, 1786.



THE VISITANT. NO. IX.

Remarks on the fair sex.

EVERY generous man should view the sentiments and action of the fair sex in the most favourable light. I can ascribe the contrary practice to nothing but an unmanly spirit, since, in many cases, though guilty of it cannot vindicate themselves consistently with the laws of delicacy. Nature has made man the protector and the fair sex require our protection: he, who would refuse his protection, when it is necessary, would be reproached with cowardice, and much more if he should take advantage of their weakness. But is not he, who injures a woman's character, to be esteemed as great a coward, as he who assaults her person? Certainly he is the former is an insult on the modesty and the latter upon the natural weakness of the sex.

There is but one way in which w

can suppose a lady may vindicate herself from a false imputation, and that by the tenor of her actions. But then how liable are actions to be misconstrued! When once a slanderous tongue has given the clue, the world will be too apt to ascribe every thing to a wrong principle; even the candid are sometimes misled, and form suspicions which their honour would otherwise have prevented.

The practice of viewing the female conduct in an unfavourable light, subjects the sex to many disadvantages, which I have observed in the course of my acquaintance—I shall embrace this opportunity of mentioning a few of them.

A lady is very seldom mistress of her choice of company of our sex, and yet her character depends very much upon it. If the fop, the libertine, and the impertinent, were created by a lady with the contempt which their characters deserve, it would expose her to censure, which I think no woman of prudence would be willing to incur; and yet too open behaviour makes some people conclude, that she approves of or at least that she does not sincerely condemn their vices. The question then arises, how should she behave herself to men who are remarkable for qualities which it is her duty to despise? why I think she should never give just cause of offence by expressing any dislike of their persons, but then let her discover a proper abhorrence of their vices, by ever shewing an hearty regard for those who are guilty of them. This is a medium which it is difficult, and in some cases, I believe, impossible to pursue; and the more a lady is distinguished by her good nature and sincerity, the more liable would she be to mistake sometimes in this particular; but these circumstances render such men inexcusable, who take every opportunity of making observations injurious to their reputation.

I know of no vice which deforms the female mind more than envy; now I have observed a class of men who are very expert in resolving the actions and sentiments of ladies into this principle; nay, they go farther, and use every occasion to oblige them to discover such appearances as may favour their ill natured disposition.

A man of this cast will make a reflexion in a circle of ladies to the disadvantage of one of the sex; he intends it as a bait to allure the ill-nature and malice of the company, and indeed it is very difficult to avoid his artifice, either by censuring or vindicating the character he exposes. In the former case he makes no scruple of ascribing it to the principle which he desired to discover; in the latter, he reflects that a woman's own honour may be sometimes concerned in concealing the foibles to which her sex is liable. There are others who practice a method still more artful and ungenerous than the one I have mentioned; they will praise an absent lady for qualities which she does not possess; if the fair one to whom it is addressed, ventures with more sincerity than prudence, to differ in opinion, this affords them a fresh argument upon their darling theme of female malice; silence meets with no better reception; if she allows a faint praise, her soft words discover to them an envious heart; and even where a just and cordial praise is allowed to merit, who has not observed that insincerity has borrowed the same expressions, and that a woman's hatred may be sometimes computed by the ardency of her applause?

Flattery is a fashionable snare to entangle female vanity; and I know of no method more successful, when a man is disposed to put an unfavourable construction upon every thing he sees. If it is received with applause, with what satisfaction does the base deceiver congratulate himself upon his success? Hence some ladies to avoid all such appearances, shew themselves displeased when they are attacked in this way; but alas! they succeed no better than the former; for it is easy enough for the confident fellow to console himself with this reflexion, that the vain creature takes the compliment almost before it was intended.

What shall we say to the practice of offending a woman's ears with expressions which her delicacy ought not to permit her to listen to? This is an expedient generally made use of to try whether female virtue is anything more than a mere pretence. The least smile is looked upon as an approbation.

tion; nay, it is read in the eye if nothing else discovers it; if a lady blushes, she is thought to take the meaning too soon, and if she is angry, no doubt she must be an hypocrite. What behaviour then do modesty and good sense dictate? An entire disregard. But then it is impossible for a woman to be at all times so much mistress of herself, when she has no reason to expect that such an offence will be given; however, she ought always to treat such a man with the indifference and reserve, which are due to one who thinks meanly of her virtue.

General reflexions against the fair sex, are no less unmanly, than the vices I have been exposing. These must give great uneasiness to the considerate part of them, because they are interested in the general idea which is formed of the female character; and it must be no less offensive to the delicacy and generosity of the sensible of ours. The evil I am speaking of, is of more importance than is generally imagined; for who will deny that our happiness depends in a considerable degree upon our connexions with the fair part of our species? And is it not equally plain, that their influence is in a great measure regulated by the sentiments we entertain of them?

There are some men, whose minds are incapable of the pleasures we derive from a near alliance with the fair sex, and the unfavourable sentiments of these proceed from a settled dislike. Nature has cast them in an indelicate mould, and it is remarkable, that the men I am describing, seldom discover, in other instances of their life, that they are very susceptible of the sympathetic feelings; no wonder, then, if they distinguish themselves in their disposition towards women; the love, of which they are capable, resembles that of the brutes; it exempts them from the uneasiness to which a more tender frame is exposed, but then it deprives them of the exalted happiness which we derive from the refined affections.

There are others, again, who are angry at all womankind, for no other reason but certain injuries which they think they have received from particulars. A young lady (for instance) plays the coquette with her admirer; the

latter forever after rails at the sex, as a set of coquettes. Another is disappointed in love, and therefore he pities every poor fellow that has any thing to say to a woman. A third hears that a certain lady has taken occasion to express her disapprobation of him, or of some of his actions. Without considering whether he deserved the censure or not, he swears that slander is the darling topic of every female.

It is not my present design to point out the several causes which give men unfavourable sentiments of the fair sex. I content myself with shewing, that they generally proceed from wrong principles, and with expressing my disapprobation of any thing which can cast an odium upon the sex in general. I have observed, that men of sense consider the fair part of our species as wisely designed by nature to promote the happiness of social life, and respect those qualities in them, which are calculated to answer that end.

The following letter I received the other day, from a gentleman who appears to be out of humour with the fair sex; whether his reflexions are just or not, I leave to be considered by the accused party.

Mr. Visitor,

"I HAVE read your papers with a good deal of pleasure, and am glad to find that we have a person among us, who seems to have so general a knowledge of mankind—As you have confined yourself in a great measure to the fair and beautiful part of the creation, it was not without some concern, that I discovered you were rather velvet mouthed; and that instead of lashing the foibles of those delightful objects, at the same time that you praise their virtues, you seem much inclined to think they have no foibles at all. Some there are, I readily grant, who are all perfection, but these are

"Raræ aves in terris"

"Something seldom to be found."

"The generality of the pretty creatures think too much of themselves; and I have often remarked, that some of them would be much handsomer, if they were not too conscious of the ascendancy they have over us men—This is not the only fault I have to find with them, when

a select party of young ladies meet together, while they are enjoying themselves over their tea-table, the voice of slander is often too predominant; and instead of entertaining one another with agreeable anecdotes, or talking upon general subjects, they confine themselves too much to railery, and throwing out severe sarcasms against those of their coevals whom they think handsomer, or who dress finer than themselves; so that instead of embellishing their minds by entertaining and edifying reflexions, their sole aim and view is to revile their neighbours—I have pitched upon those two as some of the principal of their errors—and would advise you to enlarge not only upon these, but upon every other of their faults that comes within your knowledge; then you will act up to your character; and without that, I think you cannot properly take upon yourself the title of a Visitant.

Your very humble servant,
T. S. B."

Philadelphia, March 18, 1768.



Estimate of the expenses of machines, labour, &c. for manufacturing cotton.

ONE machine for carding of cotton, will cost about fifty pounds. One man will work this machine, and card about twenty pounds of cotton per day.

One spinning machine, commonly called a jenny, with forty spindles, (which is a proper number) will cost about thirteen pounds. One man or woman will work this machine, and will spin from four to six pounds of good yarn per day, of a suitable degree of fineness for good jeans, fustians, &c.

After the cotton is carded, the next operation is roping it, which is, uniting the roles together, and drawing a coarse thread, nearly such as is commonly used for candlewick. This is done on a common wheel—a woman will rope about four pounds per day, for which she receives five-pence per pound.

One pound of this cotton yarn will fill six yards of very good jeans—it usually fills more; but then the goods are proportionally lighter.

Two pounds of good flax, from the swingle, will make one pound of heckled flax—this flax being spun to two dozen and six cuts to the pound, which is a proper sized yarn for common jeans—eighteen dozen will make chain for fifty yards—eight pounds of cotton yarn will fill these fifty yards.

The cotton yarn, spun on the machines in Philadelphia, costs, on an average, about thirteen-pence half-penny per pound, besides the carding and roping. The man, who turns the machine, is employed by the day: his wages, when the days are long, are about three shillings and nine-pence per day.

The weaver in Philadelphia, has seven-pence per yard for weaving common jeans; besides having his chain wound for him, and the winding his quills—he will weave about seven yards per day.

Women attend on the weavers, to wind their chains and quills, for about seven shillings and six-pence per week, and find themselves—one woman can attend three looms.

The dyers ask four-pence per yard for dying jeans: but they may be well afforded at half that price.

The following is an estimate of the expense on fifty yards of jean:

Eighteen dozen of flax-	£.	s.	d.
en yarn will make the chain for fifty yards of jean, at eighteen-pence per dozen,	1	7	0
Eight pounds and one third of cotton yarn, will fill the same, at five shillings per pound,	2	1	3
Weaving fifty yards, at eight-pence per yard,	1	12	7
Dying fifty yards, at three-pence per yard,	1	3	6
	<hr/>		
	£.	5	14 6

The above estimate is calculated for fifty yards of very good jeans, such as will sell for three shillings per yard, which is,

7 10 0

Profit, £. 1 15 6

N. B. The price is supposed to be a retail one. The calculation of expense is made rather high than otherwise; so that if the manufacturer understands his business, and works to

the best advantage, his profits will be rather more than as above stated.



Observations on the use of acids in bleaching of linen. By dr. Eason.

THE use of acids, in bleaching of linen, has been long known. Formerly milk was chiefly employed; but it had several inconveniencies. The quantity requisite could scarcely be obtained; its effect was slow; and, containing animal matter, it was apt to rot and spoil the cloth.

About thirty years ago, it was discovered, that the fossil acids, when properly diluted with water, answered much better, and would do more in a few hours, than animal acids could do in a week, in facilitating the whitening of cloth.

At first, it was imagined, that the mineral acids would be apt to burn or corrode linen substances, when immersed in them. But experience soon dispelled such fears, and convinced bleachers, that, by proper management, the danger was next to none.

According to the strength of the acids, they must be mixed with water, sometimes to seven hundred times their bulk.

The nitrous acid, being the most corrosive, and most expensive, has not been used.

The vitriolic acid is that which has universally been employed: not because it is preferable to the muriatic acid, but because it was to be bought in large quantities, and at a small expence.

The muriatic acid being now sold nearly as cheap as the vitriolic, and answering in a superior degree, will, in a short time, I am convinced, be generally adopted by bleachers.

As I must confess my ignorance in the art of bleaching, it may seem presumptuous in me to hazard a conjecture concerning the manner in which acids act in whitening cloth; but it seems probable, that alkaline salts, which are used in washing out the oil and glutinous parts of flax, on which the green colour depends, deposite an earth, in the pores of the cloth. As it is known that acids will also dissolve the earthy parts of vegetables, that acid should be preferred, which will keep earthy particles suspended

in water. The vitriolic, therefore, is not so proper; because, with earthy substances, it forms immediately a selenite; a substance only soluble, in a very large quantity of water. This selenitic matter, adhering to the threads of the cloth, will injure it, and make it feel hard to the touch, and probably is the reason, why some linens wear so badly.

When the muriatic acid is used, no felenite is formed. Whatever quantity of earthy matter is dissolved by it, is easily washed out by pure soft water, and the cloth, having a soft silky feel, seems to strengthen this conjecture.



*Advice to American farmers, about
to settle in new countries.*

I. **A**VOID removing to Kentucke and Niagara, for the following reasons.

1. You will be exposed to great danger of being killed by the Indians on your way to those places.

2. You will be out of the reach, should you arrive at either of those places, of the protection of the new federal government of the united states.

3. You will probably be forever separated from your relations and friends.

4. You will be deprived of the advantages, for many years, of public worship, and of schools for the instruction of your children.

5. You will labour for little, or nothing, for while you will be obliged to pay fifteen shillings for a pair of shoes, and in the same proportion for many other of the necessaries of life, you will be obliged to sell your wheat for one shilling and your Indian corn for six-pence a bushel.

II. Avoid settling in those states where negro slavery prevails. Poor farmers can never thrive among slaves. Your children will be corrupted by their vices, and the slave-holders will never treat you like christians, or fellow-citizens.

III. Choose lands for a settlement that are near those navigable waters that run towards the Atlantic ocean, and which are within the jurisdiction of the united states. The lands on the east and west branches of the Susquehanna, and on the creeks which empty into it, are of an excellent qua-

ty. The timber (which consists of sugar maple, beech, wild cherry, hemlock, &c.) is large, but the land is easily cleared, inasmuch as grubbing is seldom necessary upon it. The beech lands yield from thirty to forty bushels of wheat per acre, and afford besides excellent pasture. Wheat sells on these lands for four shillings and sixpence and five shillings per bushel, and when the navigation and roads thro' these lands are improved, it will probably sell for much more. The lands in the bottoms on these waters yield hemp in great quantities, which sells in Philadelphia at a greater profit than wheat. The disputes at Wyoming are in a fair way of being quieted for ever. At present, order and good government prevail in that part of the country—the banditti, who formerly disturbed it, having moved off towards the lakes.

IV. Carry with you, wherever you go, a quantity of apple seeds—peach stones and garden seeds—particularly the seeds of peas—beans—turnips—pumpkins—carrots—and beets. These last all grow easily in new ground, and afford an immense increase. They afford moreover excellent food for cattle and horses, and save a great expense in grain, which has been proved to be of too heating a nature for those animals. Carry with you likewise a large kettle, in which you may make maple sugar in summer, and potash in winter. Half a dozen pounds of powder and shot, with a good gun, will be necessary, to provide food for your family, before you will be able to raise stock enough for that purpose. Take with you a few pairs of strong home made stockings and shoes—also a few horse shoes with nails to fix them on—for these articles are procured with difficulty in a new settlement. A farmer must carry with him the iron parts of all his implements of husbandry. There is one more article that must not be left behind, if a farmer wishes to prosper in a new country, and that is the bible. There are several expensive parts of household furniture that he should leave behind him, for which he will have no use in the woods—such as a large looking glass—china cups and saucers—old pictures—and above all, a brandy or whisky case. Pure water from the

virgin springs on his farm on common occasions, and maple beer, or cyder, in the time of harvest, will afford him wholesome and agreeable drinks. A farmer who is temperate and industrious on his new farm, cannot fail in the course of his life, of leaving a handsome estate to his children.

V. In planting your orchard, do not fail to prefer sweet apple trees to all others. They will also furnish you with the best Pomona wine and the richest syrup. Be careful likewise to preserve all the sugar maple, persimmon and chestnut trees you find on your farm. The two former will afford you excellent sugar and syrup, and the last will furnish you with a nut which will be a wholesome and cheap substitute for West-India coffee.

VI. The last advice I shall give is, for families of the same religion to settle in a country together. By those means they will be able sooner to erect a place of worship, and to support ministers and schoolmasters. Without the restraints of religion and social worship, men become savages much sooner, than savages become civilized by means of religion and civil government.

The human imagination can hardly conceive a picture more agreeable, than the sight of a family, depressed by poverty in an old settlement, removing to a new country—and there creating new sources for independence and affluence, by converting woods into meadows and fields—causing forest trees to yield to orchards; weeds to regular gardens, and beasts of prey to useful domestic animals. To this picture of human happiness there can be but one addition, and that is, the same family carrying with them, and preserving in their new settlement, a sense of the obligations of religion, and of the blessings of a wife, just and vigorous government.



A vulgar error detected.

THERE is no greater error than the opinion, that manufacturers can flourish only where labour is cheap. The reverse of this opinion is true. Sir William Temple ascribes the poverty of Ireland entirely to the low price of labour in that country. Mr. Young, in his agricultural tour through

An attempt to account for the change of climate, which has been observed in the middle colonies in North America. By Hugh Williamson, M. D. August 17th, 1770.

IT is generally remarked, by people who have resided long in Pennsylvania and the neighbouring colonies, that, within the last forty or fifty years, there has been a very observable change of climate; that our winters are not so intensely cold, nor our summers so disagreeably warm, as they have been.

That we may be enabled to account for these phenomena, it will be necessary to take a transient view of the general cause of winds, and the remarkable difference of heat and cold, that is observed in different countries under the same parallels.

Though the sun is doubtless the general source of heat, yet we observe that countries are not heated in proportion to their distance from the sun, nor even in proportion to their distance from the equator. The inhabitants of the polar circles are hardly a perceivable distance, not a twenty thousandth part farther from the sun, than those between the tropics, and yet the former are chilled with perpetual cold, while the others are scorched with constant heat.

When the rays of the sun strike the earth in a perpendicular direction, they will be reflected in the same direction on the particles of air through which they have passed, and thus increase their heat; a greater number of direct rays will also strike the earth in any given space, than when they fall obliquely; therefore, the nearer the direction of the sun's rays is to a perpendicular with the surface of the earth, the greater, *cæteris paribus*, will the heat be. Hence, countries should be colder the nearer they are to the poles. But,

We observe that the air may be heated to a very different degree in different countries, which are in the same latitude, according as they abound in rough mountains, fertile plains, or sandy deserts; as they are surrounded by land or by sea, or according to the different winds, which prevail in those countries. The temperature of Pennsylvania is very different from that of Portugal; and the

temperature of England is different from that of Saxony, on the neighbouring continent, though they are under the same parallels. In order, then, that we may be enabled to form an estimate of the heat of any country, we must not only consider the latitude of the place, but also the face and situation of the country, and the winds which generally prevail there; if any of these should alter, the climate must also be changed. The face of a country may be altered by cultivation, and a transient view of the general cause of winds will convince us, that their course may also be changed.

It is generally believed, that most winds are occasioned by the heat of the sun. Were the sun to stand still over any particular part of the surface of the earth, the wind would constantly blow to that place from all directions. For the air in that part being rarified by the heat of the sun, would be expanded, and thus become lighter, whence it would ascend, and the heavier air, in the neighbouring parts, would rush in, to occupy its place; this, too, being heated both by the sun's rays, and by the warm surface of the earth, would instantly ascend to give place to that which was colder. But as the sun moves, or seems to move, between the tropics, from east to west, there should be a constant current of air setting towards the sun from the north, south, and eastward, while the current, which would also come from the west, is prevented or turned back by the sun, who moves with great rapidity on the opposite direction. The current, coming from the north and south, falls in with that from the eastward, and is presently bent in the same direction. This constitutes what seamen call a trade wind; such is found in the Atlantic, and in the great South Sea.

Were the surface of the earth homogeneous, were it all covered with water, or all smooth dry land, the easterly winds would always prevail quite round the globe to some distance beyond the tropics. But the waters along the equator, are divided by two or three considerable portions of land, which retain the heat in a different manner from the water, and reflect the sun's rays in very different proportions, so that they not only stop the easterly E e

current of air, but often change it to the opposite direction. For along the westerly coast of Africa, and South America, the winds commonly blow from the west. That is to say, they blow from a cold surface to that which is warmer, they blow from the sea in upon the land. For,

In warm countries, or in the warm season of any country, the surface of the land is warmer than the surface of the water.

In cold seasons of temperate countries, the surface of the land is colder than the surface of the water.

The surface of the earth being immovably exposed to the sun, receives and retains the heat, and grows warmer by every adventitious ray; so that a hard smooth surface will sometimes become intolerable to the touch; but the heat does not sink deep, except in a considerable progress of time.

The surface of the sea is not soon heated, for the particles which are uppermost this hour, will presently be overwhelmed by those which are colder, and they, by others in succession; whence it happens, that though the surface of the sea will not become so warm by a summer's heat as the surface of the earth, in the same climate, yet the heat will penetrate deeper, and be longer retained.

Let us transfer these trite and general reasonings to the situation of our middle colonies, with respect to land and water. Our coast runs nearly from north east to the south west; so that if the land should at any time be colder than the sea, and a current of cold air should set towards the sea, it must pass from the north west to the south east: but such winds we find generally take place during our winter season. For the Atlantic, to the south eastward, is greatly heated during the summer season, and will not soon lose that heat when the sun goes to the southward in the winter; add to this, a very notable circumstance, which is, that our coast is constantly washed by a current of warm water, which being driven to the west by the easterly trade winds near the equator, is checked in the Gulf of Mexico, and obliged to escape to the north eastward, to give place to the succeeding current. But the surface of these colonies soon grows cold in the ab-

sence of the sun. Hence violent torrents of winds pass towards the Atlantic during the winter season; the colder the air is over the continent, the more violent will those north westers be.

Can we discover any change of circumstances, which might reduce the violence of those north-westers, or remove them entirely? It is very obvious that hard smooth surfaces reflect heat better than those which are rough and unequal; the surface of a looking glass, or any polished metal, will reflect more light and heat, than the rough surface of a board. In the same manner, we observe, that rocks and smooth beds of sand reflect more heat, than a soft broken surface of clay. A clear smooth field also reflects more heat, than the same space would have done, when it was covered with bushes and trees.

If the surface of this continent were so clear and smooth, that it would reflect so much heat as might warm the incumbent atmosphere, equal to the degree of heat produced by the neighbouring Atlantic, an equilibrium would be restored, and we should have no stated north-west winds: but we have already made considerable approaches to this very period: our north-west winds, during the winter season, are less frequent, less violent and of shorter continuance, than formerly they were. Seamen, who are deeply interested in this subject, inform us, that in the winter season they have been beating off our coast three, four, or five weeks, not able to put in, by reason of the north westers; they are now seldom kept out twice that number of days. It is all agreed, that the hardness of our frosts, the quantity and continuance of our snows, are very unequal now, to what they have been, since the settlement of this province.

It has been objected, that the small alteration which the surface of a country undergoes, in being cleared and cultivated, is not equal to producing such considerable changes of climate as have been observed to take place in many parts of the world. I shall not say, that a change of climate may not arise from other causes than that one I have described. It is very certain, that the simple solution of water

in air will produce cold, which may be increased by a solution of nitrous salt. There are sundry other causes, from which the heat of the air may be increased or diminished, yet I cannot recollect a single instance of any remarkable change of climate, which may not be fairly deduced from the sole cultivation of the country. The change which has happened in Italy, and some countries to the eastward, within the last seventeen centuries, is thought to be a strong objection to this general rule. It is said, "that Italy was better cultivated in the Augustine age than it is now; but the climate is much more temperate now than it was at that time. This seems to contradict the opinion, that the cultivation of a country will render the air more temperate."

I shall consider this observation the more attentively, because I find it has been made by an ingenious writer, of great classical erudition.

It is not to be dissembled that their winters in Italy were extremely cold about seventeen hundred years ago. Virgil has carefully described the manner in which cattle were to be sheltered in the winter, lest they should be destroyed by the frost and snow; he also speaks of wine being frozen in the casks, and several other proofs of such extreme cold, as would surprize us in this province. Though it is also clear, that the Italians are now as great strangers to cold and frost, as those of Georgia or South-Carolina. To account for this remarkable change, we must go beyond the narrow limits of Italy; we must traverse the face of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, those vast regions to the northward of Rome. The Germans have certainly made great progress in population and agriculture, since Julius Cæsar with a few legions overran that country; for, notwithstanding the elegance with which Cæsar describes his victories, he certainly had to contend with a set of barbarians and savages, whose country was rude and uncultivated as their minds. The general face of those kingdoms was covered with wild extensive forests, a few of which remain to this day. The small scattered tribes who occupied them, had done very little towards the perfecti-

on of agriculture. From these uncultivated deserts, piercing north winds used to descend in torrents on the shivering Italian, though his own little commonwealth was finely cultivated. No person need be informed how numerous the nations are, who now inhabit Hungary, Poland, and Germany, or how generally those regions are now cultivated, even to the very edge of the Baltic and German ocean, so that if the cold is greatly moderated in Germany, and the adjacent northern states, which, I believe, is generally allowed, we may easily perceive how it should be moderated to a much greater degree in Italy, which being in a low latitude, was only annoyed by the cold winds from the northern kingdoms. For the air was at that time so cold over those uncultivated regions, that it could effectually destroy the balance in the warmer atmosphere of Italy, which at present is not the case.

As we might have conjectured from established principles of philosophy, that clearing and smoothing the face of a country, would promote the heat of the atmosphere, and in many cases would prevent or mitigate those winter blasts, which are the general origin of cold, whence the winters must become more temperate, and as facts appear to support and confirm our reasoning on this subject, we may rationally conclude, that in a series of years, when the virtuous industry of posterity shall have cultivated the interior part of this country, we shall seldom be visited by frosts or snows, but may enjoy such a temperature in the midst of winter, as shall hardly destroy the most tender plants.

Perhaps it may be apprehended, that as clearing the country, will mitigate the cold of our winters, it will also increase the heat of our summers; but I apprehend, that on a careful attention to this subject, we shall find, that the same cause will in those seasons appear to produce different effects, and that instead of more heat, we shall presently have less in summer than usual.

It is well known, that during the greatest summer heats of this or any other country, the extraordinary heat of the atmosphere does not rise to any considerable height. In the upper regi-

ons it is perpetually cold, both because the air in those parts is too far from the earth, to be warmed by the heat of its surface, and because the air in those regions, not being pressed by such a weight of incumbent atmosphere, is too rare to be susceptible of a great degree of heat; for the heat of the air, as of every other body, that is warmed by the sun, depends not only upon the simple action of the particles of light upon those of the air, but also upon the mutual action of the particles of air upon one another, which, by their elasticity, propagate or continue that motion, called heat, which was originally excited by the sun's rays. Therefore, the rarer the atmosphere is, the less heat will be produced therein by the sun, and vice versa. Hence we observe, that in the warmest countries, the tops of mountains are always covered with snow. Whoever will carry a thermometer on a very warm day to the top of a high steeple, will find that the mercury immediately falls several degrees, and rises again as he descends. From this it is obvious, that nothing is wanting in the midst of summer to render the country agreeably cool, but a proper mixture of the cold air which is above, with the warm air below. This would be effected by any cause that might increase our summer winds. For though the simple motion of the air does not by any means produce cold, yet moderate blasts will naturally introduce a colder atmosphere, especially when they pass over hills; or any unequal surface, by which the equilibrium of the atmosphere is destroyed, the cold air always tending towards the surface. Hence a summer's gulf is generally attended by a sudden change in the temperature of the air. Tall timber greatly impedes the circulation of the air, for it retards the motion of that part which is near the surface, and which, from its density and situation, being most heated, becomes the general origin of such agitations as take place in the upper regions. We shall often find it extremely sultry and warm in a small field, surrounded by tall woods, when no such inconvenience is perceived on an extensive clear plain in the neighbourhood. From these particulars, we may conclude, that when

this country shall be diversified, as it must be in a series of years, by vast tracts of clear land, intersected here and there by great ridges of uncultivated mountains, a much greater degree of heat being reflected by the plains than from the neighbouring mountains, and an easy circulation of air produced on the plains, our land winds in the summer, to say nothing of those which come from the sea, or from the lakes, must certainly be much frether and more frequent than they now are, and consequently our summer heats be more temperate.

A considerable change in the temperature of our seasons may doubtless effect a change in the produce of our lands. Temperate seasons must be friendly to meadows and pasturage; provided we continue to get regular supplies of rain; but of this, there is some reason to doubt, unless our mountains, with which this country happily abounds, should befriend us greatly. The decrease of our frost and snows in winter, must for many years prove injurious to our wheat and winter's grain. The vicissitude of freezing and thawing have already become so frequent, that it is high time for the farmer to provide some remedy, whereby he may prevent his wheat from being thrown out in the winter season.

A considerable change in the temperature of our seasons, may one day oblige the tobacco planter to migrate towards the Carolinas and Florida which will be the natural retreat of that plant, when the seasons admonish the Virginian to cultivate wheat and Indian corn. The tender vine, which would now be destroyed by our winter's frost, in a few years shall supply the North American with every species of wine. Posterity will doubtless transplant the several odoriferous aromatic, and medical plants of the eastern countries, which must flourish in one or another part of North America, where they will find a climate and soil favourable to their growth as that of their native country.

Every friend to humanity must rejoice more in the pleasing prospect of the advantages we may gain in point of health, from the cultivation of this country, than from all the additional luxuries we may enjoy, though

both the Indies were brought to our doors. The salutary effects which have resulted from cleansing and paving the streets of Philadelphia, are obvious to every inhabitant. For causes somewhat similar to these, the general improvement of the colonies has already produced very desirable effects. While the face of this country was clad with woods, and every valley afforded a swamp or flagrant marsh, by a copious perspiration through the leaves of trees or plants, and a general exhalation from the surface of ponds and marshes, the air was constantly charged with a gross putrescent fluid. Hence a series of irregular, nervous, bilious, remitting and intermitting fevers, which for many years have maintained a fatal reign through many parts of this country, but are now evidently on the decline. Pleuritic and other inflammatory fevers, with the several diseases of cold seasons, are also observed to remit their violence, as our winters grow more temperate.

Since the cultivation of the colonies, and the consequent change of climate, has such effects on the diseases of the human body, and must continue to produce such remarkable changes in their appearance, it is certainly the duty of every physician, to be careful to trace the history of every disease, observe the several changes they undergo, and mark, with a jealous attention, the rise of every new disease, which may appear on the decline of others, that so he may be enabled to bring effectual and seasonable relief to such persons, as may be committed to his care.



Positions to be examined.

1. **A**LL food or subsistence for mankind arises from the earth or waters.

2. Necessaries of life that are not foods, and all other conveniences, have their value estimated by the proportion of food consumed while we are employed in procuring them.

3. A small people with a large territory, may subsist on the productions of nature, with no other labour than that of gathering the vegetables and catching the animals.

4. A large people with a small territory, find these insufficient, and to

subsist, must labour the earth, to make it produce greater quantities of vegetable food, suitable for the nourishment of men, and of the animals they intend to eat.

5. From this labour arises a great increase of vegetable and animal food, and of materials for clothing, as flax, wool, silk, &c. The superfluity of these is wealth. With this wealth we pay for the labour employed in building our houses, cities, &c. which are therefore only subsistence thus metamorphosed.

6. Manufactures are only another shape into which so much provisions and subsistence are turned, as were equal in value to the manufactures produced. This appears from hence, that the manufacturer does not, in fact, obtain from the employer, for his labour, more than a mere subsistence, including raiment, fuel, and shelter; all which derive their value from the provisions consumed in procuring them.

7. The produce of the earth, thus converted into manufactures, may be more easily carried to distant markets than before such conversion.

8. Fair commerce is, where equal values are exchanged for equal, the expence of transport included. Thus, if it costs A in England as much labour and charge to raise a bushel of wheat, as it costs B in France to produce four gallons of wine, then are four gallons of wine the fair exchange for a bushel of wheat, A and B meeting at half distance with their commodities to make the exchange. The advantage of this fair commerce is, that each party increases the number of his enjoyments, having, instead of wheat alone, or wine alone, the use of both wheat and wine.

9. Where the labour and expence of producing both commodities are known to both parties, bargains will generally be fair and equal. Where they are known to one party only, bargains will often be unequal, knowledge taking its advantage of ignorance.

10. Thus he that carries 1000 bushels of wheat abroad to sell, may not probably obtain so great a profit thereon, as if he had first turned the wheat into manufactures, by subsisting therewith the workmen while producing these manufactures, since there are

many expediting and facilitating methods of working, not generally known; and strangers to the manufactures, though they know pretty well the expense of raising wheat, are unacquainted with those short methods of working, and thence being apt to suppose more labour employed in the manufactures than there really is, are more easily imposed on in their value, and induced to allow more for them than they are honestly worth.

11. Thus the advantage of having manufactures in a country, does not consist, as is commonly supposed, in their highly advancing the value of rough materials, of which they are formed; since, though six pennyworth of flax may be worth twenty shillings when worked into lace, yet the very cause of its being worth twenty shillings, is, that, besides the flax, it has cost nineteen shillings and six pence in subsistence to the manufacturer. But the advantage of manufactures is, that under their shape provisions may be more easily carried to a foreign market; and by their means our traders may more easily cheat strangers. Few, where it is not made, are judges of the value of lace. The importer may demand forty, and perhaps get thirty shillings for that which cost him but twenty.

12. Finally there seem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The first is by war, as the Romans did, in plundering their conquered neighbours. This is robbery.—The second by commerce, which is generally cheating.—The third by agriculture, the only honest way; wherein man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as reward for his innocent life and his virtuous industry.

April 4, 1769. B. FRANKLIN.

Account of a white negro. By James Parsons, M. D.

THE father and mother of this boy were brought down above three hundred miles from an inland country to the Gold Coast in Africa, and were brought, among great number of others, and put on board a ship bound to Virginia; where they arrived in the year 1765.

They became the property of colonel Benjamin Chambers, of the Falling Springs, in Cumberland county, in Pennsylvania; and are now employed upon an estate in Virginia, which the colonel possesses in right of his lady, whom he married in that province, although he lives with his family in Pennsylvania, where he sold the boy to his present master; in proof of which fact I saw the bill of sale that passed between the colonel and him.

The father and mother of this child are perfectly black, and were both very young when landed; the woman not being above sixteen years old, and her husband not more than six years older; and when they landed, being asked how far she was gone with-child? answered, so as to be understood to mean, that she was with-child something more than six moons, and that this was her first pregnancy. They also declared, that they never saw a white person before they came to the shore where Europeans were employed in buying black slaves.

The present owner of this boy is mr. James-Hill-Clark, who says that while he was in England lately, he received a letter from his lady, in which was some of the wool of a white negro child's head, by way of curiosity; and when I mentioned it to mr. Clark, he assured me that this very boy was shewed in Pennsylvania as a great rarity; and that, to his knowledge, the wool sent in the letter was taken from this child's head. He was born about six or seven weeks after his parents landed in Virginia, in the year 1755; and was purchased by mr. Hill-Clark of colonel Chambers in 1764, so that he appears not to be quite ten years old; and his mother has had two children since, who are both as black as the parents.

January 30, 1765.

Extracts from "Observations on a variety of subjects, literary, moral, and religious." By the rev. dr. Duche.

LETTER I.

Description of Philadelphia—its excellent police—public institutions—account of the college.

I AM now sitting at a window, that overlooks the majestic Delaware, compared with which our Isis and

Cherwell, though immortalized in song, would appear but little babbling brooks. The woods along the opposite shore of New Jersey are clothed in their brightest verdure, and afford a pleasing rest and refreshment to the eye, after it hath glanced across the watry mirror. Whilst I am writing this, three topsail vessels, wafted along by a gentle southern breeze, are passing by my window. The voice of industry perpetually resounds along the shore; and every wharf within my view is surrounded with groves of masts, and heaped with commodities of every kind, from almost every quarter of the globe.

I cannot behold this lively active scene, without lamenting, that the streams of commerce should ever be checked in their course, or directed to wander in other channels, than those which they now possess.

Dean Prideaux, in his connexion of the old and new testament, speaks of William Penn's having laid out his new city after the plan of Babylon. Perhaps it might be difficult at this time to ascertain, what this plan was. Be this as it may, I am not so well versed in antiquity as to be able to pronounce, whether there is the least resemblance or not betwixt Babylon and Philadelphia. Of this, however, you may be certain that no city could be laid out with more beauty and regularity than Philadelphia. Its streets cross each other at right angles: those which run from north to south being parallel to each other, as well as those from east to west. Notwithstanding the vast progress that has been already made, a considerable time must elapse before the whole plan is executed. The buildings from north to south, along the bank of the Delaware, including the suburbs, now extend near two miles, and those from east to west, about half a mile from the river. But, according to the original plan, they are to extend as far, nay farther, I believe, than the beautiful river Schuylkill, which runs about two miles west of Delaware.

The principal street, which is an hundred feet wide, would have a noble appearance, were it not for an ill-contrived court-house, and a long range of shambles, which they have

erected in the very middle of it. This may, indeed, be very convenient for the inhabitants, and, on their market-days, exhibits such a scene of plenty, as is scarcely to be equalled by any single market in Europe. But I am apt to think, that moveable stalls, contrived so as to afford shelter from the weather, would have answered the purpose full as well, and then the avenue might have been left entirely open. The streets are all well paved in the middle for carriages, and there is a foot-path of hard bricks on each side next the houses. The houses in general are plain, but not elegant, for the most part built upon the same plan, a few excepted, which are finished with some taste, and neatly decorated within. The streets are well lighted by lamps, placed at proper distances; and watchmen and scavengers* are constantly employed for security and cleanliness.

Almost every sect in Christendom have here found an happy asylum; and such is the catholic spirit that prevails, that I am told, they have frequently and cheerfully assisted each other in erecting their several places of worship. These places too generally partake of the plainness and neatness of their dwelling houses, being seldom enriched by any costly ornaments. Here are three churches that use the liturgy and ceremonies of our church of England; but only two of them are under any episcopal jurisdiction.† Christ-church has by far the most venerable appearance of any building in this city; and the whole architecture, including an elegant steeple (which is furnished with a complete ring of bells) would not disgrace one of the finest streets in Westminster. The eastern front is particularly well designed and executed; but its beauty is in a great measure lost, by its being set too near the street, instead of being placed, as it ought to have been, forty or fifty feet back.

NOTE.

* The author was misinformed in this article—there were no scavengers in Philadelphia then.

† After the first publication of these letters, the bishop of London, at the earnest request of the vestry-men and congregation of St. Paul's church, ordained and licensed their minister,

The state-house, as it is called, is a large plain building, two stories high—the lower story is divided into two large rooms, in one of which the provincial assembly meet, and in the other the supreme court of judicature is held—the upper story consists of a long gallery which is generally used for public entertainments, and two rooms adjoining it, one of which is appropriated for the governor and his council; the other, I believe, is yet unoccupied. In one of the wings, which join the main building, by means of a brick arcade, is deposited a valuable collection of books, belonging to a number of the citizens, who are incorporated by the name of the library company of Philadelphia. You would be astonished, at the general taste for books, which prevails among all orders and ranks of people in this city. The librarian assured me, that for one person of distinction and fortune, there were twenty tradesmen that frequented this library.

Behind and adjoining to the state-house, was some time since erected a tower, of such miserable architecture, that the legislature have wisely determined to let it go to decay (the upper part being entirely of wood) that it may hereafter be built upon a new and more elegant construction. Mr. Franklin, the late speaker of the assembly, with whom I have several times conversed, informed me, that the plot of ground, on which the state-house stands, and which is one of the squares of the city, is to be planted with trees, and divided into walks, for the recreation of the citizens. I could not help observing to him, that it would be a considerable improvement of their plan, if the legislature could purchase another square, which lies to the south of this, and apply it to the same salutary purpose; as otherwise, their walks must be very contracted, unless they make them of a circular or serpentine form.

The internal police of this city is extremely well regulated. You seldom hear of any such mobs or riots, as, I am told, are frequent among their northern neighbours. The poor are amply provided for, and lodged and boarded in a very large and commodious building, to which they have given the name of the house of em-

ployment; because all such as are able to work, are here employed, in the different trades or manufactures to which they were brought up. This building likewise stands upon one of the city squares, and, when completed, will form a quadrangle, as large, and of much the same appearance, as some of our colleges. In passing through the apartments, I observed and pointed out to one of the managers, who was so obliging as to accompany me, an inconvenience, which, he assured me, would be rectified, as soon as their funds would admit of it, viz. The want of a few little private rooms, for the better accommodation of such poor, as have formerly lived in good circumstances, and whose misery must needs be considerably heightened by their being obliged to board and lodge in the same common and open apartment, with the vilest of their species.

For the sick and lunatic an hospital has been erected, by private contributions, under the particular countenance and encouragement of the legislature. The building is still unfinished. I walked round it—but did not choose to venture into this retreat of human woe, as I had formerly suffered much from a visit to bedlam.

Whilst I was at breakfast one day last week with dr. M——, whom I had seen at Oxford some years ago, he received a card to attend a public commencement at the college the next day. As I expressed a desire of accompanying him there, if it should not be inconvenient, he very politely called upon me in the morning, and took me into the apparatus-room, where the trustees or governors of the college were met. There is no place or scene, that I have visited, since my arrival in America, at which I more ardently wished for your presence, than this. I accompanied the procession of trustees and professors into their public hall. The provost opened the commencement with two or three collects of our liturgy, well chosen and adapted to the occasion, together with an excellent prayer of his own composition. The exercises were some in English, and some in Latin, consisting of forensic and syllogistic disputations, and several little essays in the declamatory

way, which the young gentlemen, for the most part, delivered with propriety of pronunciation and action; though a gentleman who sat next to me, declared, that the present candidates were by no means equal to many who had received the honours of this seminary. Their pronunciation of the Latin, indeed, seemed to be a little defective; and yet they have an excellent pattern in the gentleman who resided during the acids, who spoke with great distinctness, and paid due regard to the quantity and emphasis. The peculiar attention that is given to this seminary to the English language, is worthy of being imitated by our universities and academies at home. They have a professor here, whose sole business is to teach boys their native tongue grammatically, and instruct them in the method of reading and pronouncing it with propriety. For this purpose, he is frequently exercising them in little speeches, extracted from plays, parliamentary debates, Roman history, poems, sermons, &c. and I am told, that the seminary owes much of its present reputation to this part of its plan.

The professor of languages has the Latin and Greek school in excellent order, both with respect to instruction and discipline; and he assured me, that he seldom had less than eighty or ninety boys under his care. The higher classics are read in the philosophical schools, under the direction of the provost and vice-provost, who give lectures in geography, mathematics, logic, rhetoric, natural and moral philosophy.

Upon the college has lately been grafted a medical school, with professors in all the branches necessary to complete a medical education. So that they have now annually a course of lectures in anatomy, the theory and practice of physic, botany, materia medica, and chemistry. Physicians from all parts of the continent, I am told, have crowded to Philadelphia since this school was opened, as the advantages here are thought to be almost equal to those in Europe. Nothing now seems to be wanting to render this seminary an university in the largest sense of the word, but two more professorships, one in divinity, and the other in civil and municipal

law. The first of these, however, is supplied by the provost himself, who reads a course of divinity lectures, when any of his pupils declare themselves candidates for the ministry.

One thing I must not omit, which cannot fail of giving pleasure to a benevolent heart; and that is, that to this college is annexed a charitable school, in which youth of both sexes are instructed in all the necessary parts of a common English education. A merchant of my acquaintance assured me, that he knew several instances of the happy effects of this charity; and among the rest, that the young man, to whom he intrusted the chief part of his business, had received his education wholly at this school.

The situation of Philadelphia, in the very centre of the British colonies, the manners of its inhabitants, the benevolent and catholic plan of this seminary, which exceeds any thing I ever meet with at home or abroad, together with the moderate expense of a learned education here, are circumstances, which, I am persuaded, must give this college the preference to any that are, or may be erected in North America; and I doubt not, but that the inhabitants of the West-India islands, many of whom have been well educated, and have an high taste for literature, did they once make the experiment, would soon be induced by the success to prefer an American to an English education, at least for the earlier season of their children's lives. For my part, I must confess, in spite of all my prejudices in favour of our beloved Oxford, that, had I a son, I should certainly choose to let him go through a course of education at Philadelphia college, before I ventured to send him to that university. For you well know, that what we principally expect from spending a few years at Oxford or Cambridge, are, the opportunities we have there of conversing with men of genius, and forming such useful and agreeable connexions, as may contribute not a little to our future happiness in life.

The very ingenious dr. Franklin, who has been celebrated all over Europe for his discoveries in electricity, was among the first projectors of this institution: and I recollect, a few days since, to have heard a gentleman

of this city, who is a friend to literature, and no enemy to dr. Franklin, expresses an ardent wish, that he would relinquish his political employments, and once more resume the philosophical chair; adding, that the calm regions of philosophy would, in his opinion, agree much better with the doctor's genius and disposition, than the stormy element of politics. Certain it is, that his fellow-citizens acknowledge themselves much indebted to him for many of the excellent institutions, that do honour to their city and province. Nor are they without hopes, that he will yet return to his native country, and employ the remainder of his days in assisting them to complete the several plans, for the success of which he once appeared to be so much in earnest.

The college, however, is at present in good hands. Gentlemen of the first distinction for learning and fortune are among its trustees. The provost is well known for his literary character and excellent compositions, both in Europe and America. He was particularly patronized by the late good and learned archbishop of Canterbury, whose memory you revere; and by his influence, obtained his majesty's brief for a collection throughout England for the joint benefit of this seminary, and that of New York. You, I remember, were a contributor, and expressed your high approbation of the liberal and generous plan, on which it was founded. This plan is most religiously adhered to; and though among nine professors, there are but three of the church of England, yet this is not owing to any neglect or disrespect towards the members of our communion, but because no more than these three have hitherto presented themselves as candidates for any professorship; and the trustees never enquire into the religious profession, (provided it be protestant) but solely into the literary merit and moral character of those that offer. The vice-provost is one of the eldest and most respectable ministers of the presbyterian denomination; and has the honour of being among the first that introduced science into this heretofore untutored wilderness.

I could not help expressing my

surprise, in a conversation I had some time since with mr. Galloway (an eminent and worthy lawyer in this city, and now speaker of the house of assembly) that the legislature should never have taken this seminary under their protection. The hospital and house of employment, I observed, had been favoured with their countenance. And, as the cultivation of the human mind is an object of much higher importance, than the care of the body, and the advantages derived from the college to the city and province, my needs be very considerable, I could not but think it very justly entitled to some share of their liberality. I did not recollect this gentleman's answer, but I make no doubt, upon a proper application, that his influence and interest would be cheerfully exerted that honourable house, to obtain a handsome endowment for this institution.

I have been the more minute and circumstantial in my account of this college, as I know you are particularly interested in the progress of literature; and I am happy in an opportunity of affording you a little entertainment, that will be agreeable to your taste. I am, &c.

T. CASPINA

Philadelphia, July 4th, 1771.

(To be continued.)



Thoughts on an economical association, and a national dress for Americans.

UPON perusing the Museum August last, a piece under the signature of "A well-meaning plain citizen" engaged my attention. The object which the author had in view appeared to me, at first sight, to have some claim upon the public attention, and the more I considered the matter, the more fully I was convinced of meriting the encouragement of every citizen of these united states. It contained a recommendation to establish amongst us an economical association, and called upon the rich and affluent to set an example so worthy of imitation to their poorer neighbours.

Happy would it have been for us, had it been possible to have put a stop to the inroads made upon the morals of the people, during the late war,

the same articles which established a cessation of hostilities in this country, and paved the way to an honourable peace. But unfortunately for mankind, it requires a much longer time to destroy the baneful effects of vicious examples, and bad habits when once introduced, than we are generally aware of. We cannot, therefore, be too frequently excited to consider the rank our opposition to the tyranny with which we were threatened, has given us amongst nations, nor too often urged to reflect upon the duties incumbent upon us from the station allotted us. A proper attention to these circumstances cannot fail of pointing out to us a suitable conduct, and at the same time of recommending to us what are justly considered the principal ornaments of republics, simplicity and honesty.

It was not to be wondered at, that the examples, daily exhibited to us, of luxury and dissipation, by the officers of foreign troops, should make some impression: and when a similarity of conduct obtained amongst our allies, it was not extraordinary, that we should appear anxious to imitate them. An army, generally speaking, is composed of the dregs of mankind, and it are to be found the seeds of every vice—Soldiers for life are for the most part debauched and dissolute, and require the utmost attention of their officers to be kept in due subordination. Although the utmost possible order prevailed among the troops of our allies, yet they taught us dissipation, and set us examples of luxury, which, as republicans, we should have avoided. What was innocent and excuseable in the subjects of a monarch, would become criminal and dangerous in the citizens of a republic. A refinement of manners, carried to an extreme, approaches very near to vice, and in order to avoid being seduced from virtuous habits, the imitation of foreign manners and customs, particularly when they militate against the principles of our constitution, should be carefully guarded against.

We cannot be said to have any national dress peculiar to ourselves; and from this circumstance arises, in great measure, our foreign commercial debt. Every stranger, who comes amongst us, thinks himself en-

titled to set a fashion, and, however ridiculous it may be, if he has had the good fortune to have seen a little of genteel life, he is gratified by becoming the object of a temporary imitation. This unfortunate propensity in Americans, to imitate whatever is European, makes our capitals so many Monmouth-streets—the receptacles of the cast clothes of other nations. It is time for us to lay aside the leading strings to which we have been so long accustomed, and, with the commencement of a new era, in the politics of our country, to assert that right which every independent nation claims and exercises within its own boundaries—the right of possessing customs and manners peculiar to itself. Were we once to take up the resolution of exercising this right, we should find all foreigners who wished to be well received amongst us, ready to conform to our regulations. We should cease to be any longer the sport of foreign nations, and relieve ourselves from the tax we are constantly paying to the tailors and milliners of other countries.

It is some time since, I recollect to have heard a lady of fashion and fortune in this city (whose good sense and cultivated understanding will ever stamp a value upon her opinions) express her surprise, that we had contented ourselves with remaining the servile copyers of British fashions, without once attempting to exercise a right which every country is acknowledged to possess—the right of establishing a dress suited to its rank and conformable to its circumstances. This idea so perfectly coincided with my way of thinking, that I could not but join her in wishing, that that part of the community whose situation in life gave them the lead in these affairs, would take some steps to render their country so essential a service. The difficulties they would have to encounter, would be but few, and surely no time could be more favourable to it than the present. The scarcity of money, and the necessity of discharging debts of long standing, would make their fellow citizens hasten to adopt modes calculated to lessen their wants, and relieve their present distresses.

The fair sex, I believe, in every

part of the world are the arbiters of dress—upon them, therefore, much will depend, with respect to introducing fashions, consistent with republican manners. The species of dress, which they might adopt for themselves, would influence much the dress of the gentlemen, and were we to be countenanced by them in proportion as we appeared to estimate our character, in laying aside effeminate and useless articles, and consuming as much as possible, the productions and manufactures of our own country, we should, I am convinced, become more respectable citizens and more worthy members of society. It might, probably, be attended with some advantage, to call a convention of the ladies, for the express purpose of devising a mode of dress, suited to our circumstances, and recommending such household regulations as should appear to them likely to promote frugality, and establish temperance. With this intention, I could wish them to guard against inhospitality, and to avoid, as much as possible, the discouraging that social intercourse with one another, which is one of the blessings of civil life—but at the same time, I should have no doubt of the propriety of their resolving against sumptuous entertainments by individuals, as well as that barbarous mode of wasting time, by dedicating six or eight hours to what is by some styled the pleasures of the table. If the custom should ever prevail, of the guests leaving the table when the lady of the house thought proper to withdraw, our time would be spent much more agreeably in rational conversation, and excesses, with their consequences, be in a great degree avoided. If the sentiments contained in this essay should meet with the approbation of your readers, they may probably be productive of conduct friendly to

Federal Measures.

Philadelphia, Oct. 9, 1788.



On the newspaper scurrility that awaits public officers in America.

TO judge from the publications we are constantly presented with, in our newspapers, no misfortune, it would appear, was so much to be deprecated, as that of being elected to any public office in this country; for,

what scenes of obloquy, of defamation, and indignity, must not a man wade through, on his passage to such eminence of station, while the emoluments of it are comparatively insignificant? It is therefore, I suppose, to the power of ambition, to the love of fame, or to the dictates of an uncommon degree of patriotism, that we must ascribe any man's acceptance of such station—obscured as is their lustre, and invalidated as is their usefulness, by the envenomed arrow of slander. But if the public office is generally thus forced, as it were to pass a fiery ordeal to obtain his wished-for promotion, what shall we say of the danger of any man who consents to open an account with the public? Here he is in the very heat of the battle, and offered, quite defenceless, to the dark and insidious designs of the literary assassin; millions are immediately summoned to bear down the accountant; unheard of peculation ascribed to him: the successes of private life immediately become the source of public calamity to the country, men, women, and children, are all set in array, taught to believe that their taxes will be lessened, and their burdens removed, if only the accountant can be brought to the imaginary adjustment: and thus, possibly, is the peace of a man's life, the blossoms of his fame, and the possessions of his industry, all set at hazard, by the misery of ever having had an account with his country. Unhappy people, who are in such a case wanting the services of honest and faithful administrations, and yet terrifying all men, who have any value for themselves, from accepting the trust.

There is a great singularity in the monied transactions of this country possibly equalled in no other. If a man has an open account with it, he is immediately supposed its defaulter and debtor. If it proves, on the settlement, that he is indeed indebted, then all the engines of political torture are at work to torment and destroy him; no indulgence of time to pay; no remaining possessed of credit to accumulate the means of discharging his obligations; but the man has a mark set upon him, like Cain, that he may be a vagabond over all the earth, and

his hand may be turned against every man, and every man's hand against him. Reverse the picture, and suppose the public in debt, a wretched certificate, of imaginary worth, is all the payment—a payment he is not allowed to set off against any duties or debts he owes; but, clothed with this empty pageant of riches, he is left to sink into the pit of misery and ruin.

I appeal to every man, whether this is not a true delineation of facts; and whether, where there is one who may be possessed of public treasure, there are not to be seen thousands of miserable spectacles—venerable it is true, but wretched, in the consciousness of an ill-placed confidence. In some states, you will see them pass laws to compel the payment of public debts, in a manner the most rigorous; while, at the same time, their insalutary laws, violating the bonds of public security and faith, prevent the recovery of private debts: as if it were possible for a man to pay the community at large, when, individually, they are all exonerated from performing their contracts with him.

Who, that reflects on these things, but approaches the portals of public life with fear and trembling? We have, indeed, been told, a new order of things is to arise in our political hemisphere; but, I fear, it is more to be hoped for than expected. Already those who are fixed upon to fill its dignities, share the fate of their predecessors in abuse; who can say if they will equal them in success? Oh, Washington! I see thee quit thy Sabine fields, thy rural concerns, with fear, to immerse once more—not, indeed, into fields of military glory, but—into the thorn-covered path of political administration. None of thy votaries will wish thy patriotic ardour more success than I shall; but none is more afraid, that the laurels thou hast so deservedly acquired in war, may be at least assailed, if not obscured, in peace. The good and virtuous, I know, will oppose it; but their voice, alas! is but seldom heard, in the uproar of political dissention, and the war and virulence of contending factions. Yet, the country cannot do without thee; therefore accept: may heaven, that sees, preserve and recompense thy disinterested virtue!

Nov. 1783. A Spectator.

Remarks on the alterations which have taken place in the earth.

THAT great alterations have taken place in the earth, since its first formation, is a truth that has long been observed and demonstrated by the philosopher. That every shore of the sea and lakes, unless composed of solid rock, has been found, where observation has been made, to make encroachment upon the water; so that in many places, it appears, with convincing evidence, that very large extent of habitable land was once covered by the ocean. I may add—it is a fact, which addresses itself to general observation, that rivulets universally, and all rivers small enough for sensible notice of variation, are continually decreasing their quantity of water.

These observations, with others I shall mention, will, I think, warrant the hypothesis, that the earth is continually increasing, and water decreasing.

I admit the received opinion of philosophers, that the primogenial particles of all bodies are alike, and that different modification alone, constitutes the diversity of matter. Upon these principles, water, differently modified, may become earth; and it is my opinion it has a constant tendency to such modification. My reasons are—it has been found by experiment, that all vegetation is effected solely by air and water, the earth being only a vehicle to convey and contain the water around the imbibing vessels of the root. A tree thus produced, when by putrefaction it has discharged its fixed air, or by the violence of fire has repelled it—in the one case, leaves a large quantity of real earth, and in the other of ashes, which, when the salts are extracted, is a real *caput mortuum*, incapable of further change. This is, without exception, the case of all vegetation, and affords the most palpable proof of water transmuted to real earth. But the confirmation of my hypothesis rests not alone on vegetation; the most solid bodies are certainly, many of them the production of water—the pearl, the crystal, and the diamond, are of this description, neither of which, by any chemical process, can be reduced back to water—scarce any body is less capable, than the last, of alteration. I have my-

self seen a stone of a conic figure in a gentleman's museum, which appeared to me from its colour, consistency and solidity, to be real marble—this stone, I was told, was taken from the bottom of a cave, and formed by the dropping of water from its arch—when first found, its apex was soft and easily cut with a pen-knife: the marks of its being thus cut, I saw; though at the time of my seeing it, the apex was as hard as the rest of the mass.

The same gentleman shewed me a large stone, very hard and of equal texture, found near the water, which being, by accident, broken into two nearly equal parts, there was discovered near its centre an entire muscle-shell—an evidence to me that the stone was formed around the shell from the water. That immoveable rocks are continually augmenting, every one who will give himself the trouble to examine, will, I doubt not, be convinced. That one may be satisfied this augmentation is from water alone, let a rock be chosen upon the top of a mountain, at as great a distance as possible from any earth, and where the wind may have scope to blow off whatever dust might otherwise be lodged upon it. Such a rock will be found to be composed, near its surface, of three distinct strata; in some a fourth may be discovered. The first only moss; the second, earth capable of being moved by the finger nail; the third, solid, and of the same consistency with the body of the rock, but of a different colour. These things give strong evidence, that water is constantly changing into earth and solid bodies incapable of being reduced again to water; and of consequence, that earth is increasing and water decreasing.

Should it be supposed that cutting the trees from the low grounds effects the lessening of springs and rivulets only by exhalation; I observe, that exhalation does not change the form, much less, annihilate water; it only changes its situation; but this lessening is universal wherever land is cleared, and may indeed be in part, not chiefly, effected by exhalation—it is chiefly effected by the rapid growth and decay of vegetation, which in this manner is reduced.

Hartford, Dec. 1788. J. L.

Historical memoirs, relating to the practice of inoculation for the small pox, in the British American provinces, particularly in New England. By Benjamin Gale, A. M. Written in Massachusetts, A. D. 1764.

THE small pox, by the vigilant execution of the laws subsisting in the several New England colonies, hath never generally prevailed among the inhabitants, excepting in Boston, the capital town, in the province of Massachusetts's Bay, where it has been epidemical, A. D. 1649, 1666, 1678, 1689, 1702, 1721, 1730, 1752, and at this present time, 1764, and where the success attending inoculation, after much opposition, and endeavours used to bring the same into disrepute, became incontestably evident.

In the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the like precautions have not been taken, and the small pox has prevailed in those provinces, but more especially in the capital towns, and places adjacent, once in about six or seven years, where inoculation hath been practised with surprising success, to the preservation of the lives of many.

A. D. 1702, the inhabitants of the town of Boston were 6750 souls, at this time there died of the whites 300. A. D. 1721, the number of the inhabitants was 10,567, besides those moved out to avoid the disease; the discumbents were 5,989, whereof 844 died, i. e. nearly one in seven. At this time, in and about Boston, 286 were inoculated, whereof 6 died, i. e. about 1 in 48. This was the beginning of inoculation in New England, soon after it was first practised in London. A. D. 1730, the discumbents were estimated at 4000, whereof about 500 died; of nearly 1400 inoculated, 12 died, i. e. 1 of 33.

A. D. 1752, there was an exact account taken, by order of the magistrates of the town of Boston, and rendered upon oath (in order to remove the prejudices and objections made against inoculation) of all who had the small pox, either in the natural way or by inoculation, and of the precise number of those who died of the small pox in either way: by which account it appears that the number of those who had the distemper in the

natural way, including blacks, amounted to 5,544, of which number died, including blacks, 514; the whole number inoculated, including blacks, was 2,113, of which died, including blacks, 30. At this time, all present had the small pox, except about 174; the total of residents (including 1544 negroes) being 15,734; those who fled from the small pox estimated at 1,800. Hitherto mercury had not been made use of in inoculation in Boston.

A. D. 1764, at this present writing, the small pox is prevalent in the town of Boston: by the last accounts 3000 had recovered from inoculation, in the new method, by the use of mercury, and 5 only had died, viz. children under 5 years; so that it appears, that death without inoculation is 1 in 7 or 8; by inoculation without mercury, 1 in 80 or 100; by inoculation with mercury, 1 in 800 or 1000.

The use of mercury, in the small pox, was first hinted by the learned Boerhaave, who died in 1738; this intimation was improved, and mercury introduced into practice, by physicians, in the English American colonies, about 1745.

Several American physicians claim the second glory to Boerhaave. Dr. Thomas, of Virginia, and dr. Muri-son, of Long Island, in the province of New York, may justly have merited that honour, who have successfully practised the use of mercury, perhaps before any other, either in Europe or America.

During the late war, the small pox was brought into divers towns, in this and the other colonies, by the return of our soldiers (employed in the pay of the New England colonies) for winter quarters, and by seamen employed in our navigation to the British islands in the West Indies, where the small pox was universally prevalent, which produced an universal concern among the inhabitants, lest the same should become general, and spread through this and the other colonies in New England. Whereupon application was made to the legislature of this colony, for liberty to inoculate for the small pox, by the officers of our provincial troops and others, which was accordingly granted; as likewise that hospitals for that purpose might be erected, in such towns of the co-

lony as should see cause to permit the same. However, instead of regulating such hospitals as should be erected for that purpose, by well adapted laws, to prevent any communication with these hospitals from abroad, or the subjects of inoculation leaving the same, without license from the attending physician, unhappily that matter was left to be regulated at the discretion of the overseers of the several towns where inoculation should be practised, which required the strictest laws, enforced by severe penalties, without which it would be impossible for the attending physician to restrain his patients, when grown impatient with confinement and a reclusive life.

From this defect, some persons left the hospitals, not being duly cleansed, and unhappily communicated the small pox to divers persons, of which some died; whereupon the law permitting inoculation was repealed, notwithstanding three hospitals had been erected in this colony, at no inconsiderable expense, and no further attempts were made, to regulate the practice of inoculation, by measures well adapted for that purpose.

Whereupon persons engaged in trade, seamen, and youth, living in sea-port towns, and places more exposed to frequent invasions of the small-pox, resorted in great numbers to New York, in order to obtain inoculation. On this emigration of the inhabitants, and partly to prevent, but principally to secure against, the spreading of the contagion in the colony, the assembly prohibited inoculation within the limits of this colony, on very severe penalties; and in case people went into any other government to obtain it, ordered them not to return again to the colony, without first having remained out at least twenty days after leaving the hospital, or place of infection, upon the penalty of twenty pounds; and if after remaining out of the colony twenty days, they should unfortunately happen, either by their clothes or otherways, to communicate the infection, they were made liable to pay, to the party injured, treble damages, and costs of suit. Thus the practice of inoculation for the small-pox stands wholly interdicted within the colony, and laid under such disadvantages and

discouragements, when persons go abroad to procure it, that we are in a great measure deprived of the only method, ever discovered to the world, to escape the hazards attending that disease, which has made such havock of the human species.

[To be continued.]



*Letter on the climate of Georgia ;
from dr. John Brickel, of Savannah,
to a gentleman in Newhaven,
Connecticut.*

Savannah, Feb. 18, 1787.

SIR,

THE rev. mr. Morfe has handed me a letter of yours of November 8, containing a number of queries, to which I will give the best answers in my power ;—and, first, with respect to consumption.

Your climate is productive of the causes of this complaint, from the following considerations: a long continuation of cold atmosphere, which diverts perspiration from the skin through the lungs; increases the momentum of the blood, and diminishes the diameter of the vessels. To these effects the operation of our climate is diametrically opposite; a long series of warm weather keeping up the discharge through the skin, and consequently diverting the fluids so much from the lungs; enlarging the diameters of the vessels, and abating the momentum of the circulating fluids.

In all mankind there is a perpetual evolution of putrid effluvia; in the torrid zone, this effluvia is principally discharged through the skin; in the frigid zone, it makes its exit principally through the lungs.

In your cold climate, therefore, a great proportion of this putrid matter must pass through the lungs, which, if they are already contaminated, must increase the putrescence, and exasperate the complaint. Add to this, that cold climates give a great appetite for animal food; whereas our long summers give a perpetual supply of acid or acedent productions, and diminish our appetite for animal putrescent nutriment.

The tendency therefore to pleurisy, haemoptoe, &c. in your climate, is obviated by ours: an incipient haemoptoe with you, is quickly removed

if the patient comes here; and instances are now in town, of people having their health entirely established, who came here in phthisis pulmonalis.

From hence you will infer, that the long and free discharge through the skin, in this country, exempts us from pleurisy, haemoptoe, &c. which is really the case: however, in very sudden changes to cold in winter, or by great imprudence, pleurisy is sometimes induced, even here.

One circumstance, in which our atmosphere might seem inferior to yours, is, the long continuation of vegetation in this country, which, under the influence of an almost vertical sun and moon, must produce, not only a great quantity of vapour, but also an abundant evolution of phlogiston, and putrid effluvia from animal and vegetable substances, thereby loading the atmosphere, and rendering it unfit for respiration; for air, saturated with these productions, cannot receive the putrid and phlogistic discharge from the human body, by which means that effluvia which enters the bronchiae from the lungs, must remain there to taint the lungs and mass of fluids, &c. But although a very great discharge from animal and vegetable substances does actually take place here at night, in the warm months, yet the sun, soon after its rising, elevates all vapours to so great a degree of altitude, that we are not affected by them in the day time: so that we breathe a good air while the sun is above the horizon.

Another circumstance is, that being in the verge of the torrid zone, our atmosphere is kept in motion by impositions from the trade winds, so that every portion of air which we breathe or infect, is carried off before another inspiration commences; and thus we are constantly respiring unsaturated air. Hence the use of ventilation by the fan or any other means, to phthisical patients, and to those in fevers or any putrid diseases, especially in calm weather.

It is generally found that dry situations near the sea are favourable to consumptives, the reason of which is, that a contaminated atmosphere, agitated with water, deposits its putrid contents in the water, and as the sur-

face of the ocean is in perpetual agitation, all the putrid vapours that fly over it must fall by degrees from the atmosphere, and attach themselves to the water, so that the winds from land carry off the putrid vapours, deposit them in the ocean, and return pure. Thus sea air, depurated by the electric attraction between water and putrid effluvia, must be extremely well fitted for respiration, if it did not, in its return to land, come loaded with moisture, which, however, is a change for the better, watry vapours being less noxious to consumptives, than putrid effluvia.

From all this we are led to a conclusion, established here by experience, that dry situations near the sea, and influenced by the trade winds, are most favourable in this complaint.

I have reason to believe that our back country affords many situations extremely good for consumptives (except in the three winter months, when the colds there are smart) for I am old, that although it contains a large quantity of fertile lands, yet there are some barren spots, producing excellent waters, and, from their barrenness and elevation, of course must have pure air. Here, however, it would be necessary to choose a place not too low, lest it should be deprived of a free circulation of air—nor too high, lest the clouds in their passage should come in contact with it, and the patient be exposed to moisture.

Generally, I think I am well authorized to affirm, that this country is extremely favourable to people in hæmoptoe, or phthisis pulmonalis—That the back country is the most proper during warm weather, and the sea coast in winter, as the cold is never severe near the sea here, although it is pleasantly cooled by the sea breezes in summer.

I do not recollect a case of marasmus here in eight years practice.

Stages by land and water pass weekly between here and Charleston, South Carolina.

The decent expense of a gentleman here is seven shillings per day.

The sago is pulverized starch of sweet or Irish potatoes.

The spigelia grows here in great abundance, and is a good vermifuge; it is generally given in decoction, aff-

ter drying, though the powder is most efficacious:—from five to ten grains to a child four or five old years old, before breakfast, and so in proportion. A small, deleterious vine, that grows entwined round some of the roots, is carefully picked out before exhibition; a few hours blindness, which sometimes follows the use of the spigelia, is attributed to the neglect of picking out this vine.

I have thus crowded together a mass of particulars—if they afford you any amusement, I will scribble for you at any time:—want of time prevents my arranging them methodically.

JOHN BRICKELL.



A sketch of the principal causes which impair the constitutions, and shorten the lives of people of fashion.

By dr. William Currie. P. 174.

AFTER what has been advanced, it must appear evident that no remedies can have the desired effect, unless the person, under the influence of the recited causes, change his mode of living.—But that the proposition may not alarm and shock too much, I do not propose an impracticable task, which would certainly be ridiculous. I do not advise the man of fashion to lead the rambling and unsettled life of a savage, which is far from resembling those imaginary portraits drawn by romantic travellers, and which seem rather intended to humble the civilized being than to exalt the savage.—Neither do I mean to invite the polite to the life of a labourer, though I think the labourer is often happier in that life, than the man of fashion in his.—But two very enchanting classes of pleasure, those which have their source in imagination and sentimental exercises, are almost lost to the former, which powerfully concur to increase the pleasure of the man of fashion and improved understanding—if, therefore, the man of fashion, who can procure them, is less happy than the illiterate labourer, it is his own fault; for naturally he must have the advantage.—But he is generally so inconsiderate, and such a slave to prevailing customs, that he destroys the edifice of his pleasures, which he makes the foundation of his pains.

It is the great error of mankind,
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that in the pursuit of happiness, they commonly seek for it in violent gratifications, in pleasures which are too intense in their degree to be of long duration, and of which the frequent repetitions always blunt the capacity of enjoyment. There is no lesson more useful than that which teaches them that the most rational, substantial, and permanent happiness is averse to all turbulent emotions; that it is serene and moderate in its nature; that its ingredients are neither costly in the acquisition, nor difficult in the attainment, but present themselves almost spontaneously to a well-ordered mind, and are open to every rank and condition of life, where indigence is excluded.

It may not be either necessary or convenient for the man of fashion, who lives in the centre of the city, to retire to the country for wholesome air—not knowing how to fill up his vacant life there, he would almost die of what are vulgarly termed vapours; but he ought to be informed, that some circulating air is absolutely necessary for him, and that he ought not to deprive himself of its benefit, by immuring himself in his parlour all day, or by going abroad in a close shut coach. He had better use his feet; if they are tender, the hardness of the pavement will not blister them, or if it should, let him mount a gentle and sure footed horse.—But if he dare not commit such a trespass upon the rules of fashion, he ought surely to suffer the windows of his carriage to be left open for the entrance of more air than just sufficient to preserve him from suffocation—let him not be displeased when his carriage passes over rough ground; the jolting will do him no harm—the functions of the body cannot be performed properly without its moving powers are assisted in their motion either by voluntary or artificial agents.—By his precaution to avoid every impression which is not perfectly agreeable to his sensations, he soon becomes a piteous spectacle; every change of the wind affects him, and every cloudy day makes a prisoner of him.—The man of fashion need not go to bed with the sun, nor need he rise before that active planet has shed his cheering influence a full hour upon the busy

world—but he ought not to entertain the erroneous notion that he cannot be happy without breaking through the order of nature by turning night into day as if he thought it beneath his dignity to allow the same luminary to light him, which lights the world.—No ought he to suppose that no pleasure worth his notice, can exist till the “Sable goddess, on her ebon throne” has held her leaden sceptre o’er the “slumb’ring world.”

Pleasure is not confined to midnight, but is of all hours.—The air of rooms where fashionable people assemble to pass their evenings together, especially when crowded and surrounded with blazing lights, soon loses its elasticity and purity, and becomes injurious; hence the frequency of vertigos, or dizziness, and swoonings, in large assemblies.—By sitting up late at night, they are reduced to the necessity of lying abed and breathing the confined air of chamber all the morning. I have not a wish to strike at the existence of pleasure, to which people of fortune have a legal title. I only request them to observe such rules as will not only insure but prolong their pleasures.—The preservation of health may be secured without reducing the opulent and polite to live upon coarse, indigestible, or gross provision: such fare requires organs fortified by exercise and open air.

The town air, much thicker than that of the country, renders the appetite less craving, and the digestive powers less vigorous—hence the necessity for lighter and more palatable diet than that which satisfies the hardy workman. The delicacy and inactivity of the fashionable will not admit of his living on sour bread and smoked bacon—such food would torment him with sickness, flatulency and colic. There ought, therefore, to be a specific difference in their diet—nor need joy-inspiring wine be banished from their festive board—temperance and moderation are what are required.—Nature is content with simplicity and moderation, but luxury knows no bounds.—Imaginary wants cannot be gratified.—Every animal except man follows nature dictates. Man alone riots at large and ransacks the whole creation

quest of luxuries, to his own destruction. The organs, inflamed by too much indulgence in high seasoned meats and strong wines, soon lose their relish for every thing that is not both delicious and rare; while the water drinker is never satiated.

The Creator and Preserver of the world has furnished it with an infinite variety of meats and drinks for the support and comfort of his creatures, and has annexed to the use hereof a degree of gratification: and we may safely consult our satisfaction in the choice. But though this be the case, we are bound by the laws of temperance, not to exceed this allowed satisfaction; and are taught by reason and the consideration of our own safety to abstain from the excessive indulgence in every thing which, either from quantity or quality, has a tendency to destroy or impair self-government, to weaken the dominion of reason over the passions, or to impair the constitution and shorten the period of life.

We see daily examples of the pernicious effects of the causes which have been enumerated, among people in a fashionable life. Diseases of the most formidable nature are the common effects—among these may be numbered full gorged apoplexy, distorting convulsion, joint-racking gout, panting asthma, raving phrenzy, half-dead palsy, emaciated atrophy, and swollen dropsy, with many more of dreadful import—disorders which one would think sufficient to deter the most desperate (if not totally destitute of reason) from every species of excess, and sufficient to determine him to the undeviating observance of temperance and regularity, which, with due attention to daily exercise, in pure and open air, and preserving the mind from the ravages of vexation, will insure health, and for the most part extend life to the longest span.



Free thoughts upon the cause and cure of the pulmonary consumption. From medical enquiries and observations; by Dr. Rush.

THE ancient Jews used to say that a man does not fulfil his duties in life, who passes through it, without building a house, planting a

tree, and leaving a child behind him. A physician, in like manner, should consider his obligations to his profession and society, as undischarged, who has not attempted to lessen the number of incurable diseases. This is my apology, for presuming to make the consumption the subject of a medical enquiry.

Perhaps I may suggest an idea, or fact, that may awaken the ideas and facts which now lie useless in the memories and common-place books of other physicians; or I may direct their attention to some useful experiments upon this subject.

I shall begin my observations upon the consumption, by remarking,

1. That it is unknown among the Indians in North America.

2. It is scarcely known by those citizens of the united states, who live in the first stage of civilized life, and who have lately obtained the title of the first settlers.

The principal occupations of the Indian consist in war, fishing, and hunting. Those of the first settler, are fishing, hunting, and the laborious employments of subduing the earth, cutting down forests, building a house and barn, and distant excursions in all kinds of weather, to mills and courts. All of which tend to excite and preserve in the system, something like the Indian vigour of constitution.

3. It is less common in country places than in cities, and increases in both, with intemperance and sedentary modes of life.

4. Ship and house carpenters, smiths, and all those artificers, whose business requires great exertions of strength, in the open air in all seasons of the year, are less subject to this disorder, than men who work under cover, and at occupations which do not require the constant action of their limbs.

5. Women, who sit more than men, and whose work is connected with less exertion, are most subject to the consumption.

From these facts it would seem, that the most probable method of curing the consumption, is to revive in the constitution, by means of exercise or labour, that vigour which belongs to the Indians, or to mankind in their first stage of civilization.

The efficacy of these means of curing consumption will appear, when we enquire into the relative merit of the several remedies which have been used by physicians in this disorder.

I shall not produce among these remedies the numerous receipts for syrups, boluses, electuaries, decoctions, infusions, pills, medicated waters, powders, draughts, mixtures, and diet-drinks, which have so long and so steadily been used in this disease; nor shall I mention as a remedy, the best accommodated diet, submitted to with the most patient self-denial; for not one of them all without the aid of exercise, has ever, I believe, cured a single consumption.

1. Sea voyages have cured consumptions; but it has been only when they have been so long, or so frequent, as to substitute the long continuance of gentle, to violent degrees of exercise of a shorter duration.

2. A change of climate has often been prescribed for the cure of consumptions, but I do not recollect an instance of its having succeeded, except when it has been accompanied by exercise, as in travelling, or by some active laborious pursuit.

Doctor Gordon, of Madeira, ascribes the inefficacy of the air of Madeira in the consumption, in part, to the difficulty patients find of using exercise in carriages, or even on horseback, from the badness of the roads in that island.

3. Journeys have often performed cures in the consumption, but it has been chiefly when they have been long, and accompanied by difficulties which have roused and invigorated the powers of the mind and body.

4. Vomits and nauseating medicines have been much celebrated for the cure of consumptions. These, by procuring a temporary determination to the surface of the body, so far lessen the pain and cough as to enable patients to use profitable exercise. Where this has not accompanied or succeeded the exhibition of vomits, I believe they have seldom afforded any permanent relief.

5. Blood-letting has often relieved consumptions; but it has been only by removing the troublesome symptoms of inflammatory diathesis, and

thereby enabling the patients to use exercise or labour, with advantage.

6. Vegetable bitters and some of the stimulating gums have in some instances afforded relief in consumptions; but they have done so only in those cases where there was a great debility, accompanied by a total absence of inflammatory diathesis. They have most probably acted by their tonic qualities as substitutes for labour and exercise.

7. A plentiful and regular perspiration excited by means of a flannel shirt worn next to the skin, or by means of a stove-room, or by a warm climate, has in many instances prolonged life in consumptive habits; but all these remedies have acted as palliatives only, and thereby have enabled the consumptive patients to enjoy the more beneficial effects of exercise.

8. Blisters, setons, and issues, by determining the perspirable matter from the lungs to the surface of the body lessen pain and cough, and thereby prepare the system for the more salutary effects of exercise.

9. The effects of swinging, upon the pulse and respiration, leave us no room to doubt of its being a tonic remedy, and therefore a safe and agreeable substitute for exercise.

From all these facts it is evident that the remedies for consumption must be sought for in those exercise and employments which give the greatest vigour to the constitution. And here I am happy in being able to produce several facts which demonstrate the safety and certainty of this method of cure.

During the late war, I saw three instances of persons in confirmed consumptions who were perfectly cured by the hardships of a military life. They had been my patients previously to their entering into the army. Besides these, I have heard of four well attested cases of similar recovery from nearly the same remedies. One of these was the son of a farmer in New Jersey, who was sent to sea as the last resource for a consumptive. Soon after he left the American shore, he was taken by a British cruiser, and compelled to share in all the duties and hardships of a common sailor. After serving in this capacity

for twenty-two months, he made his escape, and landed at Boston, from whence he travelled on foot to his father's house, (nearly four hundred miles) where he arrived in perfect health.

Doctor Way, of Wilmington, informed me, that a certain Abner Cloud, who was reduced so low by a pulmonary consumption as to be beyond all relief from medicine, was so much relieved by sleeping in the open air, and by the usual toils of building a hut and improving a farm in the unsettled parts of a new county in Pennsylvania, that he thought him in a fair way of a perfect recovery.

Doctor Latimer, of Wilmington, had been long afflicted with a cough and an occasional hæmoptysis. He entered into the American army as a surgeon, and served in that capacity till near the end of the war; during which time he was perfectly free from all pulmonic complaints. The spitting of blood returned soon after he settled in private practice. To remedy this complaint, he had recourse to a low diet, but finding it ineffectual, he partook liberally of the usual diet of healthy men, and he now (as he lately informed me) enjoys a good share of health.

It would be very easy to add many other cases, in which labour, the employments of agriculture, and a life of hardship by sea and land, have prevented, relieved, or cured not only the consumption, but pulmonary diseases of all kinds.

To the cases that have been mentioned, I shall add only one more, which was lately communicated to me by the venerable doctor Franklin, whose conversation at all times conveys instruction, and not less in medicine than upon other subjects. In travelling many years ago, through New England, the doctor overtook the post rider; and after some enquiries into the history of his life, he informed him that he was bred a shoemaker; that his confinement, and other circumstances, had brought on a consumption, for which he was ordered by a physician to ride on horseback. Finding this mode of exercise too expensive, he made interst, upon the death of an old post rider, to succeed to his appointment, in which he perfect-

ly recovered his health in two years. After this he returned to his old trade, upon which his consumption returned. He again mounted his horse, and rode post in all seasons and weathers, between New York and Connecticut river, (about one hundred and forty miles); in which employment he continued upward of thirty years, in perfect health.

These facts, I hope, are sufficient to establish the advantages of restoring the original vigour of the constitution, in every attempt to effect a radical cure of consumption.

[To be concluded in our next.]



History of a dysentery, in the 22d regiment of the late continental army, occasioned by the barracks' being over crowded, and not properly ventilated. By doctor Ebenezer Beardsley.

ABOUT the first of April, 1776, the American army, under the command of his excellency gen. Washington, marched from Boston to New York, at which place they arrived about the middle of the month. The sick and invalids having been left behind in the hospitals, the whole army was in perfect health.

The troops were quartered in barracks, and in the houses of the citizens, till about the 10th of May, when they went into tents, except the 22d regiment, under the command of col. Samuel Wyllys, who, for want of tents, continued in their quarters in Smith-street.

The regiment were very healthy till about the middle of the month, when more than one hundred men were taken down with the dysentery in the space of one week. Such a sudden invasion of this formidable disease alarmed me very much, and I was greatly surpris'd, upon enquiry, to find, that there was not a single dysenteric patient in the whole army, except those who belonged to our regiment. From this circumstance I concluded, that the disease was occasioned by some cause peculiar to the city; but after a particular enquiry, I could not find that there was a single inhabitant sick with this disease in the city; those who lived in the same street with us, and

many of them in the same houses, were free from that or any other acute disease. For several days, I was much perplexed, and entirely at a loss to determine what had given rise to the disease. At length I observed, that not only the inhabitants who lived with us were free from the distemper, but several whole companies of the same regiment had nothing of it. This led me to consider more minutely the circumstances and situation of the sick, the whole of whom were quartered either in low, underground rooms, or in chambers or garrets, which were so situated as not to admit a free circulation of air. The rooms were also considerably less than usual, in proportion to the number of men. Having made these discoveries and observations, I concluded at once that the disease originated from the confined and putrid atmosphere, which these unfortunate men lived in. I immediately communicated my observations to the colonel, and requested that the men, both sick and well, might be removed out of those rooms into such as were more airy and capacious. This measure was attended with the most salutary consequences: those who were sick, recovered in a short time, except two, who died; and no more being seized with the distemper, in a few weeks the regiment became quite healthy. This striking instance of the pernicious effects of putrid, stagnant air, was of great service to me in the course of the campaign. In the months of July, August, and September, the dysentery, bilious and other fevers of the putrid kind, became very rife in the army. I took great pains to procure for our men, who were down with those disorders, large rooms; and to have them well ventilated, and cleansed once or twice a week. Yet under these circumstances I frequently found, *cæteris paribus*, that the sick who lay in and near the corners of the rooms, were handled much more severely than those who lay in and near the middle of them. I do not remember to have met with this observation before, but I think it is of no small importance in the treatment of dysenteries, and other putrid fevers.

From the foregoing history, the

following practical deductions may be made. First, that, *cæteris paribus*, people who live in airy, capacious houses, are less liable to be seized with dysenteries and other putrid fevers, than those who live in smaller houses, and breathe a more confined air. Secondly, that patients labouring under these diseases, instead of being confined in small, tight rooms, (the common and fatal practice of the country in general) ought either not to be confined to the house at all, or to be placed in the most spacious and airy rooms. Thirdly, that it is highly probable, that smothering feather beds, warm, close rooms, and over-careful nursing, are among the principal causes of the fatality which too often attends this class of diseases. Fourthly, that persons in the latter stages of a pulmonary consumption, when they usually spit large quantities of purulent matter, and their perspiration and other excreta are of a putrid disposition, ought to be treated in this respect, as tho' they were sick with a dysentery or other putrid fever; which will not only conduce to their preservation and comfort, but is the only means of safety to their attendants and friends. *Newhaven, Jan. 2, 1788.*



Letter from John Lamb, esq. to the hon. John Lansing, esq.
New York, Jan. 10, 1789.

S I R,

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to you, an account of the exports, from the port of New York, for the last year, taken from the manifests lodged in the custom house. At the same time, I must observe, that although the exports appear, (from the enclosed account) very considerable for that period: yet, it does not comprehend the whole—as very great quantities of wheat, flour, and other produce, as well as foreign merchandise, are exported in coasting vessels, the masters of which are not obliged to enter and clear.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN LAMB.

Bushels of wheat,	321,841
Indian corn,	182,785
Rye,	9,950

Bushels of Buckwheat,	11,690	No. of Hoops,	500,343
Oats,	11,436	Shingles,	1,798,525
Salt,	27,706	Staves and heading,	4,215,448
Barrels of flour,	61,825	Oars,	7,762
Beef,	8,600	Hand spikes,	2,081
Pork,	8,642	Trunnels,	5,000
Fish,	3,737	Shaken hhd's.	838
Cyder,	515	Carriages,	18
Apples,	2,739	Windfor chairs,	1,132
Potatoes,	1,921	Hogs,	841
Bread,	42,065	Horses,	600
Lampblack,	200	Sheep,	1,065
Coffee	298	Horned cattle,	109
Hams,	190	Raw hides,	6,411
Vinegar,	3	Cables,	4
Peas,	4,298	Coils of cordage,	225
Tallow,	96	Spars,	214
Nuts,	245	Boats,	11
Oil,	517	Pieces of mahogany,	478
Naval stores,	7,896	Bricks,	245,283
Indigo,	48	Iron pots,	201
Potash,	13,124	Mill stones,	50
Honey,	73	House frames,	2
Beefwax,	58	Saddles,	8
Mustard,	6	Oysters,	60,000
Starch,	145	Feet of boards,	1,101,453
Ginger,	6	Scantling,	404,672
Gunpowder,	137	Plank,	30,627
Clover seed,	66	Pieces of square timber,	3,421
Rye meal,	3,653	Dye-wood,	16,126
Indian meal,	2,024	Cherry wood,	220
Hogheads of lime,	85	Bunches of onions,	90,341
Cyder,	149	Pounds of cheese,	67,239
Ginseng,	410	Flax,	27,279
Flaxseed,	42,042	Hams,	5,651
Flax,	9	Bars of iron,	15,133
Melasses,	259	Dozens of poultry,	325
Porter,	194	Tons of grind stones,	4
Sugar,	349	Hemp,	202
Tobacco,	764	Hay,	12
Loaf sugar,	29	Nail-rods,	4
Snuff,	14	Lead,	1
Pipes of wine,	360	Pig iron,	530
Brandy,	129	Timber,	454
Puncheons of rum,	996	Lignumvitæ,	9
Casks of oak bark,	132	Steel,	7
Furs,	138	Clay,	6
Dyestuff,	77	Bales of cotton,	557
Nails,	32	Chests of tea,	1,500
Rice,	2,007	Cases of gin,	675
Gin,	4	Chaldrons of coals,	56
Kegs of bread,	4,623	Pairs of shoes,	114
Raisins,	439	Bundles of tow cloth,	92
Paint,	6	Leather,	30
Firkins of butter,	2,541	Whalebone,	22
Hogs lard,	1,281	Bags of allspice,	100
Jars of raisins,	179	Cocoa,	265
Honey,	71	Pepper,	34
No. of anchors,	120	Crates of earthen ware,	148
Pine boards,	64,114	Bolts of canvas	56

Boxes of candles,	914	From John Gellson,	£. s. d.
Soap,	788	esq. collector of the	
Sweet oil,	214	port of Sagg Har-	
Chocolate,	251	bour,	194 19 11
Lemons,	211	From vendue mas-	
Wine,	12	ter's duty,	2,142 10 11
Packages of dry goods,	1,252	For tax, 1786,	2,194 14 11
		For tax, 1787,	32,761 19 10½
		For quit rents,	831 5 0
		From commissioners	
		of Indian affairs,	1,078 14 11
		From L. Kortright,	
		&c. costs in a suit	
		repaid by them,	21 9 9
		For lead sold,	41 7 4
		Interest from the loan-	
		officers,	6,695 4 5

Total, £. 116,060 15 4½

PAYMENTS.

To the members of
the legislature and of-
ficers of the state, £. 12,232 7 2½

To the commission-
ers of loans for the
united states, 23,511 5 0

To the commission-
ers for running the
Pennsylvania line, 2,111 18 6

To the commission-
ers for running the
Massachusetts line, 275 10 0

To the commission-
ers of forfeitures, 1,079 19 11

To the commission-
ers of Indian affairs, 6,235 7 0

To the commission-
ers of sequestration, 113 14 0

To the custom-
house officers in New
York, 5,020 10 0

To ditto Sagg Har-
bour, 25 0 0

To Chemung com-
missioners, 50 0 0

To invalid pen-
sioners, 8,198 17 8

For sundry services
performed, &c. dur-
ing the late war, 1,643 4 1

To Fleming and
Job, a repayment of
money they paid loan-
officers, 486 13 4

For mortgages, le-
gacies, and other
claims on forfeited
estates, 8,319 14 11

Carried over 69,304 1 7½

Boxes of candles,	914
Soap,	788
Sweet oil,	214
Chocolate,	251
Lemons,	211
Wine,	12
Packages of dry goods,	1,252

A general account of exports from
New York, in 705 vessels, from the
5th of January 1775, till the 5th of
January 1776, as taken from the cus-
tom house books.

Barrels flour,	104,357
Tierces and barrels bread,	19,033
Bushels wheat,	700,689
Indian corn,	66,045
Flaxseed,	111,845

Casks beef and pork,	9,949
Butter,	3,507

Tierces rice,	1,998
Barrels fish,	3,756

Naval stores,	4,737
Peas and beans,	1,524
Beer and cyder,	2,870

Staves, heading, & boards,	5,208,000
Gallons wine,	29,601

Rum,	109,731
Melasses,	10,958

Hundred of sugar,	2,066
Tons potash,	355

Pearl do.	224
Pig iron,	800

Bar iron,	690
Copper ore,	1

Dye wood,	427
Feet mahogany,	306,100

Bales furs,	683
Cotton wool,	23

Pounds beefwax,	1,096
Bushels salt,	13,282

Boxes soap and candles,	2,515
Horses,	168

Casks of oil,	1,113
Indigo,	32

Hhds. tobacco,	34
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N. B. Little or no exports from
the beginning of September 1775—
the exportation being stopped by or-
der of Congress.

Account of the receipts and pay-
ments of the state of New York,
from the 1st of January to the 31st
of December, 1788.

RECEIPTS. £. s. d.

FROM John Lamb,
esq. collector of the
port of New York, 70,098 8 4

Cocoa,	106 bags
Pimento,	143 bags
Logwood,	220½ tons
—, —, —,	300 quintals
—, —, —,	598 pieces
Mahogany,	2,967 logs
—, —, —,	18,638 feet
Fustic,	41½ tons
—, —, —,	2,708 pieces
Lignum vitæ,	50½ tons
—, —, —,	300 pieces
Yellow Sanders,	240 pieces
—, —, —,	6,450 lbs.
Cane wood,	20 pieces
Elephants teeth,	15
Iron,	22½ tons
—, —, —,	229 bars
Coals,	220 tons
Russia hemp,	7 tons
—, —, —,	11,200 lbs.
Cordage,	6 cables
—, —, —,	8 coils
—, —, —,	10,000 lbs.
Anchors,	6

Goods of different kinds exported in	
—, —, —,	58 hhds.
—, —, —,	552 casks
—, —, —,	150 bales
—, —, —,	148 trunks
—, —, —,	490 cases and boxes
—, —, —,	102 crates
—, —, —,	51 bundles
—, —, —,	209 jugs and jars
—, —, —,	477 kegs
Loose, 185 pieces duck and oznabrigs	
—, —, —,	512 iron pots
—, —, —,	45 grind stones & quern stones

Vessels cleared out at the custom-house, Charleston, from November 1786, to November 1787, belonging to the following nations.

A M E R I C A.

40 ships, measuring	7,372 tons
3 snows	252
95 brigs	9,824
285 sloops	12,650
312 schooners	11,433
735	41,531

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

35 ships,	7,152 tons
4 snows,	535
46 brigs,	5,652
35 sloops,	2,160
28 schooners,	1,288
148	16,787

S P A I N.

2 brigs,	273 tons
3 sloops,	150
39 schooners,	650
44	1,073

F R A N C E.

1 snow,	180 tons
3 brigs,	235
2 sloops,	138
2 schooners,	162
8	715

UNITED NETHERLANDS.

1 ship,	290
4 brigs,	509
5	799

I R E L A N D.

1 ship,	218 tons
1 brig,	101
2	319

Altona,	1 ship,	280
Bremen,	1 brig,	193
Denmark,	1 ditto,	164
Hamburgh,	1 ditto,	130
Austria,	1 ditto,	127

Total, 947 vessels, 62,118 tons.
Custom-house, Charleston, South Carolina, December 1, 1787.

George A. Hall, collector

Extracts from "an enquiry into the causes of the present grievances America." Published in Wilmington, Delaware.

IT has given me pain to see many writers in defence of the new constitution, building all their schemes of future grandeur and importance on commerce; visions baseless as the airy hopes vain and deceitful as the elements on which they are built.

Commerce is the glory of England we all allow; but had Britain been equal in extent of territory to the united states, she had not been a naval power to this day; because she could have employed her subjects better, and to more advantage on shore. If Europe had not been overstocked with inhabitants, Columbus had not explored a new world. Here, then, to reason fairly, we may say, that Britain

ain has greater reason to deplore her situation, than to boast of her advantages. They may with propriety boast of commerce, who cannot exist without it.

If we ever mean to be truly independent, as individuals and as a nation, like the silk worm we must spin the web from our own bowels, and leaving the manufactures, the fashions, and vices of Europeans to themselves, pursue our true interest. To illustrate this, look round among yourselves; who are in general the most independent men in this state? The ploughman, the man who is not engaged in idle speculations, who owns no slaves, who brings up his children to trades and industry, to become respectable members to the community, who clothes his family in homespun. This man is a more honourable member of the community and a better subject to government, than the speculating merchant, who, after having drained the country of cash, becomes bankrupt himself; or the Carolinian nabob, who, though tyrannizing over a thousand negroes, is continually in debt, and, possessing neither honour nor honesty, pays his creditor with a pine barren act.

Commerce has been, and must continue to be to America, what the Mississippi and South Sea schemes were to France and England; bubbles which ruined thousands; but material industry, agriculture, and manufactures are the life and soul of governments, the true and only source from which happiness, riches and power can possibly be derived.

Our children must be all doctors or lawyers, because it is mean to be an artificer, or mechanic. However suitable such notions may be to the median of France or England, where there is more difference between man and man, than between man and beast, yet surely in republican governments, founded upon the broad basis of equality, they are highly contemptible and ridiculous. This stupid prejudice is not the growth of America, but a poisonous weed imported from Britain with crape cushions and hoop petticoats. We are not content with aping her ridiculous fashions, but must implicitly adopt her contemptible prejudices. The plough has been always

held honourable, it composes part of the arms of the state, and why not the plough maker? why should the man who drives the plough, be esteemed in preference to him that made it? Away with such idle and foolish distinctions, the bane and poison of the state. So long as we wear clothes, we ought to esteem and encourage our manufacturers, and mechanics, not despise and undervalue them, they being in fact a principal pillar in the state, and of as much consequence as the farmers themselves. Sciences, agriculture, and manufactures, like three beams, though standing upon different foundations, unite at the top and mutually support each other. The man of science instructs, the farmer feeds, and the mechanic clothes, and furnishes us with utensils.

Sciences are encouraged, agriculture is encouraged, but manufactures are entirely neglected: hence all our difficulties. If this leg be taken away, the other two must fall. Let me then, my fellow citizens, endeavour to persuade you to encourage your own manufactures, and remember it is the only alternative which can save you from a general bankruptcy. To effect this, foreign manufactures must be immediately prohibited, for it is a farce to pretend to encourage our own, while foreign are admitted. No doubt, the usual objection will be bandied about, that the preference ought to be given to the cheapest goods; but this objection is founded neither in sense nor reason, because, if three shillings per yard is paid for linen, the manufacture of the state, the cost of the linen remains in the state, besides maintaining the different persons employed in the manufacture; but if one shilling and six-pence per yard be given for foreign linen of the same quality, it is evident that the manufacture of this linen has employed no person in the state, and the whole cost goes directly from us. From hence it may be easily proved that it is cheaper to buy home-made linen at five shillings, than foreign of the same quality at three shillings per yard. But the generality of men are averse to abstract thinking; they will not look beyond the surface of things; and the few, who do investigate this matter, will not act up to the dictates of their own rea-

son, but cry out, I as an individual can contribute but little to the encouragement of manufactures, besides I do not choose to appear singular, but wear what others wear.

What then remains to be done, but to elect such men in your legislatures, as, you are convinced, will prohibit European manufactures, and encourage our own; we will then have the most skilful artificers Europe can afford; they will migrate here as soon as they are encouraged; but if we do not encourage them, how can we expect them? The few that are here now, are obliged to go to hard labour for subsistence; if they do not, they must steal or starve.

I will now endeavour to answer the objections I have heard made against the encouragement of American manufactures.

Objection 1st. "If we prohibit foreign goods, we will have no sale for our flour." This is entirely a mistake; the greatest part of the flour which is exported, goes to the West Indies, by way of remittances to Europe, because the merchant has then a profit upon the remittances he makes to his correspondent. But surely if we bought no English goods, they would be obliged to send cash, which would turn our trade into the right channel, and nearly the whole amount of our exports, would remain in cash here; therefore this objection is mere sound.

Objection 2d. "We never will be able to manufacture equal to the British." This is also a mistake: the genius of Americans has uniformly given the lie to assertions of this kind, witness shipbuilding, watermills, wheel-carriages, cast iron, cotton cards, and paper.

Objection 3d. "We cannot manufacture until the price of labour is as low as it is in Europe." This objection can only be equalled in absurdity by the good old woman, who prohibited her son from going into the water until he could swim. There is no doubt but when this event happens, manufactures will be in their meridian.

Objection 4th. "We cannot manufacture while we have so much vacant land." This objection is easily answered: all men are not calculated to drive a plough: besides the natural aversion many of our youth have

to ploughing, there are others whom nature or accident has incapacitated to follow this business; some are lame others have delicate constitutions and weak nerves, and are therefore calculated for employments which require more skill than labour; and of the other sex, how many women would be relieved, if only linens below five shillings a yard were prohibited?

By the encouragement of our own manufactures, we may reasonably expect every advantage. The farmer will get a better price for his flax, and wool, and thousands of indigent females may maintain themselves by their wheels, and mechanics of every denomination have constant employment, and be enabled to pay a large proportion of the public taxes. The luxury of individuals, so much complained of in the present day, will be then a public benefit. The extravagance of the rich will clothe and feed the poor. Before I dismiss this article, I cannot help observing, that the profuse importation of luxuries is generally thought the principal source of our distress. This opinion is erroneous; where there is one guinea spent in silks, laces, or any other article of finery, there are twenty guineas spent in cloths and linens of the middling and inferior quality; those articles are used by the middling and lower classes of people, who are most numerous: they are always in demand, and the sums expended on them are immense. The British manufactures have so scandalously degenerated of late, that there is scarcely a cloth to be bought but what is thread-bare: their cotton corduroys and velvets lose the pile or cover in two months wear: their thread stockings are mere cobwebs, and their calicoes but little better. The cause of this evident when a woollen or linen-draper, or storekeeper in England, receives a faulty piece of goods from the manufacturer, he may return it; but those which come to the American market cannot be returned; the expense of freight and charges will not admit of it; hence we pay an advanced price for all the trash of the three kingdoms. Surely this alone would be a sufficient spur for us to encourage our own manufactures, and no longer be the willing dupes of men three thou-

sand miles distant. It is notorious, that landed property throughout the united States has fallen four hundred per cent. in value, and indeed almost every other kind of property in nearly the same proportion; but British goods hold up one uniform price. To deal upon an equal footing, instead of giving thirty-five shillings for a yard of broadcloth, we ought to give but eight shillings and nine pence. Thus it is evident we are playing the losing game; but if we manufactured ourselves, the prices of store goods would be subject to the same variation, with all other kinds of property, and would rise and fall with them. The British merchants or agents seem to be the only people in America who flourish.

[To be continued.]

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Extraëts from an essay entitled "national arithmetic, or observations on the finances of the commonwealth of Massachusetts."

What labour is profitable, and what unprofitable to the state.

Agriculture.

WHAT I conceive to be profitable to the state, is, 1st, The husbandman's labour. He who first undertakes the hardy but pleasing work of clearing the wilderness, and bringing it into a fruitful field, deserves to be ranked amongst the most useful labourers in the community. By the industry of him who even cultivates the open field, a state receives much benefit; from both it is enriched. The labour of these, yields to the government additional subjects; it encourages our shipping, by furnishing the seaman's bread;—it gives to the merchant and mechanic their loaves, and to the cattle their fodder. There is no country in Europe dependent on another people for its bread corn, which is not, in time of war, in danger of being famished*; whereas, if a state be a-

NOTE.

* It is from a sense of such danger, that the seven provinces of the United Netherlands are so seldom at war with their neighbours. Infinite in numbers, beyond what the country of itself can support, and afraid of being overflowed by opening their water fences, they would rather suffer, than quarrel.

ble to maintain itself upon its own natural productions—if its ports be shut, and its trade stopped—yet it is able to undergo years of hardship, and possibly, in the end, may weary its enemies into ruin, by the expense and fatigue to which it forces them, in carrying on a tedious and fruitless blockade.† If a country like the Massachusetts, blessed with an excellent soil, and an extensive territory, cannot support itself, it must be from an improvidence, unequalled amongst the indolent inhabitants of Ethiopia. Imported provisions, of every kind, ought to be highly duties or absolutely interdicted. It is a disgrace to the commonwealth, and a great discouragement to the industry of the farmer, to permit English cheese, Irish butter, beef, candles and soap, to have an entry in our ports. To promote agriculture by forwarding the raising of grain, would naturally make room for the breeding of cattle, consequently for an extra quantity of beef, an article which, from the immense and rich pasturage of the state, could, under proper encouragement, be made one of the most extensive and profitable exports which it can possibly have; and as where grain is raised, there must be fodder for cattle, and much land laid out for grass, both could be forwarded, whilst one is. Add to these, the yeoman's industry, whose continual labour in clearing new lands, makes establishments of new farms, on which quantities of grain, leather, wool, hemp, and flax, may be raised, and might very soon, by fit attention, be made to exceed our consumption, and become articles of supply to other nations. I have no doubt, that so desirable an event is not far distant. It certainly is within our reach: and as the number of the people increases, in a proportion to the means of their support, such encouragement will also be beneficial in giving us the true riches

NOTE.

† Witness the effects in the late revolution, of the Britons blockading the port of Boston, and carrying on a war at three thousand miles distance from their own fields and supplies; when America had boundless stores in the annual products of her vast region.

of every country, namely, additional numbers of good subjects.

Cod fishery.

Next to the farmer's, I rank the labour of the cod-fishermen, in point of utility to the state. In the year 1774, there were belonging to Massachusetts, eleven hundred sail of fishing vessels, from fifteen to seventy-five tons each, which, with the ships that carried the fish to market, employed about twenty thousand men. These fishing vessels made on an average, two hundred and fifty quintals of dried fish, in one season, some having caught eight hundred, others forty quintals, the greatest part of which went to markets, whence we could draw nothing in return but silver and gold; and this again paying for labour, for which the owner wanted nothing but money in exchange, maintained him, was communicated from him to others, and so from these to more, till at length the good effects of this branch of labour, were felt by the community in general, especially, as it was a commodity, which Great Britain could not consume herself, or oblige us to carry into her ports without danger of spoiling. The same good effects to the state, I am happy in anticipating, from the probability there is, that the same branch of profitable labour, will be revived; and that as soon as the nature of the thing will admit, which will be as speedily as fishermen can be formed, with whose occupation a due acquaintance is necessarily attained by a slower progress than that of the farmer, which is acquired by short example or nervous exertion. The cod-fishery being so very beneficial a branch of labour to the state, I hope it will meet with every public encouragement, that so important a subject requires.

Mackarel fishery.

The mackarel-fishery, for the short time it lasts, is a source, from which the state derives as much advantage, as from any other sort of labour whatever. About one hundred sail of mackarel-catchers, were fitted out last year,—their success was astonishing. Upon an average, each vessel caught one hundred and fifty barrels, which, at one guinea per barrel, brought clear gain to the commonwealth, deducting salt and barrels, 117,500 dollars, from

the labour of fourteen hundred hands (half of whom were boys) in sixteen or seventeen weeks; a species of profitable labour, that is not surpassed by the pearl-fishery on the Ceylon coast. Would it not be good policy in our government, to reward by a premium, the first that returns with a full fare, as well as he who shall strike the largest quantity of salmon in one season? The policy of Holland, in the herring-fishery, exhibits to us an example of this kind, which has nearly given her the monopoly of that business, which is of so much consequence in that state's estimation, that she has ordered, when prayers are publicly addressed to the Supreme Being, to have it mentioned, "that it would please him, to bless the government, the lords, the states, and also, their great* and small fisheries." When any branch of business shall become the great object of our state's attention, as the herring and other fisheries, have become that of the Dutch, we shall be sure of bringing it to the utmost height of profit, and national benefit. To effectually procure the earliest exertion in the fishing business, the first smack that arrives in the spring, with herrings at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, receives half a crown for each herring. For want of a national character in encouraging particular products, our cod, mackarel, salmon, alewife, shad and other fisheries, are only accidentally and occasionally carried on; as when the mackarel come on our coast and other fish up our rivers, we can hardly avoid catching them; whereas, the people and government ought to encourage them by a high price given by the former for fresh, and a large bounty allowed by the latter to the first vessel of such burden and of so many hands, which should, by a certain day, bring into port so many barrels of salted fish, caught in that season, or to the first three or four vessels which should bring in the largest quantity, and so with respect to the other fisheries mentioned.

Whale fishery.

In regard to these, the labour of

NOTE.

* What are meant by the great fisheries, are, the whale, seal, and fin fish, whereof they make train-oil.

the whale fishermen is the most useful and beneficial to the state. The number of vessels employed in that fishery, and in carrying the oil to market, afforded a profit which equalled the cod-fishery.—And indeed, upon a review of the numbers employed in the one, and compared with those of the other, it is evident, as well as from their separate products, that it was much more advantageous. This labour was principally carried on from Nantucket: for out of two hundred sail employed in killing the fish, fifty only were fitted from other parts. The whole of this branch of useful labour, employed about two thousand eight hundred men, exclusive of those men necessarily engaged in shipping and carrying the oil to market. This, and the cod-fishery, were the great supports of this state. They formed the greatest part of her remittances to Europe, and were the great means of throwing the balance of trade in favour of Massachusetts. The spermaceti and brown oil, the candles made of matter extracted from some of the oil, together with the bone, netted a sum, not less on an average of three years, than one million three hundred thousand dollars, annually.
(To be continued.)



Three letters on the trade and commerce of America. P. 134.

LETTER II.

CONFORMABLY to the plan I proposed to myself in my first letter, I shall begin with enquiring what treaties we have already formed for the regulation of commerce; and that will naturally lead us to enquire what sort of treaties it is we ought to form with foreign nations.

A gentleman, in a late debate upon a bill brought into the house of assembly of Pennsylvania, for the encouragement of navigation and shipping, has told us that treaties of commerce with foreign nations, are to be considered as “marks and symptoms of friendship and amity, and nothing more.” If the gentleman took his idea from the treaties of amity and commerce already subsisting between the united states of America and foreign states, I must do him the justice to say, that I cannot deny but his opini-

on, so far, is by much too well founded; for surely never were treaties so superficially conceived, so unguardedly and so indefinitely worded, or so inadequate in every respect, to the business they were intended to perform.

I hope it will not be understood that I mean to throw any censure on the very worthy and respectable persons who were employed in concluding those treaties. Times may have been unfavourable: but whether the times were unfavourable, or whether it was for want of attending to the principles of commerce, “and the rules which ought to be followed, relative to the correspondence and commerce, which they desired to establish between their countries,” the fact is precisely as I have stated it. But that I may not seem to deal in assertion without proof, let the commercial treaties speak for themselves.

To begin with the first, i. e. the treaty of amity and commerce between the most christian king and the thirteen united states of North America, which, being the earliest, may be considered in some measure, as a *chef d'œuvre*, as it seems to be taken as a pattern for the rest. This treaty begins with reciting “that the parties, willing to fix in an equitable and permanent manner, the rules which ought to be followed relative to the correspondence and commerce which they desire to establish between their respective countries, states, and subjects, have judged that the said end could not be better obtained than by taking for the basis of this agreement, the most perfect equality and reciprocity, and by carefully avoiding all those burdensome preferences which are usually sources of debate, embarrassment, and discontent; by leaving also each party at liberty to make, respecting navigation and commerce, those interior regulations which it shall find most convenient to itself—and by founding the advantage of commerce solely upon reciprocal utility and the just rules of free intercourse; reserving withal to each party, the liberty of admitting at its pleasure, other nations to a participation of the same advantages.” This, it must be confessed, seems exceedingly specious in the effect; but let us examine a little further, in order to see how the bu-

sines, in the issue, has been executed, that we may be able to judge how far these specious promises have been performed.

The first article recites, "that there shall be a firm and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between their respective countries and people."

The second contains a mutual engagement "not to grant any particular favour to other nations, in respect of commerce and navigation, which shall not immediately become common to the other party, who shall enjoy the same favour freely, if the concession was freely made, or on allowing the same compensation, if the concession was conditional." But now for the specific terms.

In the third article, it is stipulated, "that the subjects of the most christian king, shall pay in the ports, havens, roads, countries, islands, cities, or towns of the united states, or any of them, no other or greater duties or imposts of what nature soever they may be, or by what name soever called, than those which the nations most favoured, are or shall be obliged to pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and exemptions in trade, navigation, and commerce, whether in passing from one port in the said states to another, or in going to and from the same, from and to any part of the world, which the said nations do or shall enjoy."

The fourth article grants and confirms similar privileges to the people of the united states in the dominions of France, to those granted to the subjects of France by the united states, in the third article; together with an exemption in the fifth article, of the imposition of one hundred sous per ton, established in France, on foreign ships, unless when the ships of the united states shall load with the merchandize of France, for another port of the said dominions, in which case the ships shall pay the duty above mentioned, so long as other nations, the most favoured, shall be obliged to pay it." And this is the sum and substance of that treaty, with regard to commerce in general. The rest which follows, is chiefly applicable to a state of war.

Now pray let me ask what are the advantages so much boasted of in this treaty, which sets out with saying, "that the basis of the agreement is the most perfect equality and reciprocity?" Why they amount to neither more nor less than this, that French goods are to pay no more duties in American ports, than other (the most favoured nations) do pay, which, at that time, amounted to little, or almost nothing at all; but that American goods are to pay the same duties in French ports, as are paid by other nations, the most favoured.

Observe the difference.—The duties payable in the American ports on foreign goods, amount perhaps from one to two and a half, or perhaps five per cent. *ad valorem*. The duties payable in French ports, amount perhaps to forty, fifty, or an hundred per cent. Is this "founding the advantage of commerce solely upon reciprocal utility and the just rules of free intercourse?" I leave it to every thinking man to determine whether it is possible for any two countries to continue a commercial intercourse upon so unequal terms. To instance only with regard to England: English goods pay very little more duty in the American ports, than the goods of other foreign nations. American goods in England—rice, for instance, pays seven shillings and four pence per hundred, which, when that article sells for twenty-two shillings, is after the rate of thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence per cent. duty.

Tobacco pays sixteen pence per pound duty, which, when tobacco sells at from nineteen to twenty pence per pound, is after the rate of five hundred per cent. duty, for every hundred pounds worth: therefore, for every hundred pounds worth of British goods imported into America, it requires five hundred pounds worth of tobacco to be sent by way of remittance to pay for them; since all the difference is paid in duty, and is so much absolutely deducted from its value, as an article of remittance. In France, where the treaty beforementioned, is still in being, the case is still worse; for there the duty amounts to three livres per pound; so that the planter, for all his care and industry—the mer-

chant for his freight, insurance, and commission—has nothing to reckon upon but the firm it sells for above that duty, which in England is from three to four pence, and which, in a commercial view, is next to nothing.

American pitch, which sells in England for about six shillings and six pence, per hundred, pays one shilling per barrel duty. American turpentine, which sells at about ten shillings and six pence per hundred, pays two shillings and two pence and two-fifths duty: and whale oil, which sells at from twenty-two to twenty four pounds per ton, pays seventeen pounds six shillings and six pence duty, which amounts to a prohibition.

Now, with regard to the Dutch treaty, the preamble and the privileges granted to each nation, are about word for word with those contained in the French treaty, save only that to the tail of the third article, this reservation is tacked, viz. “That the united States of America, with their subjects and inhabitants, shall leave to those of their high mightinesses, the peaceable enjoyment of their rights in the countries, islands, and seas in the East and West Indies, without hindrance or molestation;” which, in plain

English, is saying, that the citizens of the united States shall have no connexion or intercourse with them whatsoever.

The treaty with Sweden is to the same effect as those with France and Holland. Thus we see at one stroke, with one single dash of the pen, and in the very first instance, France, Holland, and Sweden, have gained all the commercial advantages from America, which have been the subject of commercial warfare and recrimination with other nations, for ages, and that without Americans deriving any advantages in exchange for them (that I can discover) by way of return.

Is it any wonder, therefore, that the course of exchange should have risen between Philadelphia and London, and indeed to almost all parts of Europe, to the extravagant height of near eighty per cent.?

And what is to be expected, if we should be so very unwise as to continue a trade, much more if we should consent to a treaty with England, upon terms similar to those already subsisting between us and France, and between us, Sweden, and Holland?

A Citizen of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, Dec. 14, 1785.

A bit of advice to Connecticut folks*.

My friends,
TIMES are hard—money is scarce—taxes are high—and private debts push us.—What shall we do? Why, hear a few facts—stubborn facts—and then take a bit of advice.

In the year 1637, our good forefathers declared an offensive war against the Pequot Indians. Their troops were ninety men—Weathersfield was ordered to furnish a hog for this army; Windfor a ram goat; and Hartford a

hoghead of beer, and four or five gallons of strong water†.

This was ancient simplicity!—Let us make a little estimation of the expenses annually incurred in Connecticut. (I say incurred, for we can contract debts, though we cannot pay them).

I will just make a distinction between necessary and unnecessary expenses.

	Necessary.	Unnecessary.
	£.	£.
Governor's salary, - - -	300	300
Lt. governor's, - - -	100	100
Upper house, attendance and travel, 60 days a year, at 10 <i>l.</i> a day, -	600	600
Carried over, - - -	1,000	1,000

NOTES.

* “*Quid rides? mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*”—C.
† See the records of this state, where rum is called strong water.—This was soon after the first distilling of spirits, and rum was not then named. It seems however that our pious ancestors had a taste for it, which their posterity have carefully improved.
Vol. V. Li

	£.	Necessary. £.	Unnecessary. £.
Brought over, - - -	1,000	1,000	
Lower house, attendance and travel, 170 members at 6s. a day, 60 days, -	3,060	1,530	1,530
Five judges of the superior court, at 24s. a day, suppose 150 days, -	900	900	
Forty judges of inferior courts, at 9s. a day, suppose 40 days, - -	720	720	
Six thousand actions in the year, the legal expense of each suppose 34.	18,000	1,000	17,000
Gratuities to 120 lawyers, suppose 504. each, - - -	6,000	1,000	5,000
Two hundred clergymen, at 1004. each,	20,000	20,000	
Five hundred schools, at 204. a year,	10,000	10,000	
Support of poor, - - -	10,000	10,000	
Bridges and other town expenses,	10,000	10,000	
Contingencies and articles not enumerated,	10,000	10,000	
	<u>£. 89,680</u>	<u>£. 66,150</u>	<u>£. 23,530</u>

Now comes RUM, my friends.

	£.
400,000 gallons of rum, at 4s. a gallon,	80,000
Allow for rum drank on which excise is not paid,	
50,000 gallons, at 4s.	10,000
	<u>90,000</u>

Ninety-nine hundredths unnecessary.

This is a fact—Deny it if you can, good folks. Now, say not a word about taxes, judges, lawyers, courts, and women's extravagance. Your government, your courts, your lawyers, your clergymen, your schools, and your poor, do not all cost you so much as one paltry article, which does you little or no good, but is as destructive of your lives as fire and brimstone.

£.

But let us proceed.

A million of pounds of sugar, estimated by the returns of excise masters, at 8d.	33,333
(This is double the quantity we want, but as it is pernicious neither to health nor morals, I let it pass)	
200,000lb. of tea, at 3s. 6d.	35,000
2,000 ditto hyson, at 14s.	1,400
(Most of these unnecessary).	
Coffee, melasses, spices, &c.	10,000
Dry goods,	250,000

Total £. 329,733

The whole settlement will stand thus :

	£.
Necessary expenses,	66,150
Unnecessary, ditto,	23,530
Rum and other distilled spirits,	90,000
Other foreign articles,	329,733
	<u>510,413</u>

Interest of the federal and state debts, 130,000

Now, good people, I have a word of advice for you. I will tell you how to pay your taxes and debts, without feeling them.

1st. Fee no lawyers.

You say lawyers have too high fees. I say they have not. They cost me not one farthing. Do as I have always done, and lawyers' fees will be no trouble at all. If I want a new coat, or my wife wants a new gown, we have agreed to wear the old ones until we have got cash or produce to pay for them. When we buy—we pay in hand—we get things cheaper than our neighbours—merchants never dun us—and we have no lawyers' fees to pay. When we see sheriffs and duns knocking at the doors of our neighbours, we laugh at their folly. Besides I keep a little drawer in my desk, with money enough in it to pay the next tax ; and I never touch a farthing until the collector calls. Now, good folks, if you will take

the same method, you will save out of lawyers' fees and court charges, on the most moderate calculations, 20,000l. a year.

2dly. I allow my family but two gallons of rum a year. This is enough for any family, and too much for most of them. I drink cyder and beer of my own manufacture; and my wife makes excellent beer, I assure you. I advise you all to do the same. I am astonished at you, good folks. Not a mechanic or a labourer goes to work for a merchant, but he carries home a bottle of rum. Not a load of wood comes to town, but a gallon bottle is tied to the cart stake to be filled with rum. Scarcely a woman comes to town with tow cloth, but she has a wooden gallon bottle in one side of her saddle bags, to fill with rum. A stranger would think you to be a nation of Indians by your thirst for this paltry liquor. Take a bit of advice from a good friend of yours. Get two gallons of rum in a year—have two or three frolics of innocent mirth—keep a little spirit for a medicine, and let your common drink be the produce or manufacture of this country. This will make a saving of almost 400,000 gallons of rum, or 80,000l. year.

3dly. Never buy any useless clothing.

Keep a good suit for Sundays and other public days, but let your common wearing apparel be good substantial cloths and linens of your own manufacture. Let your wives and daughters lay aside their plumes. Feathers and fripperies suit the Cherokees or the wench in your kitchen; but they little become the fair daughters of America*. Out of the dry goods imported, you may save 50,000l. a year.

These savings amount to 150,000l. a year. This is more than enough to pay the interest of all our public debts.

My countrymen, I am not trifling with you: I am serious. You feel the facts I state; you know you are poor, and ought to know, the fault is all your

NOTE.

* I would just mention to my fair friends, whom I love and esteem, that feathers and other frippery of the head, are disreputable in Europe.

own. Are you not satisfied with the food and drink which this country affords? The beef, the pork, the wheat, the corn, the butter, the cheese, the cyder, the beer, those luxuries which are heaped in profusion upon your tables? If not, you must expect to be poor. In vain do you wish for mines of gold and silver. A mine would be the greatest curse that could befall this country. There is gold and silver enough in the world, and if you have not enough of it, it is because you consume all you earn in useless food and drink. In vain do you wish to increase the quantity of cash by a mint, or by paper emissions.—Should it rain millions of joes into your chimnies, on your present system of expenses, you would still have no money. It would leave the country in streams. Trifle not with serious subjects, nor spend your breath in empty wishes. Reform—economise. This is the whole of your political duty. You may reason, speculate, complain, raise mobs, spend life in railing at congress and your rulers; but unless you import less than you export, unless you spend less than you earn, you will eternally be poor.

New Haven, Dec. 14, 1786.



Account of the insurrection in New Hampshire, in September, 1786.

IN the beginning of the year, 1785, the complaints of the unhappy people, who had contracted debts during the time of the too great plenty of money, induced the legislature to pass an act, making every species of property a tender, at an appraised value. It was soon, however, found from experience, that this answered no other purpose but to prevent a demand on the part of the creditors, and a neglect on the part of the debtors to discharge their just debts. The scarcity of money still remained a complaint; for as far as goods and real property were substituted, as a medium in commerce, so far specie, of course, ceased to circulate; and credit being thus injured, the money holders turned the keys on that cash which might otherwise have been loaned to the needy.

In August, 1786, a convention of committees from about thirty towns assembled and agreed upon, and preferred to the general court, a long

petition, setting forth their grievances on account of the scarcity of money, and praying for an emission of paper bills of credit; in which there was no single trace of an idea of redemption, or any one attempt to give the currency a foundation; but the whole seems predicated on a supposition that the general court, by a mere act of legislation, by words and signs, could impress an intrinsic value on paper; which is equally absurd as it would be to suppose, that the legislature had the power of Midas, and could, from a single touch, turn stones and sticks into gold; their great object was, however, to have this paper a tender for all debts and taxes; and no plan is hinted, by which people were to get this money out of the treasury; but it rather seems that they expected the general court to apportion it among the people at large.

The legislature formed a plan for the emission of twenty thousand pounds, to be let out at four per cent. on land security, redeemable at a future period, carrying an interest at six per cent, and to be a tender in taxes for the internal support of the state, and for fees and salaries of the officers of the government. This plan was sent, as early as the fourteenth of September, to the several towns, to collect their minds upon the subject.

On the twentieth inst, at four o'clock in the afternoon, about four hundred men, on horse-back and on foot, entered the town of Exeter, where the general court were sitting; about fifty of them, or perhaps more, were armed with muskets, and the others with bludgeons; their principal leader appeared to be one Moses French, a farmer, of Hampstead, aided by one Collin, a major of the militia, and two or three others: they affected military parade, and had a drum. After they had halted a while, they sent a paper into the house of representatives, who were convened in the meeting house, demanding an answer to their former petition without delay; it was dated on Exeter Plain, and signed Moses French, moderator.

The house appointed a committee of three, to be joined by a committee from the senate, to take the matter into consideration. This vote the senate unanimously nonconcurred—

Whereupon a conference took place, in the meeting-house, between the two branches of the legislature. The president (general Sullivan) being, ex officio, a senator, opened the matter, by giving publicly, in the hearing of the people, and as many of the mob as chose to attend, the reasons on which the senate nonconcurred the vote of the house. He first considered the petition, and shewed, with great strength of reasoning, and very coolly, the extreme folly, as well as the very great injustice, of the prayer of their former petition: and also observed, that even if the measure was just and reasonable, the general court ought not to pay attention to it, merely from having the voice of thirty towns only, out of two hundred, in favour of it. He concluded, by saying, that if the voice of the whole state was for the measure, yet the legislature ought not to comply with it, while they were surrounded by an armed force. To do it, would be to betray the rights of the people, which they had all solemnly engaged to support; and that no consideration of personal danger should ever compel him to so flagrant a violation of the constitutional rights of the people, who had placed him in the chair of government.

As soon as this speech was made, the mob beat to arms, and surrounded the meeting-house, where the president, the senate, and the house remained; those of the mob who had muskets, were ordered to charge with balls, which command they instantly obeyed. The house proceeded to business as usual, without taking any kind of notice of the management at the doors. Centinels were placed at each door with fixed bayonets, and the whole legislature were prisoners. After sunset, the president attempted to come out, but was prevented by a firm column. He reasoned very coolly with them on the impropriety and fatal tendency of their conduct, and assured them that the force of the state would support the government; which they took leave to deny, with as much confidence as he asserted it. Thus all remained till the evening was quite dark; the minds of the sober part of the people began to rise at the indignity—while the mob clamoured, some,

paper money—some, an equal distribution of property—some, the annihilation of debts—some, release of all taxes—and all clamoured against law and government. A drum was now heard at a distance, and a number of men huzzaing for government. The mob appeared frightened, and some of them began to run; the president told them he would prevent bloodshed, and walked through them, and the general court followed.

On this, the insurgents returned to another part of the town, and the legislature, who had, throughout the whole, acted with the most inimitable firmness and magnanimity, reassumed their business, and requested the president to call forth the power of the state to quell the rebellion. At eleven at night he issued his orders, and by sunrise the next morning, the militia were marching in, well armed, with military music, and other incidents to military movements. The major and brigadier generals of all the state, excepting one, whose great remoteness from the scene of action prevented him, assembled early in the morning: the gentlemen of the first rank and education, emulous to save a government for which they had done and suffered so much, appeared either on foot or on horseback, in order: and an enthusiasm, quite inexpressible by words, appeared through the whole. About ten o'clock, the president, attended by the general officers, followed by several companies, advanced towards the insurgents, who were drawn up at a tavern, in the outer part of the town. There was no conflict; the mob fled, and nothing was to be done but to pick up the prisoners. A number fled, and made a stand at a bridge. General Cilly soon came up with them, rushed in, and seized their leaders; one of whom ordered them to fire; but government appeared in such force, that they dared not to obey. About forty of them were made prisoners, and were sent to jail, to be tried for high treason—the rest fled to their lurking places. By this time there were more than two thousand men in arms, about three hundred of whom were horse; all ready to make any risque to preserve legal government, and the due execution of the laws. The sentiment was con-

stantly re-echoed, “How can we live without government, and shall we give ourselves up to a mob?” If the legislature appeared magnanimous the day before, a free government, the people’s government, now shone with unequalled splendor and glory.—

Exeter, Sept. 25, 1786.



An oration, delivered in the college of Philadelphia, before the united company of Philadelphia for promoting American manufactures. March 17th, 1777. By Robert Strettel Jones, esq. of Burlington county, P. 177.

ONE of the advantages expected, and that has been pointed out to you as certain, is, that by encouraging manufactures we should save a great sum of money among ourselves. This, gentlemen, is a truth we ought to be fully impressed with, and convinced of. Let us at the same time remember and ever hold the conviction nearest to our hearts, that any nation wholly supplied by another, may soon by the arts of ministerial influence in that other, be converted into slaves. This public-spirited company can take no offence, when I declare this observation levelled particularly at nations, with whom, heretofore, the people of this country had no connexion in trade. What may prove necessary for political purposes, we leave, with deference, to the ruling powers, who know that foreign aid may be obtained. We confine ourselves to the line of American manufactures, happy in our humbler sphere to attempt adding a mite to the public happiness; yet indulge an idea, that if America is to be wholly indebted to any foreign loom, we may be allowed to exclaim—adieu to the religion! farewell the liberties of our country! If, America, thou hast contended in fearful fight; shed in this righteous cause much kindred blood with a religious awe and veneration, sanctified by the revolution—the bloody waves of the Boyne—and the field of Culloden, for this unavailing object, how narrow will be the arches of thy triumph? how sordid and funereal the thickest chaplets of thy laurels? No, my fellow-citizens: in the present arduous conflict, let us prefer the coarsest,

the most homely garb wrought from our native fleece, to the finest, the most fantastic ornament that can be imported from the first fashion-shop in Europe.

Perhaps by some my capacity as a politician, may be called in question for these sentiments, which must, nevertheless, now, or at some future day, be adopted; or a boasted independence, and the novel constitution of Pennsylvania, so much extolled by its admirers, will prove at best but splendid trifles—the play-things of a day. However, be it so: rather would I be, and be thought to be, an honest American—jealous of his country's real welfare (in which all his enjoyments and expectations centre) than the first politician on the continent, if that character is to be obtained at the risk of subjecting this great, infant empire, after all her struggles and difficulties, to be disposed at the will and pleasure of any dancing, silken minister whatever.

Whether the present system for conducting our manufactures is best, and therefore to be continued, or not, you well deserve the public acknowledgments for your generous and disinterested labours. You have shewn by sufficient experiment in various articles, that they may be manufactured even to personal profit, and if the present exertions are crowned with success, you have laid the foundation of what must prove no inconsiderable part of the true riches, the real independence of our country: an increasing, extensive, and lasting benefit, to an opulent, free, and virtuous posterity.

When the business that we have executed is compared with that of capital European tradesmen, it may appear, indeed, small and insignificant: yet, for our encouragement, let us remember, that the greatest undertakings, such as have deservedly obtained the highest praise of history, and been the most beneficial to mankind, were once in their infancy as well as ours. The first exportation of flaxseed from this continent to Ireland is but a recent transaction: the whole amounting to a few bushels only—but how many hands have we seen busily employed to complete the orders that arrived for execution every autumn? Who foretold the great extent of business that would be occasioned by this one arti-

cle, or the constant spur it has proved to the industry of so many thousands? Who, then, that beholds manufactories erecting in humble decency, with modest hope and anxious expectation, shall presume to determine their failure or success? Surely no man of observation can be guilty of such rashness; as he well knows, that a happy conclusion often flows from a small, and sometimes even from a very unpromising beginning. The censure of the indolent, who will not be at the pains to examine, or the stare of ignorance, that cannot comprehend, are equally unworthy attention, and should by no means be suffered to frustrate, or impede for a moment, a scheme so promising of public utility. Nevertheless, far be it from me to attempt fixing every objector in one or the other of these classes; seeing it is from the objections of the candid, and the improvements of the judicious, whose assistance we solicit, that plans, formed by private men, ripen into maturity.

And now, gentlemen, indulge me in a fond idea—or rather let us all participate in the pleasurable thought, that the object of our particular attention at this time is but one rough solitary stone laid, the vast foundation of that grand superstructure of empire, elegance, and public happiness, that is to be erected in this American world. Empire and the arts have been long taking their western tour, and in all their progress have yet found no shore so suitable as this, upon which to fix their lasting residence. If we consider the various soils and climates of the country which we inhabit, capable to produce the fruits of every country; the long extent of ocean on our eastern border; the numerous and capacious rivers that open a door for the most extensive inland navigation; that it is a land of wheat and barley, of vines and honey, wherein we have hitherto eaten bread without scarceness—a land of iron—a good land—the prospect of its future magnificence must be allowed to rest upon a basis more solid than the fervor of an *amor patriæ*, or the reveries of an inflated imagination. And as society, or the art of making a people happy, has not yet acquired that refined polish, of which, perhaps,

it is capable, may we not be allowed at least to hope that this noblest exertion of human wisdom, is reserved for us, and that we shall have the distinguished honour of opening to an admiring world the purest plan most happily executed*? True religion, genuine liberty, and knowledge unobscured, have deigned to visit our distant strand—not long since the dreary mansion of idolatry and ignorance: these horrid forms, that ever reign together, are deposed, and we behold them every day retreating farther and farther westward, to the very extremity of our continent. That America, in the allwise economy of heaven, is intended for no small theatre in the immensity of God's works, is plainly discoverable—but how greatly important? Who can tell? These gay settlements have arisen from uncultivated wilds with such amazing and unparalleled rapidity as to attract not only the wonder but the envy of the world. And are they now to stop? Have they arrived at maturity? Nay, rather, are they not yet only in the cradle—promising great stature, strength, and vigour?



A series of letters on the establishment of the worship of the Deity, as essential to national happiness. P. 89.

By an American.

Plusque boni mores,

Quam bonae leges, valent. Tacitus.

LETTER II.

Sir,

WHAT is said on the article of religious liberty, in most of the

NOTE.

* This oration is printed, excepting a few literary alterations which do not affect any sentiment it contained, as it was delivered: but this part cannot be dismissed without observing that it is most devoutly to be wished that this event may have now taken place, and that our incomparable federal plan of government may long continue a blessing to us and our posterity, which it will, so long as we and they are virtuous—shed its happy influence amongst the nations of the old world who once were free, and illuminate them to an adoption of their unalienable rights, so as to become men indeed.

constitutions of these states, I highly applaud; it is excellent so far as it goes*; it is a very good preamble to something which ought to have followed, and which may yet be adopted, which is, that public religion shall be maintained, and the support of it proportioned among all the members of the community; without this, public worship may be proscribed and totally banished from these states in half a century, or less.

At present the institutions of morality and religion are left floating on the uncertain sea of accidents, and may sink or swim without the notice of government. This neglect would be pardonable if good government could exist without the aid of religion. There never has been a nation great or happy, where the subject's obedience to human laws did not receive a sanction from the obligations of religion.

The conscious approbation which results from right conduct, and the dread of future punishment for evil, are powerful principles in the human breast: subjects, who feel the influence of these, are easily restrained within the bounds of human law; those who do not, have ever been found most difficult to govern, because influenced wholly by motives of present interest or advantage. Magistrates themselves have found, that as men cast off a regard for the Deity, the transition to evil courses, destructive to society, has been easy; they have also disregarded their civil rulers, and one another; for those who fear not God, neither will they regard man.

Then "the bold impious man,
Who stops at nothing, will seize all
he can:

Justice to merit, will weak aid afford,
Her balance fall'n, useless lies her
sword."

Dryden.

Hence all legislators have interwoven religion with their systems of law and government, and the greater part have probably so done purely from political considerations; and if, at the same time that they make religion necessary to the well-being of the commonwealth, they leave the subjects

NOTE.

* It amounts to this, that men have a right to choose their religion, and to worship where and how they please.

free in the choice and practice of their respective systems, they do wisely.

In the wise code of laws, which the illustrious legislator of the Hebrews received immediately from heaven, for the government of a nation, a reverence of the Deity is inscribed on the whole, as the efficacious motive of obedience to civil rulers. The God of nature has joined together these two—government and religion, or religious worship and social virtue; they cannot be put asunder. Government is supported by the influence which religion has on the minds and morals of mankind.

It is an observation of the celebrated historian Tacitus, that virtuous manners have more efficacy than good laws. The uniform experience of ages confirms it.

Religion may be established on principles consistent with perfect freedom. If it be an institution necessary to the existence or prosperity of government, the people by their rulers have a right to establish that as they do any other necessary or useful institution; and to provide for its support, as they do for the support of public schools for the education of youth. The institution of public worship is a school of virtue, for the benefit of subjects who have arrived to maturity, as common schools are for the benefit of subjects in their minority; both necessary, and equally claiming the attention and care of authority.

The christian religion, containing a system of morals and doctrines, infinitely more luminous and perfect than any other, is the professed religion of these states; a system most friendly to order and civil government: if the subjects are universally benefited by the public worship of the Deity, and by the doctrines of religion and morality, which are constantly taught by those who are devoted to that profession, why should not the subjects universally bear their proportion to their support? There are many in every state, who do nothing in this way, and yet reap the benefit of this institution, equally with those who do, considered as members of society; their lives—their property—and all their rights, are thereby rendered secure and inviolate.

After those habits which a good

education has formed, among the body of the people, are worn off, all such as treat public worship as superfluous, or the support of it a burden—and some of this class may already be found perhaps in every town, and without a preventative, it will not be long before they have the majority of votes;—all such will withdraw their aid from the support of public religion, and the teachers of it must be dependent on the voluntary subscriptions of the few, whose sense of its importance may excite them to laudable exertions to hold up the drooping cause of virtue. Such neglect of an institution, on which the existence, or the peace and happiness of civil society depend, will break down the barrier which guards the state, and pour in a flood of evils, which, in the final issue, will overwhelm both rulers and subjects. Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the reproach, and, unrestrained by a sense of moral obligation, will bring upon a people desolation and ruin. From the steps leading to this catastrophe, may heaven preserve our dearest country!

(Letter III. in our next.)



Address of the managers of the Pennsylvania Society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts, to their constituents, on the expiration of the term of their appointment.

Gentlemen,

IN resigning into your hands the office you assigned to us, we think it right to lay before you some account of the general state of those interests you thought proper to commit to our attention.

It is with pleasure we inform you, that some new and important manufactures have been established with success; that others, which have been for some years past in a languid state, are now beginning to revive; and that daily experience brings to view, new powers and resources in this country, for the increase and promotion of these invaluable establishments. Upon the whole, we have reason to believe, that our manufactures in general are in the road to improvement and extension. The protection afforded by our legislature, the decrease in the unne-

essary consumption of foreign commodities and the reviving spirit of our manufactures, have not failed to produce a powerful effect; and these principles must operate with still greater force, when the interests of America shall be united under one common protecting head, and a due preference afforded thereby throughout all the states, to the productions of each.

We have endeavoured, on our parts, to contribute to the progress of these objects by such measures as lay within our power. We have attempted by premiums and other methods to call the attention of the public, to those articles, which, although within reach of the resources of our country, had not been unattempted by our manufacturers. We have laboured to excite a laudable emulation amongst persons whose manufactures have not yet been carried to perfection. We have endeavoured to procure and disseminate information, for the improvement of those branches, wherein such wants appeared to be wanting; and we have brought forward to public notice, those manufactures, which, although established here, had not yet received the attention and patronage of which they were deserving.

We have proceeded in these measures, under an earnest desire, that our endeavours should produce effects proportioned to your expectations, and to the magnitude of the interests committed to our care:—Our efforts have not been yet attended with success, correspondent to the utmost extent of our wishes, we have at least reason to be assured, they have not been unproductive of advantage.

Signed by order of the board,
Samuel Powel, vice-president.
Philadelphia, Jan. 21, 1789.



Remarks on the manners, government, laws and domestic debt of America.

FUNDAMENTAL mistake of the Americans has been, that they considered the revolution as completed, when it was but just begun. Having laid the pillars of the building, they ceased to exert themselves, and seemed to forget that the whole superstructure was then to be erected.
VOL. V.

This country is independent in government; but totally dependent in manners, which are the basis of government. Men seem not to attend to the difference between Europe and America, in point of age and improvement, and are disposed to rush, with heedless emulation, into an imitation of manners, for which we are not prepared.

Every person tolerably well versed in history, knows that nations are often compared to individuals and to vegetables, in their progress from their origin to maturity and decay. The resemblance is striking and just. This progress is as certain in nations as in vegetables; it is as obvious, and its cause more easily understood—in proportion as the secret springs of action in government are more easily explained, than the mechanical principles of vegetation.

This progress, therefore, being assumed as a conceded fact, suggests a forcible argument against the introduction of European manners into America. The business of men in society is, first, to secure their persons and estates by arms and wholesome laws—then to procure the conveniences of life by arts and labour;—but it is in the last stages, only, of national improvement, that luxury and amusements become public benefits, by dissipating accumulations of wealth, and furnishing employment and food for the poor. And luxury, then, is not beneficial, except when the wealth of a nation is wasted within itself. It is perhaps always true, that an old civilized nation cannot, with propriety, be the model for an infant nation, either in morals, in manners or fashions, in literature, or in government.

A constant increase of wealth is ever followed with a multiplication of vices—this seems to be the destiny of human affairs; wisdom, therefore, directs us to retard, if possible, and not to accelerate the progress of corruption. But an introduction of the fashionable diversions of Europe into America, is an acceleration of the growth of vices, which are yet in their infancy, and an introduction of new ones too infamous to be mentioned. A dancing-school among the Tuscaroras, is not a greater absurdity, than a masquerade in America. A theatre, un-
KK

der the best regulations, is not essential to our public or private happiness. It may afford entertainment to individuals; but it is at the expense of private taste and public morals. The great misfortune of all exhibitions of this kind is this; that they reduce all taste to a level. Not only the vices of all classes of people are brought into view, but of all ages and nations. The intrigues of noblemen and the scurrility of shoe-blacks, are presented to the view of both sexes of all ages; the vices of the age of Elizabeth and of Charles II. are recorded by the masterly pens of a Shakespeare and a Congreve, and, by repeated representation, they are "hung on high," as the poet expresses it, "to poison half mankind." The fact is, that all characters must be represented upon a theatre, because all characters are spectators; and a nobleman and a sailor, a dutchess and a washer-woman, that attend constantly on the exhibitions of vice, become equally depraved—their tastes will be nearly alike as to vice, the one is as prepared for a crime as the other. It is for this reason, that many of the amusements of nations more depraved than ourselves, are highly pernicious in this country. They carry us forward by hasty strides to the last stages of corruption; a period that every benevolent man will deprecate and endeavour to retard. This circumstance, the difference in the stages of our political existence, should make us shun the vices which may be fashionable in older states; and endeavour to preserve our manners, by being our own standards. By attaching ourselves to foreign manners, we counteract the good effects of the revolution; or rather render them incomplete. A revolution in the form of government, is but a revolution in name, unless attended with a change of principles and manners, which are the springs of government.

We are now in a situation to answer all the purposes of the European nations: independent in government, and dependent in manners. They give us their fashions, they direct our taste, to make a market for their commodities—they engross the profits of our industry, without the hazard of defending us, or the expense of support-

ing our civil government. A situation more favourable to their interest, or more repugnant to our own, they not could have chosen for us, nor we embraced.

If such is the state of facts, and if the influence of foreign manners does actually defeat the purposes of the revolution—if our implicit submission to the prevailing taste of European courts, involves individuals and the public in unnecessary expenses—it is in the power of a few influential characters, in each of our commercial cities, to remedy the whole evil. And in a reformation of this kind, the ladies would have no inconsiderable share.

It is really a matter of astonishment, that the pride of the American has so long submitted tamely to a foreign yoke. Aside of all regard to interest, we should expect that the idea of being a nation of apes, would mortify minds accustomed to freedom of thought, and would prompt them to spurn their chains.

Have the ladies of America no ingenuity, no taste? do they not understand what dresses are most convenient and elegant? what modes are best adapted to the climate, or other circumstances of this country? the most certainly do. Foreigners acknowledge that the native beauty and understanding of the American ladies are not excelled in any country, are equalled in very few: and one would imagine that the modes of embellishing so many personal charms ought not in all cases, to be prescribed by the milliners and mantua-makers on the other side of the Atlantic.

When the gentlemen in America shall exercise spirit enough to be the own judges of taste in dress—when they have wisdom to consult the circumstances of this country, and fortitude to retain a fashion as long as the own interest requires, instead of changing it when other nations direct—when the ladies shall exercise the right of their sex, and say, "we will give the laws of fashion to our own nation, instead of receiving them from another; we will perform our part of the revolution,"—when both sexes shall take more pride and pleasure in being their own standard than in being the humble imitators of

those who riot on the profits of our commerce—we shall realize a new species of independence—an independence flattering to generous minds, and more productive of wealth, than all the laws of power, or the little arts of national policy. And in this evolution of manners, there needs not any sacrifice of real dress. I will venture to estimate, that the retrenching of superfluous articles, which constitute no part of dress, and serve but to disfigure an elegant person—articles that are made and sent to us, to support the six penny day labourers of Europe—I say, a retrenching of those trifling articles only, would be an annual saving to America, sufficient to pay one half the interest of our federal debt. We can throw no blame on foreign nations; they are wise, and profit by our want of spirit and taste.

On the footing that all mankind are brethren, perhaps it is generous in us to assist foreigners, who are a part of the great family.

It is to be wished, however, that we might first discharge our honest debts: that the soldier, whose labour and blood have purchased our empire, and whose services have been paid with a shadow of reward, might be indemnified by the justice of his country: that the widow and orphan might at least receive the stipulated satisfaction for losses which money cannot repair. Yes, let us first be just, and then generous. When we have no better use for our superfluous property, then let us bestow it upon our wretched brethren of the human race. They will repay our charity with gratitude, and bless God that he has peopled one half the world with a race of freemen, to enrich the tyrants, and support the vassals of the other.

This same veneration for eminent reigners, and the bewitching charms of fashion, have led the Americans to adopt the modern corruptions of our language. Very seldom have men examined the structure of the language, and found reasons for their practice. The pronunciation and use of words have been subject to the same arbitrary accidental changes, as the shape of their garments. My lord wears a hat of a certain size and shape; he pro-

nounces a word in a certain manner; and both must be right, for he is a fashionable man. In Europe, this is right in dress; and men, who have not an opportunity of learning the just rules of our language, are in some degree excusable for imitating those whom they consider as superiors. But in men of science, this imitation can hardly be excused.

I presume we may safely say, that our language has suffered more injurious changes in America, since the British army landed on our shores, than it had suffered before, in the period of three centuries. The bucks and bloods tell us there is no proper standard in language; that it is all arbitrary. The assertion, however, serves but to shew their ignorance. There are, in the language itself, decisive reasons for preferring one pronunciation to another; and men of science should be acquainted with these reasons. But if there were none, and every thing rested on practice, we should never change a general practice without substantial reasons: no change should be introduced, which is not an obvious improvement.

But our leading characters seem to pay no regard to rules, or their former practice. To know and embrace every change made in Great Britain, whether right or wrong, is the extent of their enquiries, and the height of their ambition. It is to this deference we may ascribe the long catalogue of errors in pronunciation, and of false idioms which disfigure the language of our mighty fine speakers. And should this imitation continue, we shall be hurried down the stream of corruption, with older nations, and our language, with theirs, be lost in an ocean of perpetual changes. The only hope we can entertain, is, that America, driven by the shock of a revolution, from the rapidity of the current, may glide along near the margin with a gentler stream, and sometimes be wafted back by an eddy.

It is, perhaps, a fundamental principle of government, that men are influenced more by habit, than by any abstract ideas of right and wrong. Few people examine into the propriety of particular usages or laws: or if they examine, few indeed are capable of comprehending their propriety.

But every man knows what is a law or general practice, and he conforms to it, not because it is right or best, but because it has been the practice. It is for this reason that habits of obedience should not be disturbed. There are perhaps in every government, some laws and customs, which, when examined on theoretical principles, will be found unjust and even impolitic. But if the people acquiesce in those laws and customs, if they are attached to them by habit, it is wrong in the legislature to attempt an innovation which shall alarm their apprehensions. There are multitudes of absurdities practised in society, in which people are evidently happy. Arraign those absurdities before the tribunal of examination—people may be convinced of their impropriety—they may even be convinced that better schemes can be projected—and yet it might be impossible to unite their opinions so as to establish different maxims. On the other hand, there are many good institutions, in which, however, there may be theoretical faults, which, if called into public view and artfully represented, might shake the best government on earth.

(Remainder in our next.)



Address of the New York Society for the relief of distressed debtors.

THE benevolent and compassionate, who contribute upon any occasion to the relief of their fellow creatures, have a right to know how their charity has been disposed of by those whom they intrust with it;—and to enquire how far the purposes of their beneficence have been carried into effect.

For the satisfaction of such, and for the information of the public, the society present them with the following concise account of their transactions, from the first day of January, 1788, to the first day of January, 1789.

They have, during that period, contributed to the relief of one hundred and four persons confined in the jail of this city, by distributing to them the following articles: nineteen hundred and seventy pounds of bread, one thousand and sixty four pounds of beef, eight hundred and forty pounds of pork, fourteen bushels of

potatoes, four bushels of peas, three bushels and an half of Indian meal, one bushel and an half of samp, one bushel of beans, thirty-seven cabbages, six blankets, and thirty-six loads of wood. They have also, by some small advances, and by their friendly interference, procured the discharge of twenty-six prisoners from their confinement during that time. In pursuance of those objects, they have expended the sum of sixty-two pounds fourteen shillings and eleven-pence three farthings, including the value of sundry donations in specific articles.

Many are the calamities that attend us in every walk of life:—calamities that no sagacity can foresee, or vigilance elude;—and when these are aggravated and pressed home, by the rigors of imprisonment, they render the unfortunate sufferer a perfect object of compassion and relief. The alleviation of these calamities is the object this society have in view; and in which, through the smiles of providence, they have been in some measure successful; for this, they are in a great measure indebted to the beneficence of their fellow citizens—a beneficence for which they return them their most sincere and grateful acknowledgments, and which they request they will please to continue.

By order of the society,

M. ROGERS, Sec'y

New-York, Feb. 13, 1789.



The whole process of the silk-worm from the egg to the cocoon; communicated to dr. John Morgan, physician, in Philadelphia, in two letters from messrs. Hare and Skinner, silk merchants in London, July 27, 1774, and February 24 1775.—P. 169.

CHAP. II. *Of the cocoons.*

IT is almost a general rule, to wait six or seven days, after the cocoons seem to be formed, before you take them off the boughs, in order to give the worms time to bring them to perfection. It is then proper from that time, to give some air to the room in which you have kept them in order to dissipate a considerable dampness, which the worms exhale on their mounting, (when they have not been well fed and kept, for when the

have been properly nursed, this dampness is not to be found) and which is of great detriment to the cocoons, either by rotting them, rendering them soft, or covering them with spots.

The cocoons may be divided into two general classes, the white and the yellow; in the yellow, you meet with all the shades from a bright yellow, diminishing at last to white; some few are of a pale green. We reckon nine sorts of cocoons, viz.

1. The good cocoons are those which are brought to their perfection, strong and little, and not at all spotted.

2. The pointed cocoons are those, one of whose extremities rises up in a point. After having afforded a little silk, the point, which is the weaker part, breaks or tears, and it is impossible to continue winding that cocoon any longer, because, when the thread comes round to the hole, it is of consequence broke.

3. The coccalons are a little bigger than the other, yet they do not contain more silk, because the contexture is not so strong. In winding, they are to be separated from the rest, because they require to be wound in cooler water, otherwise they furze out in winding.

4. The dupions, or double cocoons, are so called, because they contain sometimes two, and sometimes three worms, which have jointly formed one single cocoon. They interlace their threads, for which reason they are to be kept asunder from the rest; they make the silk we call dupions.

5. The soufflons are cocoons very imperfect, whose contexture is loose, sometimes to that degree that they are transparent, and bear the same proportion to the others, as a gauze to a satin. These cannot be wound.

6. The perforated cocoons are so called, because they have a hole at one end, for which reason they also cannot be wound.

7. The calcined cocoons are those whose worm, after the formation of the cocoon, is attacked with a sickness which sometimes petrifies it, and at others reduces it to a fine white powder, without in the least endamaging the silk; on the contrary, these cocoons produce more silk than the others, because the worm is considerably lighter. They are to be distin-

guished by the noise the petrified worm makes when you shake the cocoon. In Piedmont, they sell for half as much again as the others. It is very rare to see a parcel of twenty-five pounds of them at a time: sixty-three pounds of these cocoons have produced one pound one ounce of fine silk, of five to six cocoons.

8. The good choquette consists in those cocoons whose worm dies, before he has brought it to its perfection. They are known by the worms sticking to one side of the cocoon, which is easily to be perceived, when, on shaking it, you do not hear the chrysalis rattle. These cocoons are of as fine silk as the others, but they are to be wound separately, because they are subject to furze out, and the silk has not so bright a colour, neither is it so strong and nervous.

9. The bad choquette is composed of defective cocoons, spotted or rotten. They wind many of these cocoons together. It makes a very foul bad qualified silk, of a blackish colour.

11. To know whether a cocoon be good, or not, you must observe if it be firm and sound, or not, if it has a fine grain, and if the two ends are round and strong. The cocoons of a bright yellow yield more silk than the others, because they contain a greater quantity of gum; but the advantage accrues to the winder only, because all this gum is lost in the dyeing. For which reason, as well as for certain colours they take better, the pale silks are preferred, because, having less gum, they lose less in boiling.

In the number of cocoons that are bought, there ought to be neither soufflons, nor perforated cocoons; because the seller is obliged to keep them apart, and to sell them as such; notwithstanding which, you may always reckon on half profit of these sort that remain with the others, and if to these you add the dupions and choquette, you may calculate them at ten per cent.

The cocoons of the mountains are better than those of the plain; there is a greater quantity of white amongst them. It is true they are not so large as those of the plain, but the worm, at the same time, is proportionably less. The reason of which is, that the air of the mountains being sharp-

er, the worm labours with greater vigour. They succeed, likewise, better in the dry plains than in the damp and marshy parts, because the leaf is more nourishing. Five or six days after the cocoon has been detached from the branches, it is your business to prevent the birth of the worm, which would, otherwise, pierce through the shell, and thereby render the cocoon useless. To prevent which, you must put your cocoons in long shallow baskets, and fill them up within an inch of the top. You then cover them with paper and a wrapper over that. These baskets are to be disposed in an oven, whose heat is as near as can be to that of an oven from which the bread is just drawn after being baked. After your cocoons have remained therein nearly an hour, you must draw them out, and to see whether all the worms are dead, draw out a dupion from the middle of your basket, and open it; if the worm be dead, you may conclude all the rest are so; because the texture of the dupion being stronger than that of the other cocoons, it is consequently less easy to be penetrated by the heat. You must observe to take it from the middle of the basket, because in that part the heat is least perceptible; after you have drawn your baskets from the oven, you must first cover each of them with a woollen blanket or rug, leaving the wrapper besides, and then you pile them one on the other. If your baking has succeeded, your woollen cover will be all over wet with a kind of dew, the thickness of your little finger. If there be less, it is a sign your cocoons have been too much or too little baked. If too much baked, the worm, being overdried, cannot transpire a humour he no longer contains, and your cocoon is then burnt. If not enough baked, the worm has not been sufficiently penetrated by the heat to distil the liquor he contains, and in that case is not dead.

You must let your baskets stand thus covered five or six hours, if possible, in order to keep in the heat, as this makes an end of stifling those worms, which might have avoided the first impression of the fire.

You are likewise to take great care to let your cocoons stand in the oven the time that is necessary; for if they

do not stand long enough, your worm is only stunned for a time, and will afterwards be revived. If, on the other hand, you leave them too long in the oven, you burn them. Many instances of these two cases are frequently to be met with.

It is a good sign when you see some of the butterflies spring out from among the cocoons which have been baked, because you may be certain they are not burnt. For if you would kill them all to the last worm, you would burn many cocoons which might be more exposed to the heat than that particular worm.

III. When you put your cocoons into the oven, you must be very careful in picking out all the spotted ones, otherwise they communicate their spots by the great perspiration occasioned in them by the heat. If you have a parcel of strong and another of weak cocoons, and you can only wind a part of them fresh (i. e. without baking) give the preference to the weak cocoons, and bake your strong ones, because the latter, containing more gum, support the baking much better, and suffer less than the weak ones.

As fast as the cocoons you buy, are brought in, put them in baskets, and expose them to the sun, if it shines, in case your oven be full, in order at least to stun the worm, and prevent his working, to pierce his cocoon, during that time.

It is very proper, likewise, that they be a little in the air before you put them into the oven; because the peasants bring them in baskets heaped one on the other, which heats them and renders them extremely soft, but the air brings them to their proper tone again.

Sometimes the peasants sell you the cocoons ready baked when they have been obliged to keep them sometime. It is easy to know them, because the worms when baked, being dry, make a louder noise on rattling them, than when they are fresh.

When your cocoons are fully baked, and have stood long enough, you must spread them half a foot thick, on broad ozier shelves, which are distributed into as many stories as the height of the room will admit of, two or three feet distant one from the other; taking care to turn them

every day, and to change their places ; many inconveniences would arise from neglect of this. They would become mouldy, and the moths would eat them. Besides this, it is absolutely necessary, in order to separate the spotted cocoons, or the bad choquette, which would spread to all the cocoons that are near them, and must be wound immediately, to prevent their damaging any further.

The building, where you spread your cocoons, is called the coconiere, and consists of one or more large rooms, in which are distributed as many ranges as you can conveniently place, taking care that the supporters touch neither the roof nor the wall, because, if there were any rats in the coconiere, they would come down the poles, and destroy the cocoons, they being very greedy of the worm contained in them.

A middling cocoon has about thirteen lines in its greater diameter, by eight lines the lesser diameter ; some are larger ; some are smaller ; but this is the general size. The dupion has generally fifteen lines great diameter, by nine lesser diameter.

The cocoon is composed of several strata or surfaces applied one on the other ; notwithstanding which, they all communicate, otherwise it would be impossible to wind them off. It is an easy matter to take off one or more of these surfaces, the uppermost of which is coarser, less gummed, and higher coloured than the undermost. Finally, these surfaces are composed of a fine sort of saliva, whose texture has a tolerable resemblance to the thin skin you find joined to the inside of a hen's egg.

The cocoons produce a thread of a very unequal length ; you may meet some that yield twelve hundred ells, whilst others will scarcely afford two hundred ells. In general, you may calculate the production of a cocoon, from five hundred to six hundred ells in length.

IV. The worm or chrysalis, as he is enclosed in his cocoon, is shrunk up into himself, so that he is but half as long in his primitive state, but is, on the contrary, as thick again.

He is of a cinnamon colour, and full of liquor, rather clear, which forms the semen in the males, and the eggs in the females. Though he seems

to be insensible in that state, yet you may perceive he is not wholly so, for on piercing him with a pin slightly, you will see him move, and we make use of these experiments to see if they have been killed in the oven.

The worm dries the older it grows, so that the same quantity, or the same number of cocoons decreases daily in weight. The cocoons which enclose the male butterfly, have more silk at the extremities, than those which contain the females ; but it is very difficult to perceive this difference ; the most skilful connoisseurs will mistake at least twenty in a hundred.

When the worm wants to break his way through, he pierces the cocoon, first wetting it a little in order to gnaw it the more easily ; he has then only to strip off his upper coat, under which he has another, quite white, with wings.

When he comes out, his wings, which at first appear very small, open and display themselves by little and little, and are entirely at liberty in an hour or two. As soon as born, he seeks a female, and one would say he is born again merely to propagate his species, for he expires a very little time after having performed his function. [To be continued.]



Address of the legislature of Virginia, to congress, to call a convention for the purpose of considering the amendments proposed to the new constitution.

THE good people of this commonwealth in convention assembled, having ratified the constitution submitted to their consideration, this legislature has, in conformity to that act, and the resolutions of the united states in congress assembled, to them transmitted, thought proper to make the arrangements that were necessary, for carrying it into effect—having thus shewn themselves obedient to the voice of their constituents, all America will find, that, so far as it depended on them, that plan of government will be carried into immediate operation. But the sense of the people of Virginia would be but in part complied with, and but little regarded, if we went no farther. In the very moment of adoption, and coeval with the ratification of the new plan of go-

vernment, the general voice of the convention of this state, pointed to objects, no less interesting to the people we represent, and equally entitled to our attention. At the same time, that from motives of affection to our sister states, the convention yielded their assent to the ratification, they gave the most unequivocal proofs, that they dreaded its operation under the present form. In acceding to the government under this impression, painful must have been the prospect, had they not derived consolation from a full expectation of its imperfections being speedily amended. In this resource therefore they placed their confidence—a confidence, that will continue to support them, whilst they have reason to believe, they have not calculated upon it in vain. In making known to you, the objections of the people of this commonwealth, to the new plan of government, we deem it unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of its defects, which they consider as involving all the great and unalienable rights of freemen: for their sense on this subject, we refer you to the proceedings of the late convention, and the sense of the house of delegates, as expressed in their resolutions of the 30th of October, 1788. We think proper, however, to declare, that, in our opinion, as those objections were not founded in speculative theory, but deduced from principles, which have been established, by the melancholy example of other nations in different ages—So they will never be removed, until the cause itself shall cease to exist. The sooner, therefore, the public apprehensions are quieted, and the government is possessed of the confidence of the people, the more salutary will be its operations, and the longer its duration. The cause of amendments we consider as a common cause, and since concessions have been made from political motives, which we conceive may endanger the republic, we trust, that a commendable zeal will be shewn for obtaining those provisions, which experience has taught us, are necessary to secure from danger, the unalienable rights of human nature. The anxiety with which our countrymen press for the accomplishment of this important end, will ill admit of de-

lay. The slow forms of congressional discussion and recommendation, if indeed they should ever agree to any change, would, we fear, be less certain of success. Happily for their wishes, the constitution hath presented an alternative, by admitting the submission to a convention of the states. To this, therefore, we resort, as the source from whence they are to derive relief from their present apprehensions. We do, therefore, in behalf of our constituents, in the most earnest and solemn manner, make this application to congress, that a convention be immediately called, of deputies from the several states, with full power to take into consideration the defects of this constitution that have been suggested by the state conventions, and report such amendments thereto, as they shall find best suited to promote our common interests, and secure to ourselves, and our latest posterity, the great and unalienable rights of mankind.

Signed by order and on behalf of the general assembly,

John Jones, S. S.

Thomas Mathews, S. H. D.

Nov. 20, 1788.



Circular letter from the legislature of Virginia, addressed to the legislatures of the other states.—Dated Nov. 20, 1788.

THE freemen of this commonwealth in convention assembled, having at the same time that they ratified the federal constitution, expressed a desire that many parts which they considered as exceptionable, should be amended, the general assembly, as well from a sense of their duty, as a conviction of its defects, have thought proper to take the earliest measures in their power, for the accomplishment of this important object. They have accordingly agreed upon an application to be presented to the congress, so soon as it shall be assembled, requesting that honourable body to call a convention of deputies from the several states, to take the same into their consideration, and report such amendments, as they shall find best calculated to answer the purpose. As we conceive that all the good people of the united states, are equally interest-

d in obtaining those amendments, that have been proposed, we trust that there will be an harmony in their sentiments and measures, upon this every interesting subject. We herewith transmit to you a copy of this application, and take the liberty to abjoin our earnest wishes that it may have your concurrence.

Signed by order and on behalf of the general assembly,

John Jones, S. S.

Thomas Mathews, S. H. D.



Resolution of the assembly of Pennsylvania, respecting the preceding circular letter.

RESOLVED, that his excellency the president be requested to assure his excellency governor Randolph, that, accustomed to sentiments of the highest respect and deference for the legislature of Virginia, it must never be painful to the house, when obliged to dissent from the opinion of that assembly, upon any point of common concern to the two states, as members of the union; and particularly in a measure of such importance as the one now proposed, the calling of a convention of the states for amending the federal constitution—the necessity of which they are not able to discern, though it is so apparent to, and so earnestly insisted on by, that legislature.

That though it is possible this constitution may not be a system exempt, in all its parts, from errors, yet the house do not perceive it wanting in any of those fundamental principles, which are calculated to insure the liberties of their country.

As it is, they conceive the happiness of America and the harmony of the union, to depend altogether on suffering it to proceed, undisturbed in its operations by premature alterations, or amendments, which, however plausible they may be in theory, or necessary perhaps to the idea of a perfect form of government, experience alone can demonstrate whether they could be real improvements or not.

That under such forcible impressions, the house cannot, consistently with the special duty they owe to the good people of this state, or with the affection which in the enlarged spi-

rit of patriotism, they bear to the citizens of the united states at large, concur with the legislature of Virginia in their proposed application to congress for calling a convention of the states, for the above-mentioned purposes.

Philadelphia, March 3, 1789.



From the Federal Gazette.

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New York, Virginia, South and North Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland: by the rev. dr. Collin, D. D. and M. A. P. S.—P. 185

NUMBER III.

THE federal power of raising a revenue, is an object of general but various criticism. The minority of Pennsylvania propose, that “no taxes, except imposts, and duties upon goods imported and exported, and postage on letters, shall be levied by the authority of congress,” *addr. 9.* Whether they mean to grant duties on exportation, prohibited in the constitution, is not clear. Whatever may be the extent and merit of this amendment, I shall pass by it, as differing from all the rest.

The convention of New York insists, that “no capitation tax shall ever be laid by the congress,” *am. 15.* The minority of Maryland means the same by the word poll-tax, *am. 9;* and that of Pennsylvania tacitly condemns it among so many others. Capitation taxes are not indeed very eligible: when the degrees of opulence among a people are numerous and very unequal, they cannot be proportional and productive, without a troublesome, and in some measure arbitrary, assessment. They may, however, be occasionally used in America, because the great body of the people are in easy circumstances, and few, comparatively, rich or poor; consequently, a general small capitation tax, of a dollar per annum, would not incommode even day labourers, yet amount to a considerable sum. It must also be remarked, that as the people at large have the important right of directly choosing the federal house of representatives, in which all money-bills must originate, it would be ungenerous to complain of a little

disproportion in a general personal tax : if a person in that case pays the same as his rich neighbour, he has also an equal vote with him ; and this very tax forms a part of that federal revenue, by which not only property but liberty is protected.

The minority of Maryland request, that "all imposts and duties laid by congress shall be placed to the credit of the state in which the same may be collected, and shall be deducted out of such state's quota of the common or general expenses of government," am.

13. The meaning, though not clearly expressed, is, that all the expenses of the federal government should be apportioned among the states according to the census and number of representatives ; and that all imposts and duties, by virtue of a general and uniform law of congress, collected in any state, shall be deducted out of such state's quota.

Virginia and North Carolina demand, that excises, like direct taxes, may be apportioned among the states "according to the census, nor collected by congress in such state as will pay its quota," am. 3.

The amendment of the above minority differs considerably from the two just mentioned ; and all three are unsupported by any of the other conventions. I shall therefore leave them without a direct reply, as their impropriety will appear when we come to examine the system of federal revenue, adopted by the constitution. For the same reason, I barely take notice of the second amendment, proposed by the convention of New York, that "the congress do not impose any excise on any article, except ardent spirits, of the growth, production, or manufacture of the united states, or any of them."

The general request of amendments, when cleared of contradictory parts, is, that congress may not have recourse to direct taxes, but when the other sources of revenue are insufficient ; nor then lay and levy any such, if the several states will in a reasonable time pay their quotas of the general requisition made according to the determined census. Their sense of the matter is thus respectively expressed ; that "congress do not lay direct taxes, but when the monies a-

rising from the impost and excise are insufficient for the public exigencies ; nor then, until congress shall have first made a requisition upon the states, to assess, levy, and pay their respective proportions of such requisition, agreeably to the census fixed in the said constitution, in such manner, as the legislatures of the states shall think best ; and in such case, if any state shall neglect or refuse to pay its proportion, pursuant to such requisition, then congress may assess and levy such state's proportion, together with interest thereon, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, from the time of payment prescribed by such requisition," Massachusetts 4th am. New York 3d ; New Hampshire 4th, with the variation—impost, excise, and their other resources ; South Carolina 3d. in words nearly the same, with duties, imposts, and excise. "When congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they shall immediately inform the executive power of each state, of the quota of such state, according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised ; and if the legislature of any state shall pass a law, which shall be effectual for raising such quota, at the time required by congress, the taxes and excises laid by congress shall not be collected in such state"—Virginia and North Carolina 3d. "That in every law of congress imposing direct taxes, the collection thereof shall be suspended for a certain reasonable time, therein limited : and on payment of the sum by any state, by the time appointed, such taxes shall not be collected"—min. of Maryland, 3d. am.

It is then agreed, that congress may in some cases levy direct taxes, but not until a state neglects or refuses to pay its quota of the requisition. But why will any state neglect or refuse ? Is it because the legislature disapproves of it ? or because it cannot make the people comply with it ? while the government of a state is popular, its rejecting a federal requisition, or neglecting to collect a tax laid in consequence of it, is a tacit but significant hint to the people not to pay ; nay, I may almost say it is an express request, considering how well the opinions of a legislature are generally known by the public prints, and the free

mingled conversation of all ranks in a republic. Can we suppose that after this, the assessors and collectors of congress will dare to shew their faces without being supported by a strong military force! If the legislature approves of a requisition from congress, it cannot well be odious to a majority of the people, considering what harmony of sentiment there must generally be between the represented and the representatives. Therefore a tax necessary and reasonable may certainly be enforced by the authority of the state government; if it is not done, such neglect must proceed from a wish of throwing the odium of the discontented on the congress. Let every friend to the union reflect, if the events in either case are favourable to federal sentiments!

The non-compliance with requisitions was an essential defect of the old constitution; and to mutilate the new government by them, is certainly very imprudent. They should, therefore, be left to the discretion of the united states in congress assembled, to be made use of or not, according to times and circumstances. As the stability and ease of government depend much on custom and habit, I think that the people should in all federal concerns be directly governed by federal laws; an unusual, though moderate exercise of legal authority, has often produced civil tumults.

The promises of interest of six per cent. on quotas of requisition not paid, and this from the time of payment prescribed by congress, held out by the conventions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and South Carolina, are indeed very generous; but I sincerely wish that the defence of the union may never depend on them; generally a bad debtor pays neither an accumulated interest nor the principal.



NUMBER IV.

LET us now consider the restriction, that congress may not lay any direct taxes, until the other means of raising money are insufficient. The impost is generally regarded as a plentiful source of revenue; it must not, however, be estimated from the late inundation of European superfluities, but from the natural correspondence

of imports to exports; it will also, in a great measure, decrease with the desirable increase of home manufactures. This resource must, like all others, be used with some discretion.

First. The opportunity of smuggling is very great in America, from the vast extent of her coast, the length of so many bays and rivers, and the number of creeks and inlets which every where wind, for many miles, into the country; to guard all these avenues, against a host of bold and artful smugglers, would require the expense of a small navy. Very high imposts will certainly be powerful temptations to fraud, when local situation promises impunity; and nothing but the severest penalties could check the flattering hopes of making a fortune in such a speedy and easy manner. Numbers would be ruined every year; and smuggling, like many other dangerous trades, would still be very general. In Great Britain, bloody rencontres happen every week, between the officers of government and parties of smugglers; and cruel punishments are frequent: those scenes, so painful to humanity, would be seen in America, though every navigable water swarmed with armed vessels.

Secondly. An immoderate impost on several articles, which are in themselves good, and have become general luxuries, would not be agreeable to the nation—as tea, sugar, coffee, chocolate. It is only playing with words, to say that such duties cannot be too high, because they may be evaded; it is very hard either to lose a favourite enjoyment, or to purchase it by the money I want for other very useful things. Should congress raise a pound of common tea to forty shillings, they would injure many of their fair countrywomen; and I doubt not but many of them would prefer a tax on a darling luxury.

Thirdly. Too high an impost on articles which are necessary ingredients in American manufactures, would prejudice these, *f. e.* paints, steel springs, furniture of cabinet works, various tools of mechanics and artists. In some cases a valuable native commodity is highly ornamented by foreign articles of moderate price; excessive duties on these would then be

prejudicial, *f. e.* the lining, glass, &c. of carriages.

Fourthly. Imported goods of real value, which cannot at all, or with no advantage be produced in America, and which do not draw the necessary money from the channels of domestic industry, are not objects of a high duty, *f. e.* books in foreign languages, and several kinds of the finer manufactures.

The excise is another branch of the federal revenue: let us enquire how far this may be used. Excise, properly speaking, is a duty laid on commodities of home-produce and general home-consumption, which are not absolutely necessities of life. It is very convenient to the consumer, as he pays in piece-meal, and when he can best afford the expense; it may also be lessened by reducing the total consumption: if the excise on whisky, *f. e.* is high, a person may buy a quart at a time, and save so many gallons in the year. But with all these advantages, the excise will probably not be so generally and in the same degree practicable in America, as it is in European countries. First. It must be laid with a gentle hand on the materials of the most important domestic manufactures, or on commodities, which, by affecting them and workmen in other respects, may considerably raise their price. Secondly. Some eatables and drinkables, which, at least as to quantity, may be called luxuries, are yet generally regarded as necessities, and consequently are less proper objects of a productive excise, as beer, cyder, and butchers' meat. Thirdly. As the great body of the people live in the country, there is but little buying and selling of provisions, in comparison with manufacturing and mercantile countries, full of cities, towns, and villages; therefore the excise cannot profit by the vast home-produce and home-consumption of private families. Fourthly. It is doubtful how far the independent spirit of the Americans will, even in necessary cases, brook the troublesome and sometimes vexatious visits of excise-officers: at least, this circumstance will prevent any considerable excise within private families: besides, such modes of taxation would

make the requisite number of collectors very expensive.

The excise upon the materials and manufacture of home-made fermented and spiritous liquors, amounted in Great Britain for the year which ended on the 5th of July, 1775, to the amazing sum of three millions three hundred and forty-one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven pounds nine shillings and nine-pence, sterling: though it does not extend to beer brewed and liquors distilled in private families*. Of this the tax on cyder produced only three thousand and eighty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence†. In the united states, a sum proportional to the number of people could by no means be raised by this kind of excise. Beer is not yet of very general use, and wants encouragement: when it becomes a national drink, a great deal will probably be brewed in private country-families, as in the northern countries of Europe. The making of cyder will be altogether domestic, and by far the greater part consumed by the country people. The excise on ardent spirits will indeed be very beneficial, but not so productive as the convention of New York seem to think, by their wish to grant congress this alone; because an high duty will hopefully render the use of this pernicious luxury very moderate; and because the number and convenience of private stills will in a great measure elude the vigilance of the most active excisemen.

I observe again, how little the conventions agree about the extent of a federal excise. Virginia and North Carolina dislike it as much as direct taxes, *am. 3.* The minority of Maryland deem it worse, and call it an odious tax, in the conclusion of their address.

As for other duties, which do not come under the description of impost or excise, congress must also lay them with a discreet regard to a variety of circumstances. A duty on newspapers may hinder the general circulation of useful knowledge, and neces-

NOTES.

* Smith on the wealth of nations, vol. III. p. 361.

† 38. 365.

fary political information. Duties on domestic articles of convenience and elegance, which at present are but in little demand, cannot be considerable without lessening still more the custom and profit of the respective mechanics, *f. e.* cabinet-makers, upholsterers, painters, silversmiths, &c. The various taxes on trinkets, ornaments, and amusements, which in most parts of Europe yield a great deal, will not in America do so, because of different manners, and less inequality of wealth.

It must then be pretty evident, that the federal revenue from impost, excise and other duties, may in many cases be very limited by necessary circumstances and prudential considerations; and consequently, it is very improper to force the congress into an immoderate pernicious use of these means, when direct taxes are more eligible: the convention of New Hampshire expressly forbids these, until all other resources are insufficient: that of Massachusetts and New York only mention the impost and excise; but then the last would only allow the excise on distilled liquors.

I shall not enter into a detail of direct taxes, to discuss when or how they may be used; but only endeavour to remove an ill-founded aversion against them by these observations—Their being collected with certainty, ease and less expense, is a great advantage: in cases when they cannot be exactly proportioned to the revenue of individuals, this inequality will be less felt in America: they will be apportioned among the states in fixed quotas according to the census mentioned in the constitution.

The general property of these taxes, that they cannot be evaded, is perhaps what most displeases individuals. But if we must pay taxes in one shape or another, and all upon the whole pay nearly their proportional part of the public expense, this reason is in a great measure visionary. It must also be remarked that some kinds of direct taxes are inevitable only in certain civil transactions, consequently only temporary, and then in many cases proportionable to the value of the deeds.

NUMBER V.

IT remains to prove, that a discretionary power to make use of direct taxation, will enable congress to

do justice to the respective states, by dividing the total federal expense among them in the most equitable manner that is practicable. The new federal government is in some degree national, and its energy depends on this very quality, as I observed in the second number. Accordingly the federal revenue is partly raised from individuals, and partly from the states. What is collected in the first way, goes into the federal treasury without any enquiry how much was gathered in this or that state. What is obtained in the second mode by direct taxes, whether by requisition or otherwise, is placed to the credit of the respective states; so that if any state pays more or less than its quota, determined by the number of representatives, it draws back the surplus, or makes up the deficiency. The great object of the union, which nearly concerns every individual, is defence against foreign and internal enemies. On this depend greatly all the enjoyments of domestic and civil life. Perpetual peace, or protection in case of an inevitable war, is merely with regard to property, an eminent blessing, which every wise man would gladly purchase by six per cent. of all his yearly revenue. In this view, every federal citizen will cheerfully, by a direct personal contribution, support that federal government by which alone he can be protected. The various modes of impost, excise, and other duties, will also, if well contrived, affect individuals in a pretty equitable proportion. Those who buy foreign articles of luxury, on which the impost is high, are comparatively rich. They pay also a sort of fine for sending their money abroad, when they might benefit their fellow-citizens by a domestic expenditure. Great consumers of domestic luxuries are also more wealthy than others who must be contented with necessaries: if those commodities are noxious by excess, as spiritous liquors, or otherwise less useful to the community, the higher excise operates likewise as a satisfaction for what in some degree is wrong. The same reasoning is applicable to other duties.

By these means, the wealthier part of the federal citizens throughout the continent pay more than an equal

number of others; and so far as any state has a proportionably greater number of those, it contributes more than a less wealthy sister state. This is also reasonable, because the defence of the confederacy depends not only on property, but on the number of fighting men, which may be equal in less opulent states; and because these have less property to defend.

But on the other hand, it may also be equitable, that the states should pay a part of the federal revenue by quotas proportioned to the number of people; a standard preferable to extent of territory, or any other valuation of property. First, the wealth of a state cannot, without some limitation and exception, be estimated by its quota of the impost, excise, and other duties. The united states are all agricultural: some are also in a higher degree commercial and manufacturing; and these consume articles that pay duties much beyond their proportion of real wealth. Compare a tradesman in Philadelphia with a farmer in some remote county, who upon the whole makes an equal annual expense. The one buys almost every thing, the other very little. As to foreign goods, the citizen really wants several things for his trade: he makes more use of those articles of dress, which, at least at present, must be imported, because the general ideas of decency forbid a reputable person to appear in a croud with a ragged coat or in too light a dishabille: he sups and breakfasts on tea, coffee, or chocolate, partly because mush and milk, &c. would cost nearly as much, and partly from custom, which, though perhaps blameable, yet cannot soon be laid aside, and certainly is not an object of an immoderate impost, that would be a real penalty. If an excise is laid on beer, cyder, meat, and other native commodities, it falls much heavier on the citizen, than on the farmer; who, tho' he may pay a part of it on what he sells, by the consequential fall of the price, yet pays nothing for the great consumption of his family. Drawing this comparison on the great scale of cities and counties, we see clearly that a state of landed wealth contributes below its proportion in the impost, excise, and some other duties.

Secondly. As by the constitution,

all duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform through the united states, and as commodities but little used in one state may be of general use in another, this condition, though very equitable, will yet limit this resource of congress, by obliging them to select such duties, imposts, and excises, as jointly may produce the most equitable contribution. If these are not sufficient, it is much better to employ direct taxes, than by straining the others, to lay the burden very unequal. Without going into a detail, this reasoning seems well founded on the known difference of the states in climate, productions and manners.

A perfect system of taxation is a work of the greatest difficulty in any country, because an hundred different things are so interwoven, as to act and re-act upon each other in all directions, and with degrees of force that elude all nice calculation. This difficulty is increased in the federal system, partly from its double action on individuals, and on the states; and partly from the novel and unsettled finance of the united states. But this system is formed on great and reciprocal concessions between the sister states for the common welfare, and it grants the congress this great variety of resources, in order to choose those which are most equitable and beneficial. By a proper management, the resources of an extensive and fertile country, are amply sufficient to all the exigencies of the union and of the states. The same persons who, as members of congress, lay federal taxes, have, as individuals and citizens of the respective states, great and permanent interests to guard. It is therefore an excellent quality in the federal system of revenue, that it can be lightened or loosened, so as to embrace every part, and not press hard upon any one. At the same time, this very quality requires a disinterestedness, equity, mildness and generosity, from all the parties concerned, without which it would be a source of constant embarrassment. May then the federal people be good and wise! If by an effectual, yet easy revenue, national independence, liberty, and property can be secured, how unreasonable must it be, to dispute about paying a trifle more or less.

Philadelphia, Nov. 4, 1788.

An act of the state of Franklin, for support of the civil list.

WHEREAS the collecting of taxes in specie, for the want of a circulating medium, has become very oppressive to the good people of this commonwealth. And whereas, it is the duty of the legislature to hear at all times the prayers of their constituents, and apply as speedy a remedy as lies in their power. Be it enacted by the general assembly of the state of Franklin, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that from the first day of January, anno Domini 1789, the salaries of the civil officers of this commonwealth be as follow, to wit :

His excellency the governor, per ann. one thousand deer skins. His honour the chief justice, five hundred ditto ditto. The attorney general five hundred ditto ditto. Secretary to his excellency the governor, five hundred racoon ditto. The treasurer of the state, four hundred and fifty otter ditto. Each county clerk, three hundred beaver ditto. Clerk of the house of commons, two hundred racoon ditto. Members of assembly per diem, three ditto ditto. Justice's fee for signing a warrant, one muskrat ditto. To the constable for serving a warrant, one mink ditto. Enacted into a law, this 15th day of October, 1788, under the great seal of the state, witness his excellency John Sevier, governor, captain-general, commander in chief and admiral, in and over said state. Attest E. TRIPLET, C. H. A.

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An act of the commonwealth of Virginia to prevent the importation of convicts. Passed the 13th of November, 1788.

WHEREAS it hath been presented to this general assembly, by the united states in congress, that a practice has prevailed for some time past, of importing felons convict into this state, under various pretences, which said felons convict, so imported, have been sold and dispersed among the people of this state, whereby much injury hath been done to the morals as well as the health of our fellow-citizens : For remedy whereof, be it enacted. That from and after the first day of January next, no captain or master of any vessel, or any other person, com-

ing into this commonwealth, by land or water, shall import or bring with him any person who shall have been a felon convict, or under sentence of death, or any other legal disability incurred by a criminal prosecution, or who shall be delivered to him from any prison or place of confinement, in any place out of the united states.

And be it further enacted, That every captain or master of a vessel, or any other person, who shall presume to import, or bring into this commonwealth, by land or by water, or shall sell or offer for sale, any such person as above described, shall suffer three months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, and forfeit and pay for every such person so brought and imported, or sold or offered for sale, the penalty of fifty pounds current money of Virginia, one-half to the commonwealth, and the other half to the person who shall give information thereof; which said penalty shall be recovered by action of debt, or information, in any court of record, in which the defendant shall be ruled to give special bail.

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An act of the commonwealth of Virginia for the punishment of the crime of bigamy. Passed the 18th of December, 1788.

WHEREAS it hath been doubted, whether bigamy or polygamy be punishable by the laws of this commonwealth: Be it enacted by the general assembly, that if any person or persons, within this commonwealth, being married, or who shall hereafter marry, do at any time after the first day of February, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, marry any person or persons, the former husband or wife being alive, that then every such offence shall be felony, and the person or persons so offending, shall suffer death as in cases of felony: and the party or parties so offending, shall receive such and like proceeding, trial, and execution, within this commonwealth, as if the offence had been committed in the county where such person or persons shall be taken or apprehended. Provided, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any person or

persons whose husband or wife shall be continually remaining beyond the seas by the space of seven years together, or whose husband or wife shall absent him or herself, the one from the other, by the space of seven years together, in any part of the united states of America or elsewhere, the one of them not knowing the other to be living within that time. Provided, also, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any person or persons, that are, or shall be, at the time of such marriage, divorced by lawful authority; or to any person or persons, where the former marriage hath been or hereafter shall be by lawful authority, declared to be void, and of no effect; nor to any person or persons, for or by reason of any marriage had or made, or hereafter to be had or made, within age of consent: provided, also, that no attainder for the offence made felony by this act, shall make or work any corruption of blood, or forfeiture of estate whatsoever.

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An act of the legislature of New-York, to prevent the odious practice of digging up, and removing, for the purpose of dissection, dead bodies interred in cemeteries or burial places. Passed the 6th of January 1789.

WHEREAS the digging up dead bodies, interred in cemeteries and burial places within this state, and removing them for the purpose of dissection, has occasioned great discontent to many of the inhabitants of this state, and in some instances, disturbed the public peace and tranquility: to prevent such odious practices in future,

Be it enacted by the people of the state of New-York, represented in senate and assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That any person, who shall at any time hereafter, for the purpose of dissection, or with intent to dissect, dig up, remove, or carry away, or be aiding and assisting in digging up, removing, or carrying away, any dead human body, which shall have been interred in any cemetery or burial place within this state; or shall dissect, or aid, or abet or assist in dissecting such human body, and shall be convicted of any of the said offences in the supreme

court, or in any court of oyer and terminer, jail delivery, or court of general sessions of the peace, shall be adjudged to stand in the pillory, or suffer other corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, and shall also pay such fine, and suffer such imprisonment, as the court, before whom such conviction was held, shall in their discretion think proper to direct. And in order that science may not in this respect be injured by preventing the dissection of proper subjects,

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices of the supreme court or any court of oyer and terminer, or jail delivery, in this state, from time to time, when any offender shall be convicted before them, or either of them, of murder, arson, or burglary, for which he or she shall be sentenced to suffer death, may, at their discretion, add to the judgment, that the body of such offender shall be delivered to a surgeon for dissection, and the sheriff, who is to cause such sentence to be executed, shall accordingly deliver the body of such offender, after execution done, to such surgeon as such court shall direct, for the purpose aforesaid; provided always, that such surgeon, or some other person by him appointed for the purpose, shall attend to receive and take away the dead body at the time of the execution of such offender.

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Description of the new city of Athens.

THIS city is intended to be laid out at the confluence of those two majestic rivers, the Mississippi and Missouri, between the 38th and 39th degree of north latitude, on perhaps the most desirable spot in the known world. Scarcely any place, indeed, can boast such numerous favours conferred on it by the liberal hand of nature—a climate equal to that of Montpelier itself—a soil where almost every thing grows spontaneously, and in its fertility, the curse inflicted on Adam, “thou shalt eat thy bread with the sweat of thy brow,” is almost forgotten. On the one hand comes down with swelling pride, the crystal current of the Mississippi, bearing in its bounteous bosom, an infinite variety of the finny race, in the greatest abundance, to please the pampered palate of the epicure, or supply the

frugal table of the industrious citizen. On the other, the rapid torrent of the Missouri rolls along with course impetuous, lashing its flowery margin with its surge, and bearing on its foaming surface vast quantities of the most excellent peltry, furs of all kinds superior to any that Russia ever furnished, which will one day bring more wealth into the coffers of the merchant, than the mines of Peru or Mexico to the Spanish monarch. The face of the country is covered with the most useful kinds of trees, herbs, plants, and vegetables; corn, wine and oil are on its hills, and milk and honey in its valleys.

On a rising ground, about a mile to the northwest of the city, out of the middle of a beautiful grove of cyprus, issues a spring, whose water produces, when evaporated, an immensity of salt, equal in quality to any ever made. Fresh water in abundance, from an adjoining eminence can be conveyed into the city; stone coal and other fuel is as easily attainable; mines of lead, iron, and copper, and quarries of excellent free stone and marble are to be met in the course of ten miles on the western bank of the Missouri, and can be conveyed in one hour to the heart of the city.

The point of land, extending beyond the regular plan of the town, towards the river, is superlatively beautiful; courts the fostering hand of improvement, and promises to excel, in elegance and taste, the boasted gardens of the great Semiramis. At the very point will be erected a building denominated Fort Solon, after the great Athenian lawgiver; not for the defence of Athens (its rivers, and the harmony subsisting between his most catholic majesty and the surrounding tribes of friendly Indians being a sufficient bulwark) but for the retirement of the governor from the busy scenes of public employment.

The rapidity of the Missouri appears at the junction, at the point of Fort Solon, to spurn at the gentle current of its sister river, and force it to the opposite bank; the water of the Mississippi is rendered apparently stagnant for a considerable distance above the town, by which means trader boats, of all dimensions, can lie along the wharfs, without any dan-

ger from the current, to be loaded with the varied produce of the western world, ready to be wafted through the free tide of Mississippi's stream to the most distant ports. The luxuries of both the Indies—all that Europe or any other quarter of the globe affords that is desirable, will, through this channel, find their way to Athens. Through the beneficent disposition of the Spanish monarch, every religious sect will there find refuge, protection, and even encouragement; under his auspices, the arts will flourish as in Athens of old; large premiums to every operator in the various branches of mechanics will be given, nor will the useful hand of the husbandman be without its reward, as the farmer will be accommodated with a sufficiency of land at a proper distance.

A certain portion of the city will be adapted for religious and other public uses, and a part reserved for the particular disposal of the governor: the remainder will be given to settlers, a town lot and five acres without the city to every master of a family, and stone, timber, lime, and other building materials furnished at the public expense. The advantage of settling early is in this instance obvious, as the first applicant has his first choice, and though every foot is desirable, yet undoubtedly some must have the pre-eminence.

N. B. It is apprehended that printed proposals will be dispersed through the country early in the spring, and at a time for commencing the operations appointed. The arrival of the governor from Old Spain is all that is now necessary.

Again shall Athens bid her columns rise,

Again her lofty turrets reach the skies,
Science again shall find a safe retreat,
And commerce here as in a centre meet.

Translated from the Spanish by Don Henrico Ignatius Ferdinando Cuspes, secretary.



*Albany plan of union. P. 194.
New election.*

THAT there shall be a new election of the members of the grand council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member,
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his place shall be supplied by a new choice, at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.*

Proportion of members after the first three years.

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two.)†

Meetings of the grand council, and call.

That the grand council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if oc-

NOTES.

* Some colonies have annual assemblies, some continue during a governor's pleasure; three years was thought a reasonable medium, as affording a new member time to improve himself in the business, and to act after such improvement; and yet giving opportunities, frequent enough, to change him, if he has misbehaved.

† By a subsequent article, it is proposed, that the general council shall lay and levy such general duties as to them may appear most equal and least burdensome, &c. Suppose, for instance, they lay a small duty or excise on some commodity imported into or made in the colonies, and pretty generally and equally used in all of them; as rum, perhaps, or wine: the yearly produce of this duty or excise, if fairly collected, would be in some colonies greater, in others less, as the colonies are greater or smaller. When the collectors' accounts are brought in, the proportions will appear; and from them it is proposed to regulate the proportion of representatives to be chosen at the next general election, within the limits, however, of seven and two. These numbers may, therefore, vary in course of years, as the colonies may in the growth and increase of people. And thus the quota of tax from each colony would naturally vary with its circumstances; thereby preventing all disputes and dissatisfactions about the

casion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at, by the president general, on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.‡

Continuance.

That the grand council have power to choose their speaker: and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time; without their own consent, or the special command of the crown.||

NOTES.

just proportions due from each; which might otherwise produce pernicious consequences, and destroy the harmony and good agreement that ought to subsist between the several parts of the union.

‡ It was thought, in establishing and governing new colonies or settlements, regulating Indian trade, Indian treaties, &c. there would every year sufficient business arise to require at least one meeting, and at such meeting many things might be suggested for the benefit of all the colonies. This annual meeting may be either at a time or place certain, to be fixed by the president general and grand council at the first meeting; or left at liberty, to be at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, or be called to meet at by the president general.

In time of war, it seems convenient, that the meetings should be at that colony, which is nearest the seat of action.

The power of calling them on an emergency, seemed necessary to be vested in the president general; but that such power might not be wantonly used to harass the members, and oblige them to make frequent long journeys to little purpose, the consent of seven at least to such call was supposed a convenient guard.

|| The speaker should be presented for approbation; it being convenient to prevent misunderstandings and disputes, that the mouth of the council should be a person agreeable, if possible, both to the council and president general.

Governors have sometimes wan-

Members' allowance.

That the members of the grand council shall be allowed for their services ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.*

Assent of president general, and his duty.

That the assent of the president general be requisite to all acts of the grand council; and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.†

Power of president general and grand council. Treaties of peace and war.

That the president general, with the advice of the grand council, hold or direct all Indian treaties in which the general interest of the colonies may be

NOTES.

only exercised the power of proroguing or continuing the sessions of assemblies, merely to harass the members and compel a compliance; and sometimes dissolve them on slight disquills. This, it was feared, might be done by the president general, if not provided against: and the inconvenience and hardship would be greater in the general government than in particular colonies, in proportion to the distance the members must be from home, during sittings, and the long journeys some of them must necessarily take.

* It was thought proper to allow some wages, lest the expense might deter some suitable persons from the service;—and not to allow too great wages, lest unsuitable persons should be tempted to cabal for the employment, for the sake of gain—Twenty miles were set down as a day's journey, to allow for accidental hindrances on the road, and the greater expenses of travelling, than residing at the place of meeting.

† The assent of the president general to all acts of the grand council was made necessary, in order to give the crown its due share of influence in this government, and connect it with that of Great Britain. The president general, besides one half of the legislative power, hath in his hands the whole executive power.

concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations. ||

Indian trade.

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade. §

Indian purchases.

That they make all purchases from Indians for the crown, of lands 'not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions. ‡

(Remainder in our next.)

NOTES.

|| The power of making peace or war with Indian nations is at present supposed to be in every colony, and is expressly granted to some by charter, so that no new power is hereby intended to be granted to the colonies.—But as, in consequence of this power, one colony might make peace with a nation that another was justly engaged in war with; or make war on slight occasions, without the concurrence or approbation of neighbouring colonies, greatly endangered by it; or make particular treaties of neutrality, in case of a general war, to their own private advantage in trade, by supplying the common enemy; of all which there have been instances—it was thought better to have all treaties of a general nature under a general direction; that so the good of the whole may be consulted and provided for.

§ Many quarrels and wars have arisen between the colonies and Indian nations, through the bad conduct of traders; who cheat the Indians after making them drunk, &c. to the great expense of the colonies, both in blood and treasure. Particular colonies are so interested in the trade as not to be willing to admit such a regulation as might be best for the whole; and therefore it was thought best under a general direction.

‡ Purchases from the Indians made by private persons, have been attended with many inconveniencies. They have frequently interfered, and occasioned uncertainty of titles, many disputes and expensive law-suits, and hindered the settlement of the land so disputed. Then the Indians have been cheated by such private pur-

Address of the twelve united colonies, by their delegates in congress, to the inhabitants of Great-Britain.

Friends, countrymen, and brethren!

BY these, and by every other appellation, that may designate the ties, which bind us to each other, we intreat your serious attention to this our second attempt, to prevent their dissolution. Remembrance of former friendships—pride in the glorious achievements of our common ancestors—and affection for the heirs of their virtues, have hitherto preserved our mutual connexion. But when that friendship is violated by the grossest injuries—when the pride of ancestry becomes our reproach, and we are no otherwise allied than as tyrants and slaves—when reduced to the melancholy alternative of renouncing your favour, or our freedom, can we hesitate about the choice? Let the spirit of Britons determine.

In a former address, we asserted our rights, and stated the injuries we had then received. We hoped, that the mention of our wrongs, would have routed that honest indignation, which has slept too long for your honour, or the welfare of the empire. But we have not been permitted to entertain this pleasing expectation; every day

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chafes, and discontent and wars have been the consequence. These would be prevented by public fair purchases.

Several of the colony charters in America extend their bounds to the South Sea, which may be perhaps three or four thousand miles in length to one or two hundred in breadth. It is supposed they must in time be reduced to dimensions more convenient for the common purposes of government.

Very little of the land in those grants, is yet purchased of the Indians.

It is much cheaper to purchase of them, than to take and maintain the possession by force: for they are generally very reasonable in their demands for land; and the expense of guarding a large frontier against their incursions, is vastly great; because all must be guarded and always guarded, as we know not where or when to expect them.

brought an accumulation of injuries and the invention of the ministry has been constantly exercised, in addition to the calamities of your American brethren.

After the most valuable right of legislation was infringed—when the powers, assumed by your parliament in which we are not represented, and from our local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented rendered our property precarious—after being denied that mode of trial, to which we have so long been indebted for the safety of our persons, and the preservation of our liberties—after being in many instances divested of those laws, which were transmitted to us by our common ancestors, and subjected to an arbitrary code, compiled under the auspices of Roman tyrants—after annulling those charters, which encouraged our predecessors to brave death and danger in every shape, on unknown seas, in deserts unexplored amidst barbarous and inhospitable nations—when, without the form of trial without a public accusation, whole colonies were condemned, their trade destroyed, their inhabitants impoverished—when soldiers were encouraged to imbrue their hands in the blood of Americans, by offers of impunity—when new modes of trial were instituted for the ruin of the accused where the charge carried with it the horrors of conviction—when a despotic government was established in a neighbouring province, and its limits extended to every of our frontiers—we little imagined that anything could be added to this black catalogue of unprovoked injuries; but we have unhappily been deceived and the late measures of the British ministry fully convince us, that their object is the reduction of these colonies to slavery and ruin.

To confirm this assertion, let us recall your attention to the affairs of America, since our last address; let us combat the calumnies of our enemies, and let us warn you of the dangers that threaten you, in our destruction. Many of your fellow-subjects whose situation deprived them of other support, drew their maintenance from the sea; but the deprivation of our liberty being insufficient to satisfy the resentment of our enemies, the

horrors of famine were superadded, and a British parliament, who, in better times, were the protectors of innocence and the patrons of humanity, have, without distinction of age or sex, robbed thousands of the food, which they were accustomed to draw from that inexhaustible source, placed in their neighbourhood by the benevolent Creator.

Another act of your legislature shuts our ports, and prohibits our trade with any but those states, from whom the great law of self-preservation renders it absolutely necessary we should at present withhold our commerce. But this act (whatever may have been its design) we consider rather as injurious to your opulence, than our interest. All our commerce terminates with you; and the wealth we procure from other nations, is soon exchanged for your superfluities. Our remittances must then cease with our trade; and our refinements, with our affluence. We trust, however, that laws, which deprive us of every blessing, but a soil that teems with the necessaries of life, and that liberty which renders the enjoyment of them secure, will not relax our vigour in their defence.

We might here observe on the cruelty and inconsistency of those, who, while they publicly brand us with reproachful and unworthy epithets, endeavour to deprive us of the means of defence, by their interposition with foreign powers, and to deliver us to the lawless ravages of a merciless soldiery. But happily we are not without resources; and though the timid and humiliating applications of a British ministry should prevail with foreign nations, yet industry, prompted by necessity, will not leave us without the necessary supplies.

We could wish to go no further, and, not to wound the ear of humanity, leave untold those rigorous acts of oppression, which are daily exercised in the town of Boston, did we not hope, that by disclaiming their deeds, and punishing the perpetrators, you would shortly vindicate the honour of the British name, and re-establish the violated laws of justice.

That once populous, flourishing and commercial town is now garrisoned by an army sent not to protect, but to enslave its inhabitants. The civil government is overturned, and a mi-

litary despotism erected upon its ruins. Without law, without right, power are assumed unknown to the constitution. Private property is unjustly invaded. The inhabitants, daily subjected to the licentiousness of the soldiery, are forbid to remove, in defiance of their natural rights, in violation of the most solemn compacts. Or if, after long and wearisome solicitation, a pass is procured, their effects are detained, and even those who are most favoured, have no alternative but poverty or slavery. The distress of many thousand people, wantonly deprived of the necessaries of life, is a subject, on which we would not wish to enlarge.

Yet we cannot but observe, that a British fleet (unjustified even by acts of your legislature) are daily employed in ruining our commerce, seizing our ships, and depriving whole communities of their daily bread. Nor will a regard for your honour permit us to be silent, while British troops sully your glory, by actions, which the most inveterate enmity will not palliate among civilized nations, the wanton and unnecessary destruction of Charlestown, a large, ancient, and once populous town, just before deserted by its inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the fury of your soldiery.

If you still retain those sentiments of compassion, by which Britons have ever been distinguished—if the humanity, which tempered the valour of our common ancestors, has not degenerated into cruelty, you will lament the miseries of their descendants.

To what are we to attribute this treatment? If to any secret principle of the constitution, let it be mentioned; let us learn, that the government, we have long revered, is not without its defects, and that while it gives freedom to a part, it necessarily enslaves the remainder of the empire. If such a principle exists, why for ages has it ceased to operate? Why at this time is it called into action? Can no reason be assigned for this conduct? Or must it be resolved into the wanton exercise of arbitrary power? And shall the descendants of Britons tamely submit to this? No, sirs! We never will, while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we ne-

wer can surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our sea-coasts; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment to men, whose bosoms glow with the ardor of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessities of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want; the luxury of being free.

We know the force of your arms; and was it called forth in the cause of justice and your country, we might dread the exertion; but will Britons fight under the banners of tyranny? Will they counteract the labours, and disgrace the victories of their ancestors? Will they forge chains for their posterity? If they descend to this unworthy task, will their swords retain their edge, their arms their accustomed vigour? Britons can never become the instruments of oppression, till they lose the spirit of freedom, by which alone they are invincible.

Our enemies charge us with sedition. In what does it consist? In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty? If so, shew us a period in your history, in which you have not been equally seditious.

We are accused of aiming at independence; but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions.—Abused, insulted, and condemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress? We have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne;—we have applied to your justice for relief; we have retrenched our luxury, and withheld our trade.

The advantages of our commerce were designed as a compensation for your protection: when you ceased to protect, for what were we to compensate?

What has been the success of our endeavours? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension, of your wanting either the will, or the powers, to assist us.

Even under these circumstances,

what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? Have we called in the aid of those foreign powers, who are the rivals of your grandeur? When your troops were few and defenceless, did we take advantage of their distress, and expel them our towns? Or have we permitted them to fortify, to receive new aid, and to acquire additional strength?

Let not your enemies and ours persuade you, that in this we were influenced by fear, or any other unworthy motive. The lives of Britons are still dear to us.—They are the children of our parents; and an uninterrupted intercourse of mutual benefits had knit the bonds of friendship. When hostilities were commenced—when, on a late occasion, we were wantonly attacked by your troops, though we repelled their assaults, and returned their blows, yet we lamented the wounds they obliged us to give; nor have we yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen.

As we wish not to colour our actions, or disguise our thoughts; we shall, in the simple language of truth, avow the measures we have pursued, the motives upon which we have acted, and our future designs.

When our late petition to the throne produced no other effect than fresh injuries, and votes of your legislature, calculated to justify every severity—when your fleets and your armies were prepared to wrest from us our property, to rob us of our liberties or our lives—when the hostile attempts of general Gage evinced his designs—we levied armies for our security and defence. When the powers vested in the governor of Canada, gave us reason to apprehend danger from that quarter—and we had frequent intimations, that a cruel and savage enemy was to be let loose upon the defenceless inhabitants of our frontiers—we took such measures as prudence dictated, as necessity will justify. We possessed ourselves of Crownpoint and Ticonderoga. Yet give us leave, most solemnly to assure you, that we have not lost sight of the object we have ever had in view; a reconciliation with you on constitutional principles; and a restoration of that friendly intercourse, which, to the advantage of both, we till lately maintained.

The inhabitants of this country apply themselves chiefly to agriculture and commerce. As their fashions and manners are similar to yours, your markets must afford them the conveniences and luxuries for which they exchange the produce of their labours. The wealth of this extended continent centres with you; and our trade is so regulated as to be subservient, only to your interest. You are too reasonable to expect that by taxes (in addition to this) we should contribute to your expense: to believe, after diverting the fountain, that the streams can flow with unabated force.

It has been said, that we refuse to submit to the restrictions on our commerce. From whence is this inference drawn? Not from our words, we having repeatedly declared the contrary, and we again profess our submission to the several acts of trade and navigation passed before the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, trusting, nevertheless, in the equity and justice of parliament, that such of them, as, upon cool and impartial consideration, shall appear to have imposed unnecessary or grievous restrictions, will, at some happier period, be repealed or altered. And we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as shall be restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother-country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

It is alleged that we contribute nothing to the common defence: to this we answer, that the advantages which Great Britain receives from the monopoly of our trade, far exceed our proportion of the expense necessary for that purpose. But should these advantages be inadequate thereto, let the restriction of our trade be removed, and we will cheerfully contribute such proportion, when constitutionally required.

It is a fundamental principle of the British constitution, that every man should have at least a representative

share in the formation of those laws by which he is bound. Were it otherwise, the regulation of our internal police, by a British parliament, who are, and ever will be, unacquainted with our local circumstances, must be always inconvenient, and frequently oppressive, working our wrong, without yielding any possible advantage to you.

A plan of accommodation (as it has been absurdly called) has been proposed by your ministers to our respective assemblies. Were this proposal free from every other objection, but that which arises from the time of the offer, it would not be unexceptionable. Can men deliberate with the bayonet at their breasts? Can they treat with freedom, while their towns are sacked—when daily instances of injustice and oppression disturb the slower operations of reason?

If this proposal is really such as you should offer, and we accept, why was it delayed till the nation was put to useless expense, and we were reduced to our present melancholy situation? If it holds forth nothing, why was it proposed? Unless, indeed, to deceive you in a belief that we were unwilling to listen to any terms of accommodation. But what is submitted to our consideration? we contend for the disposal of our property: we are told that our demand is unreasonable, that our assemblies may indeed collect our money, but that they must at the same time offer—not what your exigencies, or ours, may require—but so much as shall be deemed sufficient to satisfy the desires of a minister, and enable him to provide for favourites and dependents. (A recurrence to your own treasury will convince you how little of the money already extorted from us, has been applied to the relief of your burdens). To suppose that we would thus grasp the shadow, and give up the substance, is adding insult to injuries.

We have nevertheless again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our sovereign; and to remove every imputation of obstinacy, have requested his majesty to direct some mode, by which the united applications of his faithful colonists may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such

terms as can alone render an accommodation lasting, and we flatter ourselves, that our pacific endeavours will be attended with a removal of ministerial troops, a repeal of those laws, of the operation of which we complain, on the one part, and a disbanding of our army, and a dissolution of our commercial associations, on the other.

Yet conclude not from this, that we propose to surrender our property into the hands of your ministry, or vest your parliament with a power which may terminate in our destruction. The great bulwarks of our constitution we have desired to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable means; but your ministers (equal foes to British and American freedom), have added to their former oppressions, an attempt to reduce us by the sword to a base and abject submission. On the sword, therefore, we are compelled to rely for protection. Should victory declare in your favour, yet men trained to arms from their infancy, and animated by the love of liberty, will afford neither a cheap or easy conquest. Of this at least we are assured, that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain, since even in death we shall find that freedom which in life you forbid us to enjoy.

Let us now ask what advantages are to attend our reduction? The trade of a ruined and desolate country is always inconsiderable, its revenue trifling; the expense of subjecting and retaining it in subjection, certain and inevitable. What, then, remains, but the gratification of an ill-judged pride, or the hope of rendering us subservient to designs on your liberty?

Soldiers, who have sheathed their swords in the bowels of their American brethren, will not draw them with more reluctance against you. When too late, you may lament the loss of that freedom, which we exhort you, while still in your power, to preserve.

On the other hand, should you prove unsuccessful—should that connexion, which we most ardently wish to maintain, be dissolved—should your ministers exhaust your treasures—and waste the blood of your countrymen, in vain attempts on our liberty—do they not deliver you, weak and de-

fenceless, to your natural enemies?

Since, then, your liberty must be the price of your victories—your ruin, of your defeat—what blind fatality can urge you to a pursuit, destructive of all that Britons hold dear?

If you have no regard to the connexion that has for ages subsisted between us—if you have forgot the wounds we received fighting by your side, for the extension of the empire—if our commerce is an object below your consideration—if justice and humanity have lost their influence on your hearts—still motives are not wanting, to excite your indignation at the measures now pursued—your wealth, your honour, your liberty are at stake.

Notwithstanding the distress to which we are reduced, we sometimes forget our own afflictions to anticipate and sympathize in yours. We grieve that rash and inconsiderate counsels should precipitate the destruction of an empire, which has been the envy and admiration of ages. And call God to witness! that we would part with our property, endanger our lives, and sacrifice every thing but liberty to redeem you from ruin.

A cloud hangs over your heads and ours; ere this reaches you, it may probably have burst upon us; let us then (before the remembrance of former kindness is obliterated) once more repeat those appellations which are ever grateful in our ears. Let us intreat heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends brethren, and countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic.

By order of the congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, president
CHARLES THOMSON, secretary
Philadelphia, July 8, 1775.

Resolutions agreed to, some time in the year 1776, in the council of safety, at Savannah, in Georgia, to destroy their houses and shipping rather than let them fall into the hands of their enemies.

*In the council of safety.
For the safety of the province, and the good of the united colonies, it is unanimously resolved,*

THAT the houses in the town of Savannah, and the hamlets there to belonging, together with the ship

ping now in our port, the property, or appertaining to the friends of America, who have associated and appeared, or who shall appear in the present alarm to defend the same, and also the houses of widows and orphans, and none others, be forthwith appraised.

Resolved, That it be considered, as a defection from the cause of America, and a desertion of property, in such persons, who have and shall leave the town of Savannah, or the hamlets hereto belonging, during the present alarm; and such persons shall be precluded from any support or countenance towards obtaining an indemnification.

Resolved, That it is incumbent upon the friends of America in this province to defend the metropolis, as long as the same shall be tenable.

Resolved, That rather than the same shall be held and occupied by our enemies, or the shipping now in the port of Savannah taken and employed by them, the same shall be burnt and destroyed.

Resolved, That orders shall be issued to the commanding officer, directing him to have the foregoing resolution put into execution.

A true copy from the minutes.

ED. LANGWORTH, sec.



A Prussian edict: by dr. Franklin.
Dantzick, Sept. 5, 1778.

WE have long wondered here at the supineness of the English nation, under the Prussian impositions upon its trade entering our port. We did not, till lately, know the claims, ancient and modern, that hang over that nation; and therefore could not suspect that it might submit to those impositions from a sense of duty, or from principles of equity. The following edict, just made public, may, serious, throw some light upon this matter.

Frederick, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c. &c. to all present and to come, health. The peace now enjoyed throughout our dominions, having afforded us leisure to apply ourselves to the regulation of commerce, the improvement of our finances, and at the same time the easing our domestic subjects in their taxes; for these

causes, and other good considerations us thereunto moving, we hereby make known, that, after having deliberated these affairs in our council, present our dear brothers, and other great officers of the state, members of the same; we, of our certain knowledge, full power, and authority royal, have made and issued this present edict, viz.

Whereas it is well known to all the world, that the first German settlements made in the island of Britain, were by colonies of people, subject to our renowned royal ancestors, and drawn from their dominion, under the conduct of Hengist, Horsa, Hella, Uffa, Cerdicus, Ida, and others; and that the said colonies have flourished under the protection of our august house, for ages past; have never been emancipated therefrom; and yet have hitherto yielded little profit to the same: and whereas we ourselves have in the last war fought for and defended the said colonies, against the power of France, and thereby enabled them to make conquests from the said power in America; for which we have not yet received adequate compensation: and whereas it is just and expedient that a revenue should be raised from the said colonies in Britain, towards our indemnification; and that those who are descendants of our ancient subjects, and thence still owe us due obedience, should contribute to the replenishing of our royal coffers; (as they must have done, had their ancestors remained in the territories now to us appertaining): we do therefore hereby ordain and command, that, from and after the date of these presents, there shall be levied, and paid to our officers of the customs, on all goods, wares, and merchandizes, and on all grain and other produce of the earth, exported from the said island of Britain, and on all goods of whatever kind imported in to the same; a duty of four and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, for the use of us and our successors. And that the said duty may more effectually be collected, we do hereby ordain, that all ships or vessels bound from Great Britain, to any other part of the world, or from

any other part of the world to Great Britain, shall, in their respective voyages, touch at our port of Königsberg, there to be unladen, searched, and charged with the said duties.

And whereas there have been, from time to time, discovered in the said island of Great Britain, by our colonists there, many mines or beds of iron-stone; and sundry subjects of our ancient dominion, skilful in converting the said stone into metal, have in time past transported themselves thither, carrying with them and communicating that art; and the inhabitants of the said island, presuming that they had a natural right to make the best use they could of the natural productions of their country, for their own benefit, have not only built furnaces for smelting the said stone into iron, but have erected plating-forges, slitting-mills, and steel-furnaces, for the more convenient manufacturing of the same: thereby endangering a diminution of the said manufacture in our ancient dominion; we do therefore hereby farther ordain, that, from and after the date hereof, no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating-forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected or continued in the said island of Great Britain: and the lord lieutenant of every county in the said island is hereby commanded, on information of any such erection within his county, to order, and by force to cause the same to be abated and destroyed; as he shall answer the neglect thereof to us at his peril. But we are nevertheless graciously pleased to permit the inhabitants of the said island to transport their iron into Prussia, there to be manufactured, and to them returned, they paying our Prussian subjects for the workmanship, with all the costs of commission, freight, and risk, coming and returning; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

We do not, however, think fit to extend this our indulgence to the article of wool; but meaning to encourage not only the manufacturing of woollen cloth, but also the raising of wool, in our ancient dominions;

and, to prevent both, as much as may be, in our said island, we do hereby absolutely forbid the transportation of wool from thence even to the mother country, Prussia:—and that those islanders may be farther and more effectually restrained in making any advantage of their own wool, in the way of manufacture, we command that none shall be carried out of one county into another; nor shall any worsted, bay, or woollen-yarn, cloth, says, bays, kerseys, serges, frizes, druggets, cloth-serges, shalloons, or any other drapery stuffs, or woollen manufactures whatsoever, made up or mixed with wool in any of the said counties, be carried into any other county, or be water-borne ever across the smallest river or creek on penalty of forfeiture of the same together with the boats, carriages, horses, &c. that shall be employed in removing them. Nevertheless our loving subjects there, are hereby permitted (if they think proper) to use all their wool as manure, for the improvement of their lands.

And whereas the art and mystery of making hats hath arrived at great perfection in Prussia, and the making of hats by our remoter subjects, ought to be as much as possible restrained. And forasmuch as the islanders before mentioned, being in possession of wool beaver, and other furs, had presumptuously conceived they had a right to make some advantage thereof, by manufacturing the same into hats, to the prejudice of our domestic manufacture: we do therefore hereby strictly command and ordain, that no hats or felts whatsoever, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be loaded or put into or upon any vessel, cart, carriage, or horse, to be transported or conveyed out of one county in the said island into another county, or to any other place whatsoever, by any person or persons whatsoever, on pain of forfeiting the same, with a penalty of five hundred pounds sterling for every offence. Nor shall any hat maker in any of the said counties employ more than two apprentices, on penalty of five pounds sterling per month: we intending hereby that such hatmakers, being so restrained both in the production and sale of their commodity, may find no advantage

in continuing their business. But lest the said islanders should suffer inconveniency by the want of hats, we are further graciously pleased to permit them to send their beaver furs to Prussia; and we also permit hats made thereof to be exported from Prussia to Britain, the people, thus favoured, to pay all costs and charges of manufacturing, interest, commission to our merchants, insurance, and freight, going and returning, as in the case of iron.

And lastly, being willing farther to favour our said colonies in Britain, we do hereby also ordain and command, that all the thieves, highway and street robbers, house breakers, forgers, murderers, so—cs, and villains of every denomination, who have forfeited their lives to the law in Prussia, but whom we, in our great clemency, do not think fit here to hang, shall be emptied out of our jails into the said island of Great Britain, for the better peopling of that country.

We flatter ourselves that these our royal regulations and commands will be thought just and reasonable by our much favoured colonists in England, the said regulations being copied from their own statutes of 10 and 11 Will. III. c. 10—5 Geo. II. c. 22.—23 Geo. II. c. 29.—4 Geo. I. c. 11. and from other equitable laws made by their parliaments, from instructions given by their princes, or from resolutions of both houses, entered in to for the good government of their own colonies in Ireland and America.

And all persons in the said island are hereby cautioned not to oppose, in any wise, the execution of this our edict, or any part thereof, such opposition being high treason, of which all who are suspected shall be transported in fetters, from Britain to Prussia, there to be tried and executed according to the Prussian law.

Such is our pleasure.

Given at Potsdam, this twenty-fifth day of the month of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and in the thirty-third year of our reign.

By the king in his council,

RECHTMÄSSIG, sec.

Some take this edict to be merely one of the king's *jeux d'esprit*: others suppose it serious, and that he

means a quarrel with England: but all here think the assertion which it concludes with, "that these regulations are copied from acts of the English parliament respecting their colonies," a very injurious one; it being impossible to believe, that a people distinguished for their love of liberty, a nation so wise, so liberal in its sentiments, so just and equitable towards its neighbours, should, from mean and injudicious views of petty immediate profit, treat its own children in a manner so arbitrary and tyrannical!



The impartial chronicle, or the infallible intelligencer; upon the plan, and after the manner of the New York Mercury.—By his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of the state of New Jersey. Published in Philadelphia, February 18. 1777.

London, September 25, 1776.

WE can assure the public from the most authentic intelligence, that however the rebels in America may flatter themselves with the hopes of starving the British manufacturers by the present discontinuance of their commerce with the mother country, the artificers in woollens were never more fully employed. What has occasioned so great a demand for cloths of all kinds is, the immense quantities constantly exported to the islands of Sumatra and Borneo; the inhabitants of which are determined to dress only in British woollens, during the continuance of the present unnatural and horrid rebellion.

Oct. 25. We are informed by a letter from Barbadoes to a merchant in this city, that to encourage the English manufactories in iron and brass, his house alone may soon expect orders from the West India islands, for ten thousand iron stoves, and fifteen thousand warming pans.

Oct. 28. We learn by an Indianman loaded with tea, that the emperor of Indostan has offered his majesty five hundred elephants out of his own stables, to assist him in suppressing the rebellion in the colonies; but from the difficulty of subsisting these animals in America, his majesty has very politely declined the generous offer; and a splendid embassy will be

dispatched to Delhi, with the thanks of the British court to the Great Mogul, for his imperial munificence, and fraternal affection towards his brother of Britain.—To improve the present amicable disposition of so puissant an ally, to the lasting emolument of the nation, it was moved in council to address his majesty, to propose a match between the prince of Wales and the emperor's eldest daughter; but one of the members observing that the mogul could not, in his opinion, close with the overture unless his royal highness submitted to circumcision, the motion was withdrawn.

Copenhagen, July 4. The king of Denmark has actually stipulated with his majesty, to furnish him by the middle of April next, for the service in America, four thousand Laplanders, who are to be employed in winter. (when the deep snows render the light horse useless) in scouring the country and conveying dispatches in sleds drawn by reindeer, two abreast.

Isfahan, April 2. We hear that the emperor of Persia, on the earnest solicitation of the court of London, is to send next summer into America, three thousand five hundred Korazan archers, who have been trained up in the ancient Parthian manner of fighting, by discharging their arrows from their horses as they are galloping off from their pursuers—a mode of annoying the enemy, which his majesty's light horse may adopt to great advantage, as the rebels frequently compel them to fight in that attitude, or not at all.

As the rebels avail themselves of wood and forests whenever they can, administration is determined to dispatch to America, before the opening of the next campaign, four thousand axe men, to cut down all the forests from Georgia to Ticonderoga, from the sea coast eight hundred miles west into the country.

As the British navy will always be an over-match for any fleet the rebels will be able to equip: but can, on their present construction, be of no use in the American war, after having turned their trade and laid all their sea-port towns in ashes—a model has been presented to the board of admiralty by Sir Humphrey Mariterrenus, for enabling any of his majesty's ships,

under the burden of a first rate, by the means of wheels and pulleys, and some internal mechanism (which the projector does not choose fully to explain till further encouragement) to pursue the rebels on terra-firma, and carry the British naval thunder into the remotest deserts of America. Sir Humphrey insisted upon it to the board, and they unanimously admitted the force of his observation, that however the rebel fortifications might otherwise damage the new-constructed vessels, as they passed them in their progress through the country, it would be impossible for the art of man to sink them.

It is whispered at the court end of the town, that the emperor of Japan intends to lend his majesty twelve thousand of his most veteran troops, who, to save the expense of a circuitous voyage, are to be landed on California; and after having desolated the western frontiers of the continent, with the assistance of as many of the savages residing between the South Sea and the river Ohio as can be procured for that purpose, they are to form a junction with the British troops at New York. The emperor, it is said, is confident of being more successful in procuring those tribes of Indians to follow his standard than administration hath hitherto been on the part of Britain; as he will undertake to convince them, that their ancestors having emigrated from Japan, they owe him the same allegiance and subjection, which the American rebels do to his most gracious majesty.

The British ministry, ever attentive to the national weal, and totally devoid of all self-interested motives, or the least thoughts of providing for their families or connexions from the emoluments of this unnatural war; but solely and inflexibly bent on enabling his majesty to triumph over all rebellions (save only such as may be excited in North Britain) and seriously considering that from the amazing extent of the continent of America, the severity of the winter in the northern, and the excessive heat of summer in the southern parts, must be fatal to troops who have been bred in the temperate climes of Europe, are determined to surmount that inconvenience, by the following sagacious ex-

pedient—they intend to employ thirteen thousand Moors from the coast of Barbary, to act from Augustine as far north as New Jersey; and four thousand seven hundred Eskimaux from Hudson's Bay, to act from New Hampshire to the most southern limits of the province of New York. *The most gracious speech of his imperial majesty the emperor of Lilliput.*

My lords and gentlemen,

I should be as merry as a cricket were I able to tell you I had been as good as my word, that the gladiators I had sent to quell the rioters, had brought them upon their marrow-bones. But though I had persuaded myself that it was only a little rumpus, which a couple of regiments could have drubbed into quiet, they are now grown so desperately impudent, and so absolutely at the beck of their Jack Straws and Wat Tylers, that they positively swear they will, for the future, darn their own stockings, and make their own shoes and perriwigs, without laying out a single shilling in any of our warehouses. Nay, they have contemptuously rejected our gracious offers of spending their money for them, without giving them the trouble of doing it. They have moreover had the insolence to revive an antiquated pretence that when kings violate the fundamentals of the constitution, as they call it, their subjects have a right to resist them; and talk a deal about the Lord knows what; of coronation oaths, and mutual compacts, of which in all my education my noble preceptor never mentioned a syllable. A doctrine which, however attended with good luck to myself, respecting a former revolution, is at present, and ought for ever hereafter, to be deemed the very quintessence of treason and rebellion—such treason, that if it should go on, would gather like a snow ball; endanger the bankruptcy of every chapman in Lilliput; shake my throne from top to bottom, and make the whole terraqueous globe skip like a lamp-lighter. One great advantage, however, will be derived from this avowed running away from their old master. It is this. I remember many of you thought last year that I was moved by the instigation of the devil for sending fire and faggot amongst those insurgents; and pretend-

ed conscience forsooth, for not dousing the ready rhino towards the expedition. But since those miscreants have now set up for themselves, it is evident that they intended it fifty years ago; and it being come to this pass, that either our trade must be ruined, or they be made to knock under, I suppose we shall be pot and can in the general conviction, that the kingdom cannot be supported by keeping clear consciences and losing our traffic, stock and block.

I am happy to inform you that by the strength of good beef and pork, and the vivacity of sour crout, I have once more a chance of establishing arbitrary power in Can. And although from some cross accidents, my general could not come to loggerheads with the city of Manhat till the month of August, because he landed, on his arrival in June, with nine thousand troops, and the enemy had then but about six thousand, which would have occasioned our arms to be victorious without honour: yet our success in that capital, when the rebels thought it not worth defending, has crowned our banners with immortal glory, and been so decisive as to give the strongest hopes of their speedily coming in, cap in hand. Not, gentlemen, that we have already dispersed the mob: for that, upon my word, will cost us another year's bloody noses. But then all my neighbours swear they will stand by me, and box it out knee deep in mire and dirt, before they will see me knock'd down by the rebels; and my old crony, 'squire Bourbon, in particular, who you know has, from time immemorial, taken our family's part in all their quarrels, protests he will never leave me in the lurch.

I am now employed in settling an arbitration between two old friends who had like to have come to handycuffs, and hope soon to see all the country round me in peace and jollity. I think nevertheless, considering promises as pie-crusts, that it behoves us to look to our own clubs and toledoes at home. For I remember into what a woful frustration we were thrown by Le Chevalier Woud be, when he rushed upon us from the mountains like a whirligig, and made us want new linings to our breeches; and had he come strait forward pell

mell, instead of spending his time in kissing Jenny Cameron, he had not left a mother's son of us to tell the story.

Gentlemen of the lower parlour,

I will lay the reckoning for next year before you; and in settling the club, don't be squeamish if it runs higher than you expected. No mortal creature can guess what it costs to quell such execrable riots. I doubt not, however, but my faithful the public purse keepers will chearfully vote the cash, as yourselves, your families, and dependents will pocket the better half.

My lords and gentlemen,

In this bloody squabble I can have no earthly view in the world but to save the effusion of blood. No people under the sun ever eat more beef or drank more cider, or took more liberty to eat and drink it when they pleased, than those seditious blanket men. Their spreading their own bread and butter, declares it. Their getting children by natural copulation, evinces it. Their being paid for the work they do, attests it. And their proneness to fight like punk, whenever you attempt to steal their victuals, or to tie them neck and heels, are as clear proofs of it, as that three blue beans are equal in number to three white ones. My desire is only to restore them to the old constitution of eating and drinking, and sleeping, and f— according to my instructions; and to deliver them from despotic ring-leaders of their own choosing, into your gracious hands, to bind them in all cases whatsoever.

[Remainder in our next.]



Account of the attack upon Quebec.

Published by congress.

Philadelphia, Jan. 25, 1776.

THE last letters from Canada bring an account of an unsuccessful attempt made to gain possession of Quebec by storm, on the 31st of December last, between the hours of two and seven in the morning.

The general, finding his cannon too light to effect a breach, and that the enemy would not hearken to terms of capitulation, formed a design for carrying the town by escalade. In this he was encouraged by the extensiveness

of the works, and the weakness of the garrison. When every thing was prepared, while he was waiting the opportunity of a snow storm, to carry his design into execution, several men deserted to the enemy. His plan at first was to have attacked the upper and lower town at the same time, depending principally for success against the upper town: but discovering, from the motions of the enemy, that they were apprized of his design, he altered his plan; and, having divided his little army into four detachments, ordered two feints to be made against the upper town, one by colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's Gate; the other by captain Brown, at the head of a small detachment, against cape Diamond, reserving to himself and colonel Arnold, the two principal attacks against the lower town.

At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, the general at the head of the New York troops, advanced against the lower town at Aunce de Mere. Being obliged to take a circuit, the signal for the attack was given, and the garrison alarmed, before he reached the place; however, pressing on, he passed the first barrier, and was just opening to attempt the second, when by the first fire from the enemy he was unfortunately killed, together with his aide-camp, captain John M'Pherson, captain Cheeseman, and two or three more. This so dispirited the men, that colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, found himself under the disagreeable necessity of drawing them off.

In the mean while colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty of those brave troops (who with unparalleled fatigue had penetrated Canada under his command) and captain Lamb's artillery, had passed through St. Roques, and approached near a two gun battery without being discovered. This he attacked, and though it was well defended for about an hour, carried it with loss of a number of men. In this attack colonel Arnold had the misfortune to have his leg splintered by a shot, and was obliged to be carried to the hospital. After gaining the battery, his detachment passed on to a second bar-

rier, which they took possession of. By this time the enemy, relieved from the other attacks, by our troops being drawn off, directed their whole force against this detachment, and a party falling out from Palace gate, attacked them in the rear.

These brave men sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours, but finding themselves hemmed in, and no hopes of relief, they were obliged to yield to numbers, and the advantageous situation the garrison had over them.

No regular return is yet come to hand, but, by the advices received, we learn that our loss in killed and wounded amounts to sixty, and three hundred taken prisoners, who are treated very humanely.

Among the slain, are captain Kendricks and lieutenant Humphries, of the riflemen, and lieutenant Cooper.

After this unfortunate repulse, the remainder of the army retired about three miles from the city, where they posted themselves advantageously, and are continuing the blockade, waiting for reinforcements, which are now on their way to join them.

Every possible mark of distinction was shewn to the corpse of general Montgomery, who was interred in Quebec, on the 2d day of January.

Published by order of congress,

CHARLES THOMSON, sec.



General Carleton's account of the attack on Quebec. In a letter to general Howe, dated Jan. 6, 1776.

S I R,

THE fifth of December, mr. Montgomery took post at St. Croix, within less than two miles of Quebec, with some field artillery; his heavy cannon were landed at Caprouge; at the same time Arnold's party took possession of the avenues leading to the town, and prevented all communication with the country. The 7th a woman stole into the town with letters addressed to the principal merchants, advising them to an immediate submission, and promising great indulgence in case of their com-

pliance. Inclosed was a letter to me in every extraordinary language, and a summons to deliver up the town; the messenger was sent to prison for a few days, and drummed out.

To give more efficacy to these letters, five small mortars were brought to St. Roque's, and a battery of five cannon and one howitzer, raised upon the heights within about seven hundred yards of the walls. Soon after Arnold appeared with a white flag, said he had a letter for me, but was refused admittance, and ordered to carry back his letter.

After every preparatory stratagem had been used to intimidate our wretched garrison, as mr. Montgomery was pleased to call it—an assault was given the thirty-first of December, between four and five in the morning, during a snow storm from the north east. The alarm was general: from the side of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front, round to the basin, every part seemed equally threatened. Two real attacks took place upon the lower town: one under Cape Diamond, led by mr. Montgomery, the other by mr. Arnold, upon the part called the Saut a Matelot. This at first met with some success, but in the end was stopped. A sally from the upper town under captain Laws, attacked their rear, and sent in many prisoners; captain M'Dougal afterwards reinforced this party, and followed the rebels into the post they had taken. Thus mr. Arnold's corps, himself and a few others excepted, who were wounded and carried off early, were completely ruined. They were caught as it were in a trap; we brought in their five mortars and one cannon. The other attack was soon repulsed with slaughter. Mr. Montgomery was left among the dead.

The rebels have on this assault between six and seven hundred men, and between forty and fifty officers, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. We had only one lieutenant of the navy, doing duty as a captain in the garrison, and four rank and file, killed, and thirteen rank and file wounded; two of the latter are since dead.

G. C.

Address to his excellency general Washington. By his excellency governor Livingston, of New-Jersey.

SAY—on what hallow'd altar shall I find
A sacred spark that can again light up
The muse's ardour in my wane of life,
And warm my bosom with poetic fire,
Extinguish'd long—and yet, O Washington,
Thy worth unequal'd, thy heroic deeds,
Thy patriot virtues, and high-soaring fame,
Prompt irresistibly my feeble arm,
'To grasp the long-forgotten lyre, and join
The universal chorus of thy praise.

When urg'd by thirst of arbitrary sway
And over-weening pride, a ruthless king
Grim spurn'd us, suppliants, from his haughty throne—
And, in the tyrant, all the father lost ;
When to our pray'rs, with humble duty urg'd,
He, Pharaoh-like, his heart obdurate steel'd,
Denouncing dreadful vengeance, unprovok'd,
And all the dire calamities of war—
No ray of mercy beaming from his brow,
No olive-branch extended in his hand ;—
A sword unheath'd, or ignominious yoke,
The only sad alternative propos'd—
Then with one voice, thy country call'd thee forth,
Thee, Washington, she call'd :—with modest blush,
But soul undaunted, thou the call obey'd'st,
To lead her armies to the martial field.—
Thee, Washington, she call'd to draw the sword,
And rather try the bloody chance of war
In virtue's cause, than suffer servile chains,
Intolerable bondage ! to inclose
The limbs of those, whom God created free.

Lur'd by thy fame, with thy great virtues charm'd,
And by thy valour fir'd, around thee pour'd
America's long-injur'd sons, resolv'd
To meet the vet'ran troops who oft had borne
Britannia's name, in thunder, round the world.

With warrior-bands, by liberty impell'd,
And all their country glowing at their heart,
And prodigal of blood, when she requir'd,
Tho' destitute of war's essential aids,
(The well-stor'd armory, the nitrous grain,
The roaring cannon, and death-bearing ball)
Thou mad'st the solemn dread appeal to heav'n—
The solemn dread appeal th' Almighty heard,
And smil'd success. Unfabled Alstrea weigh'd
Our cause in her eternal scales, and found
It just : while all-directing providence,
Invisible, yet seen, mysterious, crown'd,
And more than crown'd our hopes ; and, strange to tell !
Made British infidels, like Lucifer,
Believe and tremble. Thou, with troops new-rais'd,
Undisciplin'd—nor to the tented field
Inur'd, hast kept the hostile host aloof ;
And oft discomfited : while victory
The laurel wreath around thy temples twin'd :
And Trenton, Princeton prove thy bold emprise ;
Names then unknown to song, illustrious now,
Deriving immortality from thee.

Proceed, heaven-guided chief, nor be disinay'd
 At foreign myriads, or domestic foes,
 (The best have foes, and foes evince their worth)
 Soon, by one danger rous'd, one soul inspir'd,
 One cause defending, on one goal intent,
 From ev'ry quarter whence the winds can blow,
 Assembled hosts their hero shall attend,
 Determin'd to be free—Them shalt thou lead,
 To conquest lead, and make the tyrant rue
 His execrable purpose to enslave;
 And teach e'en British folly to be wise.

Far as th' encircling sun his chariot drives,
 Thy fame shall spread: thy grateful country own
 Her millions fav'd by thy victorious arm;
 And rear eternal monuments of praise.

The arduous task absolv'd, the truncheon broke—
 Of future glory, liberty, and peace,
 The strong foundations laid, methinks I see
 The god like hero gracefully retire,
 And (blood-stain'd Mars for fair Pomona chang'd)
 His rural seat regain: his rural seat
 At his long-wish'd return, fresh-blooming smiles;
 And, in expressive silence, speaks her joy.
 There, recollecting oft thy past exploits,
 (Feast of the soul, ne'er cloying appetite)
 And still assiduous for the public weal;
 (Incumbent duty ne'er effac'd) amidst
 Sequester'd haunts, and in the calm of life,
 Methinks I see thee, Solon-like, design
 The future grandeur of confed'rate states
 High-tow'ring: or, for legislation met,
 Adjust in senate what thou sav'd'st in war.
 And when, by thousands wept, thou shalt resign
 Thy sky-infus'd, and sky-returning spark,
 May light supernal gild the mortal hour,
 But mortal to translate thee into life
 That knows not death; then heav'n's all-ruling Sire
 Shall introduce thee to thy glad compeers,
 The Hampdens, Sidneys, Freedom's genuine sons!
 And Brutus' venerable shade, high rais'd
 On thrones erected in the taste of heav'n,
 Distinguish'd thrones for patriot demigods,
 (Who for their country's weal, or toil'd or bled),
 And one reserv'd for thee: there envy's shafts
 Nor tyrants e'er intrude, nor Slav'ry clanks
 Her galling chain; but star-crown'd Liberty,
 Resplendent goddess! everlasting reigns.

April, 1778.



An invitation to America.

HITHER, ye poor and persecuted come,
 To taste the comforts of a kinder doom!
 Ye, whose high souls with gallant wararch disdain,
 To flatter and betray for sordid gain:
 To flaver, like a dog, a tyrant's hand,
 And crouch obedient to his vile command;
 To practise arts, disgraceful to the brave,
 Fit for a faithless, fawning, cringing slave,
 And here, in fields as sanctively bless'd,

As those which erst the chosen race possess,
 (From bondage led to the delightful land,
 By their meek ruler and Jehovah's hand)
 And here, devote to Freedom's sacred name,
 With curious skill, a temple we will frame,
 Which upon Doric pillars shall be borne,
 And a severe simplicity adorn ;
 Such as nor Athens e'er, nor Sparta plann'd,
 Nor Rome, the dread and wonder of each land :
 Which, heav'n-protected, ever shall defy
 The traitor's arts and rage of tyranny :
 Or if it should be spoil'd, yet not before
 Its martyr's blood around its scite we pour.



The seasons moralized; by the reverend dr. Dwight.

BEHOLD the changes of the skies,
 And see the circling seasons rise ;
 Hence, let the moral truth refin'd,
 Improve the beauty of the mind.

Winter, late with dreary reign,
 Rul'd the wide unjoyous plain ;
 Gloomy storms with solemn roar
 Shook the hoarse resounding shore.

Sorrow cast her sadness round,
 Life and joy forsook the ground,
 Death with wild imperious sway,
 Bade th' expiring world decay.

Now cast around thy raptur'd eyes,
 And see the beauteous spring arise,
 See, flow'rs invest the hills again,
 And streams re-murmur o'er the plain.

Hark, hark, the joy-inspiring grove
 Echoes to the voice of love ;
 Balmy gales the sound prolong,
 Wasting round the woodland song.

Such the scenes our life displays,
 Swiftly fleet our rapid days ;
 The hour that rolls forever on
 Tells us our years must soon be gone.

Sudden, Death, with mournful gloom
 Sweeps us downwards to the tomb ;
 Life and health and joy decay,
 Nature sinks and dies away.

But the soul in gayest bloom,
 Disdains the bondage of the tomb ;
 Ascends above the clouds of even,
 And raptur'd hails her native heaven.

Youth and peace, and beauty there
 Forever dance around the year ;
 An endless joy invests the pole,
 And streams of ceaseless pleasure roll :

Light and joy and grace divine,
 With bright and lasting glory shine,
 Jehovah's smiles, with heav'nly ray,
 Diffuse a clear unbounded day.



AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES, No. IV.—P. 100.

Extract from the ANARCHIAD, Book XX.

*The soliloquy and invocation of WRONGHEAD, with the appearance and
 consolatory speech of the ANARCH.*

NOW marshal'd hosts assembling from afar,
 Prelude the onset of approaching war
 In Wronghead's jealous soul; while thus in sighs
 He breathes hoarse accents to the nether skies.

“ O thou dark world where chance eternal reigns,
 And wild misrule the Anarch old maintains,
 Orcus and Hades! hear my fervent pray'r,
 And aid, if wrongheads still deserve your care:
 If you receiv'd me dark'ning from the womb,
 And nurs'd the hope of mischiefs yet to come,
 If busied daily planning pop'lar schemes,
 And nightly wrapt in democratic dreams,
 Fair Discord, as a goddess, I revere,
 And in her vineyards toil from year to year;
 Still active as the princely pow'r of air,
 To sow each jealousy, and till with care;
 If I each long face in the land assail,
 At congress, courts and legal pow'rs to rail;
 If I at trade, great men, and lawyers' fees,
 Have so harangu'd as vulgar ears to please;
 If cant pretence of liberty the while
 Has been th' unvary'd burden of my style,
 If this has gain'd me all the posts I hold,
 With num'rous sal'ries heap'd my chest with gold,
 And fed my hopes that fed'ral ties no more,
 Shall bind the nations of the western shore;
 That local schemes shall lift their narrow scale,
 And our own statesmen through the land prevail;—
 Then hear again, ye pow'rs! that stretch the sway
 Through the wide vast, beneath the solar day,
 Hear, and dispel my anxious doubts and fears,
 To me more dread than certain loss of ears.

“ Since the convention fell, no more to rise,
 And grey'd these locks and dim'd these tearful eyes,
 'This more minute, less blust'ring plan I try'd,
 Till with'd success began to feed my pride;
 But now, alas! stern justice rears her head,
 And crouds my days with fears, my nights with dread;
 Those congregated sages, who, ere now,
 Had I my wish, were doom'd to guide the plough,
 Are planning still to build a fed'ral name,
 And blast my laurels with eternal shame;
 The pride of courts still brightens in their eyes,
 And scorning still to pay our debt with lies,
 Have rais'd these martial bands to aid their cause,
 To awe each mob, and execute the laws.

“ Shall these succeed ? and shall my labour'd schemes,
 Ye sov'reign pow'rs ! disperse in empty dreams ? ”
 He spoke, and breath'd a care-corroding sigh,
 Then through a dark deep vale bent down his eye ;
 When lo ! a lurid fog began to move,
 And mount in solemn grandeur o'er the grove,
 Convolving mills enroll'd a demon's form,
 But headless, monstrous, shapeless as a storm ;
 While Wronghead gaz'd, the fiend sublimer grew,
 Known for the Anarch to his raptur'd view ;
 Sudden, as rumbling thunder heard remote,
 These stunning sounds rose grating through his throat.

“ Beloved sage, the pow'rs of chaos know
 Your ev'ry fear, and number ev'ry woe ;
 Their ken sweeps broader than the bounds of day,
 And thrice ten lengths of hell, their nether sway ;
 Where now your world has gain'd that little height,
 Just o'er the precincts of chaotic night,
 We held of old the reign ; nor yet despair,
 To hold a wilder mental chaos there.

“ Those warlike bands whose music grates thine ear
 Are ill at best, but not the worst we fear ;
 (Though they our much lov'd mobs may sorely awe,
 Give union aid, and tone to fed'ral law)—
 More dang'rous foes arise, in learning's dress,
 Arm'd with the pen, and ambush'd in the press.
 The laughing youth, as lessons, learn their page,
 And age approving smiles, while dullards rage :
 Their shafts all poison'd in Pierian springs,
 Seem now impatient on the bending strings
 To pierce their foes ;—their arrows drink the fame
 Of each unfed'ral politician's name.
 See our best heroes flagg'ring from the plain,
 With eyes aghast, in curses vent their pain.
 But give your toils not o'er—the human soul
 Sinks by strong instinct far beneath her goal ;
 Pierce bick'ring tribes acknowledg'd once my sway,
 From rising morning to the setting day ;
 Low bow'd the north, and all the spacious south
 Receiv'd the precepts warm from Anarch's mouth :
 And when o'er eastern climes proud science shone,
 And millions bow'd before her splendid throne,
 My storm of Goths quench'd her meridian light,
 And whelm'd her sons in anarchy and night :—
 There had she mourn'd her everlasting doom,
 But the curs'd press dispell'd the midnight gloom.
 Hence learn, my seer, we shadowy powers who dwell,
 Far in the wilds of space 'twixt this and hell,
 Throu'd on unnumber'd whirlwinds through the void,
 Nor yet by distance, time, or place annoy'd,
 Save where our envious foe with swift surprise,
 Snatch'd that small spot where now creation lies ;
 Learn, though strict order guides his world on high,
 Where suns emblaze, and systems vault the sky ;
 Yet there we oft in wayward whirls controul
 The mystic, madd'ning mazes of the soul ;
 But chief where science sheds her faintest beams,
 And men are haunted worst with waking dreams ;

Where prejudice is headstrong, reason blind,
 The soul unpolish'd, all its views confin'd ;
 Where self is all in all ; and stubborn will
 Shuts out each good through jealousy of ill.
 Though in thy soul these choicest gifts preside,
 With an unbounded share of humble pride ;
 Though all the lesser virtues we can give,
 Instinctive, in thy mind immortal live ;
 Though all thy friends late nicknam'd by our foes,
 Each one his duty, task and drudgery knows,
 As plann'd by thee, yet know, my faithful seer,
 These plans alone can scarce survive the year.—
 The lamp of science must be quench'd in night,
 Till none, or next to none, can read or write,
 The press, anon, in brazen chains must groan,
 First watch'd and guarded by our saints alone ;
 The num'rous schools that rise along the shore,
 Must fall successive, and must rise no more ;
 The wits be hang'd—the congress forc'd to flee
 To western wilds, or headlong to the sea.

“ Then shall ten thousand whirlwinds lead the way,
 And the true Anarch here exalt his sway ;
 Before his face a flood of darkness roll,
 Blot the dim day, and whelm the sinking pole ;
 Confusion, chaos, chance, his course attend,
 Hoarse rumour rave, and hell's own mobs ascend ;
 His sons on fierce tornadoes hail from far,
 The black effulgence of his wasting car,
 And throng his courts ; old Night's dark eyes shall glow,
 Like seas of boiling tar, or hills of lamp black snow.”

New Haven, Feb. 22, 1737.



Foreign intelligence.

LONDON, November 11.

IT is not a little strange that the present continental war should have begun between the Turks and Russians, and that in the first campaign, they should take as little notice concerning each other, as if they were at perfect peace.

By the present emperor of Germany's code of laws, death is not applied even to the punishment of high treason. Rigorous imprisonment, bread and water as nourishment, and severe whipping once a year, constitute the severest part of the imperial code. The indolence, but not the brevity of our criminal jurisprudence, makes the necessity of frequent transportation ; not considering that the most honest individual in society would often wish himself in the situation of the robber, to be transported from misery

in his own country, at the expense of the state, and experience no more punishment for actual criminality, than he is doomed to feel from actual poverty.

The *tiers état*, in France, has evidently gained the ostensible favour of government, who now go with it on almost every subject. M. Neckar finds that nothing can be effected without its assistance, and therefore prudently divides with the majority in opposition to the clergy and nobles.

The following are the principal requests made to the crown by the *tiers état*, on the subject of its representation at the meeting of the states general :

“ That his majesty be humbly petitioned to order that the *tiers état* be permitted to send an equal number of representatives to the states general as the clergy and nobles united.

“ That its deputies be chosen from the general body of the nation, enti-

bled to give their vote. That all placemen, king's advocates, as well as those dependent on particular lords of sovereignties, renters of districts, and all persons either directly or indirectly under the controul of the clergy or nobility, be excluded from the right to vote.

"That each city and district shall send a certain number of deputies according to its commerce, population, and consequence.

"That his majesty be requested to consider that the forms of the states general, as in 1664, are compatible with the ideas of an enlightened age."

We may learn from the foregoing representations how nearly the spirit of the French nation aims at the constitution of this country.

In regard to other objects—the equalization of taxes is the most important.

The *tiers etat* insists on a fair and equitable mode of taxation;—and that the high shall pay in proportion with the low; in short, that every man shall pay according to his income.

This is, indeed, worthy of the enlightened sentiments of the French, and does the age immortal honour.

It is a general computation, that Great Britain contains ten thousand attornies, and that on a moderate calculation, they make three hundred and fifty pounds per annum each man. This produces the sum of three million five hundred thousand pounds per annum, clear profits of litigation, paid to support ten thousand men, whose business could, with one tenth of the number, and one fiftieth part of the expense, be transacted, much more to the satisfaction and comfort of the clients. To this enormous exaction of three millions and a half, drained out of the pockets of the public, if we add the expenses of the courts, the stamp duties, the salaries of judges and law officers, the expenses of writs and executions, the fees to council, the compliments to bailiffs, and the loss that society sustains by the immurement of numbers who lie in jails unable to pay their fees, and the sums paid for the support of those jails, we may justly say, that the law, instead of being a relief to the nation, is one of its most enormous burdens, and a weight, of the pres-

sure of which, every person, not interested in its profits, most loudly complains.

Some very important discoveries have lately been made in the southern whale fishery, which, if properly noticed and nurtured, may be of the greatest service to this country. The account is literally as follows: a large bay has been lately discovered on the southern peninsula of Africa, within 40 leagues or thereabouts of the Cape of Good Hope, where whales are in such abundance, that there is always a certainty of many more ships, than we at present employ annually in the Greenland whale fishery, getting a complete lading in a very short time, and it is the more likely to be very valuable, as many of those whales are of the spermaceti kind. The length of the voyage is the principal, and probably almost the only objection that can be made, being five times as long as a voyage to Greenland; but this is overbalanced by the certainty of a cargo. In the Greenland fishery the uncertainty is very great; many of the ships come home clear, some are lost in the ice, few catch more than a fourth part of what they could contain, or to make good the expenses, were it not for the national bounty. In the southern bay the sea is open, and clear of ice. A plan of establishment and regulation for this fishery is now before government; it remains to be seen what use they will make of it.

Dec. 10. Of a decaying and ruinous state of trade, of an increase of a most pernicious luxury and dissipation in this kingdom in general, and the metropolis in particular, a more demonstrative, powerful, and convincing proof cannot possibly be adduced, than the success of lotteries.

48,000 English tickets, at	£.
16 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	792,000
40,000 Irish tickets, at	
7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	300,000
	<hr/>
	1,092,000

One million and ninety-two thousand pounds gambled away in lotteries in less than three months, and chiefly in this metropolis, most unquestionably shews the rotten state of trade, commerce, and manufactures, and stamps the national character with

disgrace. The minister of this country is by no means to blame for taking an advantage of this furious spirit of gaining, to draw a revenue from the English lottery of 250,000*l.* annually.

Dec. 11. In the year 1735, there were exported from the port of Cork 107,161 barrels of beef, 7379 of pork, and 13,401 casks, with 83,727 firkins, of butter. This prodigious exportation, though it happily favoured the mercantile interest of that city, bore testimony to the bad condition of the kingdom. Happily a better principle, from fortuitous occurrences (if we may be allowed the term) directs the affairs of Ireland at present, and its good genius has opened other sources which promise more universal happiness. Those vast exportations are over, and agriculture, that friend to population, extended wider.

It is probable that the object of the meeting of the notables, and the consequences likely to result from it, will be of far greater importance than is supposed; the more especially as this assembly is the prelude to another, namely the states general of France, which we venture to say will produce a total regeneration in the present absolute monarchical system of that government.

The primary object of this meeting, is to fix the mode of election to be observed in forming the states general. The members are the same as assembled last year. They are chiefly under the influence of the crown, and will therefore resolve on those measures his majesty is advised to.

The divisions on this question run exceedingly high. The contest lies between the crown, the clergy, and the nobles, on one hand, and the people on the other. The former contends for a new mode of election in forming the states general, which includes a greater share of the clergy and nobility, and fewer of the third estate: the latter insist on the same election as at the last meeting in 1664.

It is expected that the notables will deliberate on this question for a month to come. They will probably declare for the new form, in which case the parliaments will protest, and in the end get the better.

Opinion has undergone a total change in France within the last few

months. Republican principles are the only ones which are now attended to, and not only the debates of parliament are equally free with our own, but the writings more libellous than any published here. It generally so happens, that people go from one extreme to the other.

The French are meditating to new model their constitution.

It is now decided that the states shall not meet until towards the middle of March.

An idea has even been circulated, and with much apparent foundation, that the people are determined to refuse the supplies, unless consulted more in the appropriation of them, and allowed a further number of votes. They contend that the clergy and nobles may pass what resolutions they please, but if they are made the necessary tools, when their services are wanted, they will withhold their supplies, and starve them into a compliance—that the people of France amount to twenty-four millions—that of these, twenty-three millions support the other remaining part, who claim all the powers without contributing in an equal degree to the expense of the state.

Dec. 22. This day in the house of commons, mr. Pitt moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation. He then moved, that the report of the committee, appointed to examine the physicians, who had attended his majesty during his illness, and also the report of the privy council, on the same subject, together with the report of the committee appointed to look for precedents, should be read. He then proceeded to the business of the day. The fatal consequence of the king's illness, he said, from the examination of his physicians, appeared to be a total incapacity for governing. The nation had, indeed, the consoling hope held out to them by the physicians, that this incapacity might, and would be removed; in the mean time, and until the best of kings be restored to the power of being serviceable to his people, it was the duty of the other two branches of the legislature, to provide for the public safety, and to supply the defect, occasioned by his majesty's illness, which had interrupted the exercise of

the functions belonging to the other branches of the legislature.

When he turned his thoughts on this subject, it was impossible not to take notice of some doctrines that had been laid down in the house of commons, and supported in another assembly, by great legal authority. It had been asserted, that the heir apparent had a right to the regency and administration of public affairs, during the incapacity of a king. Of such a right, he was not able to discover the smallest trace in the records, or history of the nation; on the contrary, he found in those records an uninterrupted chain of evidence, to prove, that no such right had any existence in law; therefore, before the pretence of such a right could, with any colour of argument, be supported, all the records of the country, relating to regencies, should previously be destroyed. He then took up the report of the committee appointed to search for precedents, and going through all the precedents quoted in it, he shewed that the constant and invariable practice of our ancestors took away all ground for any right in the heir apparent in the regency.

On the other hand, he was ready to admit, that the heir apparent was the fittest object for the choice of parliament, when there was a question of making a regent, but, at the same time, he contended, whenever the heir apparent was appointed regent, his regency was the creature, not of the law, but of the parliament.

He was sorry that the question of the prince's right to the regency had ever been started; but, since persons of such weight had contended for it, it was fit that parliament took it into consideration. The two houses should be jealous of their own rights, and not suffer them to be infringed through servile complaisance. It was a duty they owed themselves, their country and posterity, to the prince himself, and to his illustrious house, not to suffer such a question of right as this to remain afloat; they should come to a vote upon it, and settle it forever. Such a proceeding could not possibly produce any bad consequences; but would, on the contrary, secure the tranquility not only of the present generation, but of posterity.

He declared that the measures he was about to propose, did not arise from any personal consideration; he would most willingly have concurred in supporting the right of his royal highness to the regency, if he had found it any where but in assertions of members of parliament. But his duty to his country, superior to all other considerations, compelled him to withstand the doctrine of such a right, and to shew, as he trusted he had shewn, that it was unfounded in law, and overturned by every precedent to be found in the country.

He then moved three resolutions:

1st. That it appears, that, from the present state of his majesty's health, his majesty is incapable of transacting public affairs.

2d. That it is the duty of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and of the commons of Great Britain, to supply the deficiency occasioned by his majesty in one of the three estates of parliament.

3d. That the person who shall be appointed regent, be empowered to give the royal assent to a bill for creating him regent, and for limiting the powers that shall be vested in him.

The first and third resolutions were agreed to without a division; but the house divided on the second, which was carried by a majority of sixty-four.

In the debate it appeared to be understood, in all parts of the house, that Mr. Fox is soon to supersede Mr. Pitt in office.

When Dr. Willis was examined relative to his majesty's situation, he said he entertained little doubt of his recovery. Experience in that line enabled him to assert this with the greater confidence. In the course of eighteen years' practice, he had known several persons, of different habits and ages, affected with the same species of malady; nine-tenths of whom recovered; scarcely any relapsed, and those that did, on being a second time restored, continued ever after without having the slightest visitation of that disease. On the question, if he could point out a reason for his majesty's illness, he answered, that he really believed, attention to public business, living too abstemiously, and taking too much exercise, were the causes; and that the medicines he had

prescribed, were intended to counteract those causes : and that from their effect he was induced to believe his opinion on these points was well grounded. Being asked the shortest and longest time of recovery, he replied, the shortest from six weeks to two months, and the longest, a year and a half.



American intelligence.

Shelburne, (Nova-Scotia.)

Jan. 29. By a statement from the custom-house books, it appears that the exports have increased the last year, to the value of twenty thousand dollars—A very flattering circumstance to this settlement, which must prove highly agreeable to our readers, and to the friends of Shelburne abroad. Added to this it is with the highest pleasure we can assert, that our imports have decreased in a much greater proportion ; also, that there are now shipping and ready to ship at this port, between four and five thousand quintals of dried fish, and a quantity of pickled fish, and oil and lumber enough lying ready to load a number of vessels of burden.

Boston.

March 9. We hear from New-Hampshire, that the legislature of that state have, at their late session, manifested their attention to and patronage of the cause of literature, by a grant of forty-one thousand acres of valuable land, adjoining Connecticut river, to Dartmouth university. In addition to this gift, we hear, that the state of Vermont have lately granted to that seminary a valuable township, containing twenty-three thousand acres.

May such noble examples of beneficence be retained in honourable remembrance by the friends of science, and excite imitation in other states and nations, for the benefit of arts and knowledge through the world.

We are told, that in the town of Reading, there were felled in one mill, the late season, upwards of three thousand yards of broadcloth.

March 18. The votes in South Carolina, for president and vice president of the united states, were, for

President, gen. Washington 7

V. P. Hon. mr. Rutledge 5

His excellency gov. Hancock 2

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We are told, that orders have been issued by his excellency our worthy governor to col. Tyler, commandant of the first troop of horse in Suffolk division, to hold his troop in readiness to escort his excellency the vice president of the united states, when he shall set out for the seat of federal government.

Last week the general assembly of Rhode Island, convened at Greenwich, negatived a motion for calling a state convention for considering the federal constitution by the usual majority.

Gloucester, (Mass.)

Feb. 12. Yesterday being the anniversary of the birth-day of the illustrious Washington, the inhabitants of this town testified their patriotism and joy on the occasion, by displaying, in every part of the harbour, that flag, for the independence of which we are indebted to this hero. In the afternoon, the independent corps of artillery assembled, and gave a federal discharge of cannon ; when they were entertained by some gentlemen of the town, ever happy to reward its federal and patriotic citizens ; after which, another discharge of thirteen cannon, and three huzzas, closed the day, with that conviviality and cheerfulness, which are always apparent on such important occasions.

Salem.

Feb. 24. Last week, two sleighs, loaded with peltry, came to this town from Detroit, in Canada.

Providence.

Feb. 12. The nineteenth of last month, as two young men were digging sand, at a place called Sandy-hill, about half a mile from Pautucket bridge, in North Providence, they came to a den about four feet under ground, where lay twenty-five black snake. They were extended at full length in the sand in one heap—none were less than three, and some were six feet in length : they were not so spry as in the summer season, so none escaped being killed.

New York.

Feb. 25. We are informed that the committee for procuring subscriptions for the purpose of encouraging American manufactures in this city, have already obtained signatures for seventeen hundred and fifty pounds, in shares of ten pounds each.

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Feb. 26. At a meeting of the subscribers for the encouragement of American manufactures in this city, held at the coffee-house, on the twenty-fourth instant, Alexander Robertson, esq. in the chair, the following persons were nominated as a committee to prepare the draft of a constitution, and a plan of operation, to be reported at a future meeting :

The honourable judge Hobart, general Malcolm, mr. Alexander Robertson, mr. James Watson, mr. White Matlack, mr. John Murray, jun. and mr. John Pintard.

The following characters are held up at different places, as candidates for the office of governor of this state, viz.

His excellency George Clinton.

The hon. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

The hon. Robert Yates.

Chief justice Morris.

March 5. Yesterday being appointed for the meeting of congress under the new constitution, the day was ushered in by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells—which were repeated at twelve o'clock, and at sunset. A general joy pervaded the whole city on this great, important, and memorable event; every countenance testified a hope, that, under the auspices of the new government, commerce would again thrive—the farmer meet a ready market for his produce—manufactures flourish—and peace and prosperity adorn our land.

March 6. On the first Monday in April, the voters of each county throughout the state of Georgia, are to meet, for the purpose of appointing, from each county, three suitable persons, to meet in Augusta, on the first Monday in May, vested with full powers to consider the amendments and alterations which were made in the constitution of that state in November last, and fully to adopt and ratify the same, &c. This is recommended by a resolve of the legislature of that state.

March 14. The exertions of the inhabitants of this city to accommodate the grand congress of the united states, with a building suitable to their dignity, are truly worthy of record, and entitle them to the grateful acknowledgments of their fellow-citizens, not only in this state, but in

every part of the union. Their readiness and liberality in this respect, stand unprecedented, and sufficiently evince their patriotic disposition to support the honour and dignity of the national government. Though the expense of the building will finally be liquidated by a tax on the city and county at large, yet it is solely to the public-spiritedness of our citizens, that we may attribute the erection of such a superb edifice—an edifice that would grace any metropolis in Europe; and it is to those gentlemen, who so voluntarily and cheerfully lent their credit for this purpose, that we are indebted for the state of perfection to which it has been brought—a state which few could expect in so short a period.

The convenience and elegance of federal hall, must afford infinite pleasure to the honourable body for whose reception it has been erected—For them it will be pleasing to behold in our citizens, such a striking instance of their attachment to them, as the immediate representatives of this extensive empire, and it is sincerely hoped, will inspire them with a predilection for our capital, in so much as to induce them to fix upon it as the place of their permanent residence, for which, beyond all manner of doubt, it is much better calculated than any other on the continent—and for us it will be a joyful sensation to reflect, that we have not only fulfilled our duty as members and brethren of a community, who have one common interest for their object, but also, that we have tended to the aggrandizement of the union, and extended our influence as much as possible to promote the respectability of the general government.

March 17. By a letter from a gentleman in Gibraltar to his friend in Philadelphia, dated the 8th December last, we learn that several Algerine corsairs had sailed out of the Streights; from which great danger was to be apprehended of their boarding some of our trading ships at sea.

March 18. We are informed that a subscription paper is now handing about this city, for the purpose of raising a sum of money to defray the expense of fireworks, intended to be

exhibited on the arrival of the illustrious president of the united states.

March 23. Yesterday morning arrived in thirty-five days from Lisbon, the ship North Carolina, captain Haddock. By her we learn, that his royal highness the prince of Wales was declared sole regent of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence whereof, the right honourable William Pitt had resigned his offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, in which, it is said, he will be succeeded by the right honourable Charles James Fox. This will of course bring into a new administration the powerful interells of the following noble personages—

The dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Northumberland, Devonshire, Portland, and Grafton; and the lords Stormont, Montstewart, Sandwich, Huntingdon, Rawdon, Grosvenor, Fitzwilliam, Abingdon, and Guildford; and the following eloquent leaders in the house of commons—Sheridan, Burke, Jack Lee, Pulteney, Selwyn, Fitzpatrick, Courteney, Francis (of East India) the Londales, &c. &c.

We also have advice by the same channel, of the long expected death of his majesty Charles the III^d. of Spain, in his seventy-fourth year, of which he had reigned near thirty. The prince of Asturias, it is presumed, will succeed to the crown, being heir apparent.

Charleston, South Carolina.

Feb. 13. Yesterday the house of representatives agreed to lay a tax of one dollar per annum on slaves, free negroes, mestizoes, and on wheels of carriages.

The yeas and nays were taken on the above question, when there appeared yeas 80, nays 68.

It was mentioned in the debate, that the produce of this state was so much on the increase, that there had been raised in the year 1788, double the quantity of tobacco, exported, as produced in 1787, and a superiority over that year, of thirty thousand tierces of rice. It was also said that the price of indigo bettered so much, that a number of planters, who had been about to decline raising that staple commodity, inclined to give it another trial.

Feb. 14. Yesterday the house of representatives agreed to lay a tax of ten shillings per cent. ad valorem, on all lands in this state, on every hundred pounds value of lots and buildings in any city, village or borough.

The yeas and nays being called for, there appeared to be, yeas 92, nays 38.

Feb. 26. The house of representatives yesterday disagreed with the senate in an alteration of the bill for removing the public records from Charleston to Columbia; also, negatived a proposition for assisting the inland navigation company, by an emission of bills of credit, for facilitating the opening of canals.

Baltimore.

Feb. 13. The important day in the annals of America is past, which conferred on a single citizen those sovereign powers that require to be placed in one person, in order to render a nation happy in peace and prosperous in war. Perhaps that day has exhibited what has never happened before in any part of the globe; above three millions of people, scattered over a country of vast extent, of opposite habits and different manners, all fixing their hopes and wishes on the same man, and unanimously voting for him only, without the intervention of force, artifice, plan, or concert. With what delight will the lover of mankind dwell on this period of history, and cherish the memory of a people, who could thus feel and thus reward a life of great and virtuous actions! We shall be excused for closing this account, with a wish that the people of America may have many other such opportunities of reassuring their deliverer of their love and attachment.

Philadelphia, March 2.

A plan has been agreed upon by a number of the inhabitants of Carlisle, for the establishment of a cotton manufactory in that town. If one half of the capital sums that have been sunk in country stores and taverns, since the peace, had been employed in useful manufactures, they would, before this time, have extricated us from debt, and have made us a happy and independent people. It is to be hoped, that hereafter, the test of the good character of a village, in Pennsylvania, will be the small number of taverns and stores, and the great num-

ber of valuable manufactories that are established in it.

March 3. A letter from an American gentleman, in St. Augustine, to his friend, in Alexandria, dated Jan. 12, 1789, says, "Our vessels are received with the greatest cordiality by the Spaniards. Governor Zespedez pays the greatest attention to every American, who comes properly recommended; and the friendly treatment our countrymen receive from the officers of the Irish brigade, stationed in this town, must lay every American under the greatest obligations, to those hospitable sons of Hibernia. Flour, and all kind of provisions from the united states, find a good market here; the commerce in the above articles being entirely free. This indulgence we owe to the uncultivated state of this province, for St. Augustine, the garrisons on St. John's and St. Mary's, are the only inhabited parts of East-Florida, and these are occupied by men of the military profession, who raise nothing except money, the whole of which is laid out in American produce. Since my arrival here, I have had the satisfaction of conversing with the famous Alexander M'Gillivray, whose name you have so often seen in our public prints—this interview has fully convinced me, that he really is the man, our papers sometimes represent him to be, and that his neighbours, the Georgians, have much to fear from his penetrating genius and great address. The attention paid him by the Spaniards, seems to have something more than common politeness in view—they tell me he holds a general's commission under the crown of Spain; this I have reason to believe, as I have seen him in the Spanish uniform at the governor's table, and receive the military honours of the garrison. This is a policy for which they are not to blame, as M'Gillivray's connexions, from his infancy up to this day, with the different Indian nations in the southern part of America, have established him the supreme legislator over their countries. The Spaniards, but indifferently established in this quarter, and sensible of his power, dread his consequence. A new treaty has lately been established between them and M'Gillivray, as

king of the Creek nation, by which it is stipulated, that the navigation of that part of the Gulf of Mexico, on which St. Mark (an old abandoned fort) is situated, shall be free for the vessels belonging to the said nation. Agreeably to this article, M'Gillivray, in connexion with some of the most respectable merchants, on the island of Providence, has actually established warehouses, at St. Mark, in West-Florida; from whence he carries on an extensive and most profitable trade with the Indians, and even our white settlements on the western waters. Thus you see, an individual, with no other than savage connexions, has concluded a treaty of navigation, which the exertions and wisdom of congress never yet could obtain."

March 4. From the zeal with which several states urge their claims to the perpetual residence of congress among them, it is evident that the sooner that great question is determined, the better—otherwise it will prove the cause not only of disputes, but of such jealousies, as may lay the foundation of dissensions that may prove fatal to the union.

In general assembly, Thursday, March 5, 1789. A. M.

Resolved, That the members of the senate and house of representatives of the united states, from this state, be authorized to make a respectful offer to congress, of the use of any or all the public buildings in Philadelphia, the property of the state, and of the buildings lately erected on the state house square, belonging to the city and county of Philadelphia, in case congress should at any time incline to make choice of this city, for the temporary residence of the federal government.

March 18. Of the many manufactories that have lately been set on foot in the united states, the nail factory, lately established at Harrisburg, is not the least deserving of notice, where, from the labour of two men, and two lads of about fourteen years of age, are produced one hundred and twenty thousand of well made nails and sprigs per week, which are made by cutting, without either fire or drawing, and equal in goodness to any others—a striking instance of our being able to

furnish ourselves with those valuable articles, at much cheaper rates, than they can be imported : and a sufficient inducement to encourage and promote the inventions and industry of our own country.

March 19. A letter from governor Sevier, to the privy council of the new state of Franklin, dated at Buffaloe-Creek, Jan 12, 1789, says, "It is with the utmost pleasure I inform your honours, that the arms of Franklin gained a complete victory over the combined forces of the Creeks and Cherokees, on the 10th instant; since my last, I received information that the enemy were collecting in a considerable body, near Flint-Creek, within 25 miles of my head-quarters, with an intention to attack me; to improve this favourable opportunity, I immediately marched my corps towards the spot, where I at length arrived, after enduring great hardships by the immense quantity of snow and the piercing cold. On the morning of the 10th instant, we were within a mile of the enemy; we soon discovered the situation of their encampment by the smoke of the fires, which we found extended along the foot of the Apalachian mountain. I called a council of war of all the officers, in which it was agreed, to attack the enemy without loss of time, and in order to surround them, I ordered general M'Carter, with the bloody rangers and the tomahawk-men, to take possession of the mountain, the only pass I knew that the Indians could retreat by; whilst I, with the rest of the corps, formed a line, nearly extending from the right to the left of their wings.

"The arrival of general M'Carter on the mountain, and the signal for the attack, was to be announced by the discharge of a grasshopper, which was accordingly given, and the attack began. Our artillery soon roused the Indians from their huts, who finding themselves pretty nearly surrounded on all sides, they tried to save themselves by flight, from which they were prevented by our riflemen, posted behind the trees; their case being thus desperate, they made some resistance, and killed the people who were serving our artillery. Our ammunition being much damaged by the

snow on our march, and the enemy's in good order, I found it necessary to abandon that mode of fight, and trust the event to the sword and tomahawk: accordingly gave orders to that purpose; col. Loid, with one hundred horsemen, charged the Indians with sword in hand, and the rest of the corps followed with their tomahawks. The battle soon became general, by general M'Carter coming down the mountain, to our assistance; death presented itself on all sides in shocking scenes, and in less than half an hour the enemy ceased making resistance, and left us in possession of the bloody field. The loss the enemy sustained in this action, is very considerable; we have buried one hundred and forty five of their dead, and by the blood we have traced for miles, all over the woods, it is supposed the greatest part of them retreated with wounds—our loss is very inconsiderable: it consists of five dead, and sixteen wounded: amongst the latter is the brave M'Carter, who, whilst taking off the scalp of an Indian, was tomahawked by another, whom he afterwards killed with his own hand; I am in hopes this good and brave man will survive. I have marched the army back to the former cantonment, at Buffaloe-creek, where I must remain until I receive some supplies for the troops, which I hope will be sent soon—we suffer most for the want of whiskey."

March 30. A letter from Winchester, dated March 18, says, "Several gentlemen have lately arrived in town from Kentucke, by whom we have been informed, that a general and uninterrupted trade has taken place between the inhabitants of that country and those of the Spanish settlement at New Orleans; several boats loaded with goods to a very considerable amount, having arrived before our informants came away; that in return they took large quantities of tobacco, beef, corn, &c. and that from every appearance, this traffic was likely to be continued and carried on with the greatest alacrity, which cannot fail to prove of infinite and mutual advantage.

We are further informed, that most of the settlements in the quarter of Kentucke are now much disturbed by the

savages, no hostilities having for some time past been committed by them except at the Little Miami, where, about five weeks since, a Shawanese chief, called Black Fish, and one of the Wiandot chiefs, with a number of warriors, took three white people who were out surveying, and brought them in, under guard, to the garrison stationed at the mouth of the Little Miami. Their pretensions were to settle a treaty with the garrison, which our informants say was completed on good terms, by captain Mac Geath and others. The Shawanese chief was so fond of captain Mac Geath, that he offered to take him through the Indian country. These chiefs and warriors afterwards had it in their power to destroy three crews and their effects, but they proved friendly, furnished them with provisions, and treated them kindly.

The Shawanese and Wiandots had several times before taken prisoners and brought them into the garrison, with professions of friendship; but it was suspected their only intentions were to make their observations and get liquors, but from the above pacific conduct, the white inhabitants begin to put some confidence in them, and please themselves with the hope of enjoying a peaceable summer.

Saturday last, in the general assembly, a bill was enacted into a law, for appointing a register general, "for the purpose of registering the accounts of this state;" and to whom the accounts of the comptroller-general of this commonwealth are to be submitted, "before he, the comptroller, shall finally settle the same." By the act aforesaid, that part of the act of April 1785, which "secures to the present comptroller-general a continuance in office for the term of seven years," is repealed, and made void. And the legislature have appointed John Donnaldfon, esq. register-general of this commonwealth.

Same day the general assembly adjourned till the third Tuesday in August next.

A letter from a gentleman in New-York, dated the 26th instant, says "I have waited for some time, with expectation of having it in my power to inform you, that the congress had proceeded to business; but am sorry

to say, they remain *in statu quo*—As yet, twenty-six representatives and ten senators. When they will have a quorum, is uncertain; it depends however, on the states of Jersey and Delaware, for senators. The lower house, it is said, will be formed to-morrow."



MARRIED.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Boston. Mr. Nathaniel Ayers to miss Katy Gardner. Mr. Caleb Loring to miss Nancy Greely. Mr. James Read to miss Mercy Pease.

At Braintree. Rev. Jacob Norton to miss Betsey Cranch.

At Charlestown. Captain James Prince to miss Agnes Gordon.

NEW YORK.

In the capital. Mr. John Ireland to miss Lawrence.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia. Dr. Charles Afordby Beatty, of Georgetown, on the Patowmac, to the amiable miss Eunice Beal. Mr. Jacob Cox, to miss Hiltzheimer.

DELAWARE.

In Wilmington. Henry Latimer, esquire, to miss Nancy Richardson.



DIED.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Boston. Mr. Robert M'Elroy. Mrs. Esther Fletcher Stoughton. Mrs. Mary Burns. Mrs. Codman.

At Salem. William Pyncheon, esq.

CONNECTICUT.

In Newhaven. Suddenly, Mr. Stephen Brillol.

RHODE ISLAND.

At Newport. Mr. Jacob Roderigo Rivera.

VERMONT.

General Ethan Allen.

NEW YORK.

In the capital. Mrs. Catharine Crosby. Mr. Barnet Sebring.

At Clinton. Mrs. Magaret Stou-tenbergh, aged 98 years.

NEW JERSEY.

At Timbercreek. Mr. Richard Cheefman, aged 82 years.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia. Mr. John Byrne, Mrs. Williams, wife of colonel Williams.

- In Germantown. Miss Engle. Near Baltimore. George Resleau,
 In York county. Colonel Robert jun. esquire.
 M^rPherson. VIRGINIA.
 Near Alexandria. Robert Adam,
 In St. George's Hundred. Nicholas Vandyke. esq. aged 60 years.
 In Petersburg. Mrs. Amanda Backus.
 MARYLAND.
 In Baltimore. Mr. Patrick Rice.

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Errata.—Page 177, col. 1. line 21, for *young* read *youth*; line 43, for *unfortunate* read *importunate*.

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For A P R I L, 1789.

Observations relative to a commercial treaty with Great Britain, &c. &c. written in 1784. By James M^r Henry, esq.

To the CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES.

NUMBER I.

PEACE is the moment when past injuries ought to be forgotten; the oblivious grave wherein all resentments should be deposited; the moment best fitted to internal arrangement, and for perpetuating by wise measures its peculiar advantages. America experiences by the peace a new situation; a momentous arrangement demands her attention; a commercial treaty with Great Britain, that may ascertain the interests of the two nations so as to obviate future dissensions. In the adjustment of this business, difference of opinion must be expected; nor should every movement of the parties be declaimed against, as tending to excite to groundless resentments.

That our ardour for obtaining an honourable treaty of commerce may not be checked, or false resentments encouraged, is the object of the following observations. Great Britain has taken her ground; her writers have displayed the ministerial banners, and much ability has been shewn in levelling the commercial consequence of this country. Even among ourselves she has her advocates, and her strength and riches are once more marshalled against our weakness and poverty.

A writer in the New York Independent Journal, who signs Cincinnatus, is pleased to inform us, that we might have had an advantageous treaty with Great Britain, for that Mr. Hartley was "authorized" by the present administration "to offer, and did offer, to secure to our vessels the privilege of carrying our produce to the British islands and plantations, under the restriction of not carrying to Great Britain, or the dominions of the British crown;" but

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that the treaty was lost to the united states by our commissioners objecting to this privilege. Cincinnatus adds, that the fact is confirmed by the dispatches of the commissioners: I must, however, be forgiven, should I distrust the faithfulness of the memory of this writer, in case he has read the dispatches. I know a report is wandering abroad, that such an offer was made to our commissioners; but till now I have not heard a single person acknowledge from whence he had it, or where it was to be found. It appeared to me like the accounts we had in war of Russian armaments, and entitled to no greater respect. That Mr. Hartley was authorized to talk generally about this privilege, in the course of a negotiation meant to be fruitless, and that our commissioners endeavoured to fix him to certain points, by an attempt to enlarge it, was proper and may be true; but, that he was empowered to stipulate the privilege, and that our commissioners unconditionally rejected it, is improvable, and not to be admitted.

But I hope we are qualified to acquit our commissioners, without trusting to assertions which neither party can support, for neither party, I presume, is able to produce the dispatches.

1st. On the 11th of April, 1783, "a committee of the West India planters and merchants," preferred "a representation to his majesty's ministers," in which the privilege in question is stated as essential to the prosperity of the islands. The ministry viewing this as a matter of great moment, required six weeks for its consideration, at the end of which they informed the committee—that it was a case of vast moment—that they could not decide.

2d. Mr. W. Eden, in his speech on Mr. W. Pitt's bill, "for the provisional establishment and regulation of trade and intercourse, between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the united states of North America,"

says, "I shall intreat the house to advert particularly to the clause which authorises a free import and export between the united states and the British West India Islands. The united states, by this article* will have infinite advantages from which our loyal colonies remain excluded; they will have advantages even against Great Britain and Ireland, from their proximity of situation to the islands, cheapness of labour, and frequency of voyages. Besides, they will supply our islands with all manufactures now sent from these kingdoms; for instance, the hat trade, for which they possess all the materials; the oil trade, spermaceti candles, provisions, fish, &c. The loss of some of these branches will peculiarly affect Ireland. But the worst was still to come, they will gradually, and in a course of years, possess themselves of the carrying trade. Thus the kingdom would gradually lose a great nursery of its seamen, and all the means of manning ships in times of emergency, and would thus decline and languish during peace, and be helpless and dependent during war." This speech, and the ascendancy of the present administration, triumphed, and defeated a bill that

NOTE.

* Article. "And be it enacted, that all goods and merchandize, of the growth and produce of the territories now composing the united states of America, which, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, were importable into his majesty's islands, colonies, and plantations in America, may be lawfully imported into the same, in British ships, or in ships belonging to his majesty's plantations, or in ships now the property of British subjects, and duly registered within three months after the passing of this act, or in ships or vessels belonging to the said united states, upon the terms, and in the manner heretofore used; and that it shall and may be lawful for the ships or vessels of the said united states, to export from his majesty's said islands, colonies, or plantations in America, to any port or place of the said united states, all such goods and merchandize, as were, in the year 1775, lawfully exportable to the same."

had roused and agitated the whole capacities of parliament during a period of eleven weeks.

3d. To these proofs may be added the irresistible testimony of a pamphlet, said to be composed under the auspices of the cabinet, to interest the nation and give weight to their system.† This pamphlet was written during mr. Hartley's negotiation with our commissioners: while the honourable mr. Pitt's bill was yet depending in parliament; appeared on the 6th of June, and taught the committee of West India planters and merchants the answer they were to expect from lord North on the 7th. It asserts, that "the solid power of supplying the wants of America, of receiving her produce, and of waiting her convenience, belongs almost exclusively to our own merchants; that England's "natural impatience to pre-occupy the American market should perhaps be rather checked than encouraged"—that "no treaty a present is necessary"—that England "trades with several very considerable nations, without commercial treaties." It considers the privilege in question as a wild folly of imagination—that "would have affected the most essential interests in every branch of commerce, and to every part of the world, and that the West India planters would be the only subjects of Great Britain who could derive any benefit, however partial, from their open intercourse directly with the American states, and indirectly with the rest of the world." It concludes—"the navigation act gave to the trade of the world; if we alter that act, by permitting any state to trade with our islands, or by suffering any state to carry into this country any produce but its own, we desert the navigation act, and sacrifice the principle of England. But if the principle of the navigation act is properly understood, and well followed, the country may still be safe and great. The ministers will find, when the country understands the question, that the principle of the navigation act

NOTE.

† Observations on the commerce of the united states with Europe and the West Indies.

must be kept entire, and that the carrying trade must not in any degree be given up. The ministers will see the precipice on which they stand; any neglect or mismanagement in this point, or abandoned policy to gain a few votes, will inevitably bring on their own downfall, even more deservedly than the miserable peace brought on that of their predecessors; and as the mischief will be more wanton, their fall should be more ignominious. Their conduct on this occasion ought to be the test of their abilities and good management, and ought to decide the degree of confidence there should be placed in them in future. This country has not found itself in a more interesting situation; it is now to be decided whether we are to be ruined by the independence of America, or not. The peace in comparison was a trifling object; and if the neglect of one interest more than another deserves impeachment, surely it will be the neglect of this.”*

Is more ponderous evidence necessary to prove that our commissioners could not obtain from the present British administration, what we are told, their dispatches assure us, Mr. Hartley was authorised to offer, and did offer; and shall we not be indulged to conclude, that if the ministerial negotiation meant aught, it was a pause of recollection, an interval for scheme, intrigue, and discovery?

Having acquitted the British ministry of all blame in not making a treaty, much this writer fears that the measures of some states for obtaining one are wrong, and much he apprehends that they cannot be right, for much he insinuates that our legislators are ignorant, and that America is too dependent on Europe, to take decisive measures in her own favour.

America, it seems, is again to be tried in the severe school from which she has escaped. At home, we are to be alarmed with suggestions of our nothingness, and in England we are to be held up as almost the exclusive property of her merchants—we are “not to be feared as a nation” and should be contented with the proclamations of St. James’s, as the rule of

our conduct; be thankful that our tobacco may be landed in a few places, and received “under his majesty’s locks:” and rejoice that the king has graciously condescended to direct his own vessels and his own people to supply us with the sweets of his own island†. Is the mad avarice of nations never to end; is the superstition of past years to enter into the creed of the present; is the dependence of America still to be the favourite folly of Great Britain; is her diminished glory to be utterly extinguished by vain attempts to restore its original brightness?

Whoever has attended to the movements of the British ministry, must have perceived that they build their expectations of leading us to their own terms, and have invigorated the hopes of the nation, by a presumed want of unity in our councils—a factitious display of the superior credit of their merchants, and cheapness of their manufactures, and the perfect reliance of this country upon these; artfully concealing the absolute dependence of England upon the united states for the consumption of her manufactures, and prosperity of her West India islands. I shall at least discharge a debt I owe to my country, by endeavouring to shew, that America is in a situation to enforce a liberal treaty—that we should not depend on proclamations, or commit the growing greatness of our commerce to the uncertain and fallacious workings of a negotiation, without helping it forward by measures declaratory of our intentions and sovereignty—and that some public measures which have been taken for this purpose, so far from deserving censure, claim the most implicit imitation. The piece signed Cincinnatus will serve as a text, and I shall hope for a candid hearing in a future number.

March 12th, 1784.

(*Number II. in our next.*)

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Three letters on the trade and commerce of America. P. 251.

LETTER III.

IN my last I endeavoured to point out the insufficiency of the treaties we have at present subsisting between

NOTE.

† See the proclamations, 16 June, 2 July, and 5 November.

NOTE.

* Observations.

us and foreign nations, "for the purpose of founding the advantages of commerce upon reciprocal utility and the just rules of free intercourse:" the reciprocity, in this instance, may with justice be said to be all on one side.

It may be asked, what can have induced our commissioners to be so inconsiderate as to enter into treaties so inadequate, and so short of what we might have expected? This is a question much more easily asked, than answered. There are but three inducements that I can think of, that seem to me to have the smallest probability of truth in them, viz. ignorance, levity, or treachery. Ignorance in not knowing better; levity in not attending to the business they were about; or treachery in betraying the most essential interests of their country, which were committed to their charge: either of which, if true is sufficient to damn them forever as political negotiators, or as statesmen, in the opinion of the public. For my part, I cannot help thinking we should have been just as well off, if we had had no commercial treaties at all. We should have been upon as good a footing as we are at present, and we have no reason to think they would have been under any temptation to have placed us upon a worse. Let us prosecute this subject a little further, and then we shall be able to see what will be the consequence of the trade with Europe continuing upon its present footing.

If America continues to import from England and other European countries, for her own use and consumption, and also for re-exportation, or to send abroad again to other countries, by which she might draw a balance back again, of a greater value of goods and merchandize than the exports for the consumption of those countries; one of two things must happen—either she must remain greatly indebted to those countries, or else she must find some method of making a remittance of the balance in money. Now there is, in general, no finer maxim in trade, than that we are most enriched by those countries which pay us the greatest sums upon the advance; while, on the contrary, we are most impoverished by those which carry away the greatest balance from us. The only instance I know of to the

contrary, is that above hinted, where a greater balance is gained by re-exportation.

Another maxim in trade is, that that trade is the most valuable which contributes most to the employment and subsistence of our people, and to the improvement of our lands. The trade, therefore, which lessens most the subsistence of our people and the value of our lands, must be most detrimental. A fourth maxim is, that that country which does not sell us so many manufactures as it buys goods from us, contributes the whole of the value of the balance to the employment and subsistence of our people, and to the product of our lands.

But fifthly, the country which sells us more than it buys from us, takes the whole value of the balance from the subsistence of our people, and from the landed interest.

Upon the whole, therefore, this maxim seems to be settled, viz. that the balance, which is either paid or received by means of our trade with any country, is the only sure maxim by which we are to judge of the value of our trade with that country, or, in other words, every particular trade contributes just so much to the subsistence of our people, and to the improvement of our lands, as the balance it pays to us for the greater quantity of goods we sell than buy, and it deducts so much from both, for the greater quantity of manufactures we buy than sell, as the balance we are to pay amounts to.

If this is the case, I think there is no one who can be at a loss to judge of the value of the trade with England, as it is carried on at present; for there can be none so ignorant, as not to know that the balance of trade between England and America is so strong against America, and so much in favour of England, that it has carried off almost every shilling of gold and silver that was to be found in America, and that if it continues much longer, there will not be one shilling left.

In this dilemma what is to be done? Various are the remedies that have been thought of to prevent the exportation of money. And the measures that have been pursued in some countries, have been directly contrary to

is another vision. But if the American states, (with or without the intervention of British commissioners, to attend to the interest of British creditors in the liquidation of their debts) will apply mr. Montague's principles and practice to the present condition of their country, they will find the remedy for the evil, even in the evil itself, for the benefit of the British creditors; and they will find a certain good to spring out of that remedy, for the benefit of America herself.

Let the American states, in the first place, provide a fund of taxes, sufficient to pay more than the interest of their internal and external debts, and sufficient also to pay either the sums annually required to carry on their government, or the interest of a sum borrowed for carrying it on, if they have not taxes sufficient to raise an annual supply for that purpose; but which borrowing will not be necessary, except for a few years at the beginning, till public credit shall be established; because, after that period, it will be the fault of America herself, if she does not pay off debts, instead of increasing them. The states should, in the second place, convert the above debts (whether internal or external, or new borrowings, to carry on for a few years their government) into public transferable securities, and make provision for the exact application of those taxes to the payment of the interest of the debts, in the same way that mr. Montague did. Lastly. In order to give currency to these transferable securities (or, to give them a more simple name, to this paper money,) it should be received in payment of taxes to the state, and of borrowings by the state, in the same way as was provided for by mr. Montague.

Objection. It may be objected, that it is unjust to make the American public pay the debts of American private persons; that the American public will be a loser by the bargain, and therefore will never agree to it.

Answer. Public bodies, like private persons, submit to hardships, when they are to receive benefits from them. The states will agree, if any way can be fallen upon to make the public a gainer in the end, and to save it from loss in the mean time. Now the way to compass the first of these

ends, is, 1st, for the American states, in return for the transferable securities which they give for the payment of the interest of the debts of the British creditors, to be put in the place of those creditors, so as to enable the states to recover the debts in America; and 2dly, that these debts, as fast as recovered, shall be converted into a fund, to make a solid bottom for a bank of circulation, like that of England, to be the property of the American public; and which bank will gradually extend itself, for the accommodation of public and private credit, as they shall extend themselves, because the debts recovered will be gradually falling into it.

With regard to ways of saving the public of America from loss, or at least from a considerable loss, there are many. Some of the debts could be called in instantly. Securities for the payment of the interest annually, and of the principal by instalment, might be taken on the real estates of others, or upon the personal estates of them and their friends, when they had no real estates. To ease the debtors, and yet to give benefit to the public, payment of many of the debts might be taken in the produce of the country; for example, in the tobacco of Chesapeake-bay, and the rice of the Carolinas; and these sold to foreign nations, with the stamp of the public upon them, to vouch the goodness of their quality, would acquire an additional value. In order to obtain the end of easing the debtor, and getting benefit to the state still farther, that produce might be exported upon a premium by the state, to respectable bodies of merchants in Britain, to be received for behoof of the British proprietors in the American funds. This last is not difficult to be executed. All the tobacco received in France and Spain, is consigned to a few hands; and the diamonds of the Brazils go to one house in Lisbon. But above all, England might give advantage to American trade, without hurting her own, to make up the public loss, and reward the public honour of America: these are arrangements, which could be contrived in half a day, by one who has shewn that he can conduct the lightning of the skies, and who, by contriving these arrangements,

would crown the good he has done to his own, and make up for the mischief he has done to this country. Such mutual concessions would tend to reconcile the humours of men to each other, whose interests in spite of those humours must long be the same. The advantages which would redound to America from adopting such views, are the following :

1st. Her empire of dominion, and her empire of commerce (for they must be blind indeed, who do not see how immense this last empire must be, if honour be made its basis) will start from the noblest of all goals, the goal of public honour, and of national fidelity of character ; circumstances which support the public credit of England, and the private credit of the Spanish nation, more than any other. At present the ships of all countries stand aloof from the coasts of America, but they would then press forward to reach them. He must be a bad merchant, indeed, who does not see, that a little character is worth a little money.

2dly. America would be supplied with an immediate substitute for her want of coin, just as England was by mr. Montague's scheme, and this relief, by the vigour which it always gives to industry and trade, would supply America with coin, just as coin was drawn into England by mr. Montague's scheme. No bank can stand without an equivalent security within itself, for the notes which it issues. The debts recovered and sent to the bank, would form that security ; and then the bank, either established at one station, or, which would be much better, divided into three or four branches, placed at great stations of America for the sake of greater convenience to business, would give new wings to the circulation of private credit, and also to public credit ; for, supported by the state, the bank would for its own interest support the state. The consequence of the firm establishment of public and private credit, obtained by those operations, would be, and at no very distant period, that foreign nations would throw their money into the public funds of America with as little fear, as they do into those of their own country. And the consequence of that confidence again

would be, that British merchants possessed of property, in the public funds of America, would make payment often in that property, and trade often upon it ; America would remit her payments almost always in her own produce, and carry on her trade, and take her station high in the rank of nations, either for defence or offence, on the money of other countries.



A series of letters on the establishment of the worship of the Deity, as essential to national happiness. P. 268.

By an American.

Plurique boni mores,

Quam bonae leges, valent. Tacitus.

LETTER III.

Dear Sir,

MY heart is warmed with lively gratitude to the Author of my nature, that it hath pleased him to give me existence in this enlightened period of the world, and in this part of it rather than another ; where the events of an age have been crowded into a few years ; and such advantages for happiness put into our hands as are withheld from the rest of the human race. From this eminence, we may look down the distant vale of time, and see myriads of future generations happy or miserable, according to our improvement of present opportunities.

Americans are now erecting the august edifice of an empire ; may every material be useful or ornamental ; in this house, family government can be maintained securely and flourish only on the basis of family religion. Some liberal establishment, to uphold a sense of religion, and the worship of the Deity, seems wanting.

To secure the advantages which religion derives to civil government, and to diffuse, extensively, harmony and happiness throughout these states, allow me to propose a general and equitable tax, collected from all the rateable members of a state, for the support of the public teachers of religion, of all denominations within the state. Some of the states of Germany and of the United Netherlands, it is said, support public worship in this mode. Their clergy draw their stipends from the public treasury. Let a moderate poll tax be added to a tax

of a specified sum on the pound, and levied on all the subjects of a state, and collected with the public tax, and paid out to the public teachers of religion, of the several denominations, in proportion to the number of polls or families belonging to each respectively, or according to their estates.

Many advantages, I conceive, would arise to the community, as well as evils be prevented by this mode. The support of a public institution would be equitably borne. If it is necessary to the public happiness, then ought all the members of the state to contribute towards its support. And this method would be equitable and expeditious. In some of the states there are perhaps one-third, or one-half of the inhabitants, who do little or nothing towards the support of public worship. The proportion of these being collected, would be a relief to those societies on whom the support of religion now falls. The salaries of ministers being at a medium about the same as they now are; those places, which support public worship by a rate or contribution, would have less to pay, by one-third or one-half, because the tax would draw a revenue from such as now do nothing towards it.

Were I living at the distance of twenty or fifty miles from public worship, yet ought I to pay to the support of an institution which secures my property and life, by diffusing among my fellow-citizens a sense of moral obligation, on the same principle on which I contribute to the support of civil government, because both are necessary to the order and happiness of the society of which I am a member.

The support of the public teachers of religion, by a tax, would tend greatly to promote the peace of towns and societies; it would extinguish the ardour of the founders of new delusions, and their weak or mercenary abettors; it would prevent separations, except upon the purest principles; the powerful motive of saving a penny or two in the pound, would cease to operate, because their tax will continue still the same, go where they will. Thus the interest and happiness of the people would be greatly advanced.

It was a remark made by our illustrious chief, at the close of the late war, "that a retrospect of the scenes through which we had passed, from the commencement to the conclusion of the war, was sufficient to convince infidelity itself of the existence of a supreme governing providence." What returns more acceptable than those of gratitude can we render to God, who hath given us birth and existence, as a nation, and that by providing for the public worship of him, who hath said of nations, as well as of individuals, "they who honour me, will I honour."

The assembly of Maryland have given a most worthy example, and done themselves lasting honour, by their resolutions on this subject. You have seen them; but suffer me to repeat them, and close this letter.

In assembly, January 8th, 1785.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this house, that the happiness of the people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, depend upon morality, religion, and piety; and that these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the public worship of Almighty God.

Resolved, That it is highly necessary, and the indispensable duty of the legislature of the state, to discourage vice and immorality, to enact a law for the support and encouragement of the christian religion, as the best means of manifesting our gratitude to God for his past mercies and deliverances, and procuring his blessing and favour upon all our future endeavours for the honour, prosperity, and happiness of this country.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, agreeably to the constitution and form of government, that it is proper for the general assembly to lay a general and equal tax on all the citizens of this state, of all denominations of christians, (as far as their present circumstances will permit) for the support of the ministers of the gospel of all societies of christians within this state, without any preference or discrimination.

By order,

W. HARWOOD, clerk.
Connecticut, September 1786.

[LETTER IV. in our next.]

Letter respecting wild garlic.

MANKIND are under perpetual obligations to each other, both to receive and communicate useful knowledge. How apt are we, through ignorance, to despise the gifts of heaven, and look upon many things as evils, which are in themselves real blessings? Such is the wild garlic, which the farmers generally deprecate as the most destructive evil both to their lands and wheat crops. Whereas the experiment of the present year, will, I hope, convince them of their mistake.

I shall not trouble the public with a dissertation upon the medical virtues of the garlic plant, which spontaneously mixes itself with our food, and, when taken into the human system, may be productive of the most valuable effects; but shall point out the easiest method of separating it from the wheat, that has ever been discovered: an object truly worth the attention of the farmer—as being so much the object of his wish and in itself more valuable than every mechanical invention for that purpose. I shall give you the history, as I had it from a gentleman of Caroline county, Maryland, who made the experiment, as well as many of his neighbours, with satisfactory success.

When the garlic has fairly formed its head, put your sheep into your wheat-field; they will go in the furrows, avoid doing the smallest injury to the wheat, and carefully glean the garlic out of it. In the morning they will take their stations as so many reapers, and, like them, move on in constant and gradual procession, till they have reached the end; and then, satisfied, they will lie down beside the fence, till the heat of the day is over, and in the evening, repeat their task. And thus, if you portion your number of sheep to the size of your field, though one half appeared to be garlic, at their entry, in ten days they will not leave perhaps an hundred heads of garlic in the whole field, and at that time not have injured one head of wheat.

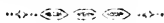
The Creator hath made nothing in vain! Here it is evident, that the soil so much complained of, is turned to an advantage. Learn, then, farmers, instead of attempting to eradicate

the garlic out of your lands, to improve the bounteous gift: and what you have hitherto looked upon as the bane of agriculture, acknowledge as a providential blessing! What a rich fund of wealth here opens to your view, both for food and raiment. It is well known, that sheep pastured upon garlic, bear better fleeces both in quantity and quality.

Foreign commodities, particularly the woolsens of Great Britain, have nearly wrought the ruin of this country. But may we not hope, under the auspices of the federal government, that we shall yet be a rich and happy people! A spirit of encouraging domestic manufactures seems to pervade all ranks. Let us then not supinely neglect the advantages we enjoy. We have, like the prodigal spoken of in the gospel, foolishly squandered away our substance in following fashionable pride; we are now on the brink of distress, but still we have it in our power to escape the danger; heaven itself doth point out to us the remedy. Let us encourage home-manufactures. Where there is a great abundance of garlic, let us raise more sheep, and in so doing, we shall render a greater benefit to ourselves and to society—our property will be more secure, and we will have it more in our power “to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.”

W. M. K.

Mordington mills. April 1, 1789.

*Constitution of the New York manufacturing society.*

WHEREAS a considerable fund hath been raised by subscription, for the purpose of establishing useful manufactures in the city of New York, and furnishing employment for the honest industrious poor.

The subscribers do therefore associate upon the following terms.

Art. I. The society shall be known and distinguished by the name of “The New York Manufacturing Society.”

Art. II. The stock of the society shall be divided into shares of ten pounds; and upon payment of that sum to the treasurer, he shall deliver a certificate for the several shares so paid for, which shall be evidence of

the interest which the person, in whose favour the certificate is given, has in the funds of the society.

Art. III. Every owner of one or more shares, to the number of four, shall have one vote; of five shares, and less than ten, three votes; of ten shares, and less than twenty, five votes; of twenty shares, eight votes; and one vote for every ten shares above twenty.

Art. IV. All shares shall be transferable, such transfer to be made by the proprietor, his or her lawful representative, in the presence of the treasurer, and by delivering to him the certificate thereof; and taking out a new certificate in the name of the person to whom such share is transferred.

Art. V. The directors shall call a meeting of the society annually, on the third Wednesday in March, at such place as they shall think proper (giving not less than six days previous notice thereof in two of the public newspapers); the members present shall constitute a quorum, decide all questions by a majority of votes, and elect by ballot, a treasurer, and twelve directors, to manage their concerns for one year.

Art. VI. The board of directors shall have the disposition of the funds of the society, with power to receive further subscriptions. at such rates as they may think proper, to carry into effect the designs of the institution; shall determine the manner of doing business; appoint a secretary, the necessary clerks, agents and servants; and shall lay before the society at the annual meeting, a general statement of their proceedings and accounts, which statement and accounts shall be lodged with the treasurer for the examination and inspection of any of the subscribers, for at least ten days prior to such annual meeting.

Art. VII. The board of directors shall meet, statedly, on the fourth Wednesday of March, June, September, and December, and oftener as occasion may require; seven of whom shall be a quorum.

Art. VIII. The directors shall have power to call a meeting of the society for the purpose of filling up vacancies in their own body: and in all other cases where they may deem it necessary, upon giving not less than

six days notice in two of the public newspapers.

Art. IX. No person shall be eligible to serve in the office of director, treasurer, or secretary, unless he be a subscriber.

Art. X. The treasurer shall give security for the faithful discharge of his trust, to such amount and to such person or persons as the directors shall deem proper.



Epitome of the present state of the union.

New Hampshire.

WHICH is one hundred and eighty miles in length, and sixty in breadth, contained, according to an enumeration in 1787, one hundred and two thousand inhabitants—is attached to the federal government—engaged in organizing her militia, already the best disciplined any in the union—encouraging the domestic arts—and looking forward to the benefits which will result from the operations of the new constitution. New Hampshire, from her local advantages, and the hardihood of her sons, may anticipate essential benefit from the operation of equal commercial regulations.

Massachusetts, four hundred and fifty miles in length, and one hundred and sixty in breadth, contained, according to an enumeration in 1787, three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants. Since the tranquility of the state was restored by the suppression of the late insurrection, the whole body of the people appear solicitous for the blessings of peace and good government. If any conclusion can be drawn from elections for the federal legislature, this state has a decided majority in favour of the new constitution. The great objects of commerce, agriculture, manufacture and the fisheries, appear greatly to engage the attention of Massachusetts. Fabrication of cotton, coarse woolens, linens, duck, iron, wool &c. is prosecuting with success, and by diminishing her imports, and increasing her exports, she is advancing to that rank and importance in the union, which her extent of territory—her resources—and the genius and enterprise of her citizens entitle

her to—and although the collision of parties, at the moment of election, strikes out a few sparks of animosity, yet, the decision once made, the “calumet of peace” is smoked in love and friendship—“and, like true republicans, they acquiesce in the choice of the majority.”

Connecticut, eighty-one miles in length, and fifty-seven in breadth, contained, agreeably to a census in 1782, two hundred and nine thousand, one hundred and fifty inhabitants. Its soil is fertile: this truly republican state is pursuing her interest in the promotion of manufactures, commerce, agriculture, and the sciences. She appears to bid fair, from the peaceable, loyal, and federal character of the great body of her citizens—from the enterprise of her men of wealth, and other favourable circumstances, to attain to a great degree of opulence, power, and respectability in the union.

New York, three hundred and fifty miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, contained, agreeably to a census in one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven inhabitants. This State appears to be convulsed by parties—but the crisis is at hand, when, it is hoped, that the “hatchet” will be buried. Exertions on one side are making for the re-election of governor Clinton, and on the other for the introduction of the hon. judge Yates, to the chair—both parties appear sanguine as to their success. It is ardently to be wished, that temper and moderation may preside at the elections; and there can be no doubt of it, as that freedom, for which we fought and triumphed, depends so essentially upon a free choice. It is greatly regretted, that this respectable and important member of the federal republic should not be represented in the most honourable senate of the united states. New York, however, is rising in her federal character, and in manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial consequence—Evidence in her federal elections—her plans for promoting manufactures, and the increase of her exports.

New Jersey, one hundred and sixty miles in length, and fifty-two in breadth, contained, by a census in

1784, one hundred and forty-nine thousand four hundred and thirty-five inhabitants. This state is at present tranquil, although lately agitated by a very extraordinary contested election—which by a timely interference of the executive, appears to be settled. The inhabitants of this state are warmly attached to the new constitution—the blessings of peace, an equal trade, and good government, being properly prized by them. The arts and sciences are objects of importance in this state, and many of her sons rank high in the republic of letters.

Pennsylvania, two hundred and eighty-eight miles in length, and one hundred and fifty-six in breadth; by a census in 1787, contained three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants. This extensive and truly respectable state, is making great proficiency in her manufactures, agriculture, arts, and commerce. Her attachment to the new constitution is unequivocal, and with a consistency highly honorary to her national character, she has lately made an effort to conform her state constitution to that of the union. The public buildings in the city of Philadelphia, have been respectfully offered for the accommodation of congress. Theatrical exhibitions are now permitted by law—and the city has been incorporated: experience will determine the eligibility of the two latter transactions.

Delaware, ninety-two miles in length, and sixteen in breadth, by a census in 1787, contained thirty-seven thousand inhabitants. This state, though circumscribed in its limits, derives great importance from its rank in the union—attached to the new constitution, and having the honour to take the lead in its adoption, there is no doubt of its giving efficacy to its righteous administration.

Maryland, one hundred and thirty-four miles in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth, contained by a census taken in 1782, two hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred and thirty inhabitants. From its favourable situation in the union, this state bids fair for prosperity, wealth, and eminence. Warmly attached to the new constitution, and enjoying a central situation, the publications there have teemed

with tempting inducements to congress, to make Baltimore the seat of the federal legislature.

Virginia, seven hundred and fifty eight miles in length and two hundred and twenty-four in breadth, by a census taken in 1782, contains five hundred and sixty-seven thousand six hundred and fourteen inhabitants. From the natural ardour of her sons in the cause of freedom, she is frequently convulsed in her elections, and has been torn by factions. Possessing an extensive territory, and a vast income, her funds are placed on a respectable footing; but as her representation in the federal legislature is decidedly attached to the union, and the new constitution—there is no doubt but that she will see her interest and glory finally connected with a few temporary sacrifices upon the principles of mutual concession.

South Carolina is two hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty-five in breadth; and contains, by a census in 1787, one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. She is an important member of the union, and has appeared lately to vibrate between opposing sentiments. Her attachment to national measures, we doubt not, will evidently discover itself when all tender laws and pine barrens shall be done away. The prohibition of the importation of slaves, and the provision lately made for the reduction of the foreign debt, are federal traits—add to these, that their electors have given an unanimous vote for his excellency general Washington, as president of the united states—by which the memorable circumstance is authenticated, that the voice of the whole continent has once more called our Fabius Maximus to rescue our country from impending ruin.

Georgia, six hundred miles in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth—by a census in 1787, contained ninety-eight thousand inhabitants. This state is completing her federal character by conforming her state constitution to that of the union—and being the youngest branch of the family—and a frontier—she will doubtless experience the supporting and protecting arm of the federal government.

Foreign states.

Rhode Island is sixty-eight miles in length, and forty in breadth, and, by a census taken in 1783, contained fifty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six inhabitants. This state has again refused to accede to an union with her sister states, and is now wholly estranged from them; and from appearances, will long continue so, unless the measure of the iniquity of her “know ye” gentry should be speedily filled up—or the delusion, which has so long insatuated a majority of her citizens, should be removed— anxious of enjoying the protection of the union, the inhabitants of Newport, Providence, and other places, are determined to sue for its protection, and to be annexed to Massachusetts or Connecticut. This dismemberment of the state, it is to be desired, may be prevented by her being wholly grafted into that flock, from whence, through blindness, she has been broken off.

North Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-eight miles in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth; and, by a census taken in 1787, contained two hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants. A depreciated paper medium, and a deficiency of political knowledge, are considered as the causes of the anti-national spirit of this state. Her extensive frontier, and being obliged to export the greater part of her productions through Virginia, it is expected, will, ere long, evince the necessity of her acceding to the confederation. This, indeed, appears already the predominant idea of her citizens, by some recent transactions.



An address to his excellency George Washington, president of the united states, from the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania.

Sir,

THE president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania cheerfully embrace this interesting occasion to congratulate you upon the establishment of the federal constitution, and to felicitate ourselves and our country, upon your unanimous appointment to the presidency of the united States.

In reflecting upon the vicissitudes of the late war, in tracing its difficulties, and in contemplating its success, we are uniformly impressed with the extent and magnitude of the services which you have rendered to your country; and by that impression, we are taught to expect that the exercise of the same virtues and abilities, which have been thus happily employed in obtaining the prize of liberty and independence, must be effectually instrumental in securing to your fellow citizens and their posterity, the permanent blessings of a free and efficient government. And although the history of the revolution will furnish the best evidence of the invariable attachment of this commonwealth to the interest and honour of the union, yet we cannot resist this favourable opportunity of personally assuring you, that in every measure, which tends to advance the national character, you may rely on the zealous co-operation of the executive authority of Pennsylvania.

In discharging the duties of your present important station, it must, sir, be a never-failing source of consolation and support, that the unbounded love and confidence of the people, will produce a favourable construction of all your actions, and will contribute to the harmony and success of your administration. For we know, that eventually your happiness must depend upon the happiness of your country, and we believe, that in wishing an adequate execution of your intentions and designs, we comprehend all that is necessary to both.

Uniting, with our sister states, in the admiration of those motives, which, at this interesting era of our affairs, have induced you again to relinquish the enjoyment of domestic peace, for a conspicuous and laborious participation in the cares and toils of public life, we fervently pray for the preservation of your health, and we confidently hope, that the consummation of a patriot's wishes—the glory and felicity of your country, will crown the period of a long and illustrious existence, and prepare you for the enjoyment of an everlasting reward.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Council chamber.

Philadelphia, April 23, 1789.

A N S W E R.

To the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen.

I RECEIVE with great satisfaction on the affectionate congratulations of the president and supreme executive council, of Pennsylvania, on my appointment to the presidency of the united states.

If, under favour of the divine providence, and with the assistance of my fellow citizens, it was my fortune to have been in any degree instrumental in vindicating the liberty and confirming the independence of my country, I now find a full compensation for my services, in a belief that those blessings will be permanently secured by the establishment of a free and efficient government. And you will permit me to say, on this occasion, that as nothing could add to the evidence I have formerly received, of the invariable attachment of your commonwealth to the interest and honour of the union, so nothing could have been more agreeable to me at this time, than the assurances you have given me of the zealous co-operation of its executive authority in facilitating the accomplishment of the great objects which are committed to my charge.

While I feel my sensibility strongly excited by the expressions of affection and the promises of support, which I every where meet with from my countrymen, I entertain a consolatory hope, that the purity of my intentions, and the perseverance of my endeavours to promote the happiness of my country, will atone for any of the slighter defects which may be discovered in my administration. For, whatever may be the issue of our public measures, or however I may err in opinion, I trust it will be believed, that I could not have been actuated by any interest, separate from those of my country.

Suffer me, gentlemen, to conclude, by assuring you that I am well pleased with the justice you have done to the motives from which I have acted, and by thanking you for the tender concern you have been pleased to manifest for my personal felicity.

George Washington.

Philadelphia, April 23, 1789.

To his excellency George Washington, esquire, L. L. D. president of the united states of America, commander in chief of the army and navy thereof, &c. The address of the trustees and faculty of the university of the state of Pennsylvania.

PERMIT, sir, the university of the state of Pennsylvania, to join in the general joy, occasioned by your accession to the first office in the federal empire. It is by this honour, (the highest that America can bestow) that a grateful people expresses the affection which your eminent services have excited in their bosoms. It is this that has given them but one voice in their delegation of this important trust, and that unites the homage of the heart with the duty of the citizen. To be the first magistrate of a great empire is a station that many have attained: but to acquire it by the unanimous voice of a free people is an event, in the history of the world, as rare as those illustrious virtues of which it is the just reward. We rejoice in an event so auspicious to our country: and we confidently hope that your endeavours to extend the blessings of good government will be crowned with a success as brilliant as that which distinguished your exertions in the defence of our freedom.

As guardians of this university (which boasts the honour of enrolling the name of your excellency among those of her sons) we anticipate the encouragement which such institutions will receive under your administration. The influence of sound learning on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, will make it a favourite object in every civilized society: and the sciences, having experienced your protection amidst the convulsions of war, reasonably expect a distinguished patronage in the calm of peace.

We devoutly pray the Almighty Ruler of the universe, that you may long enjoy the felicity of that country which you have rescued from tyranny, and established in the blessings of freedom and independence—and that finally you may meet the reward which awaits his good and faithful servants.

Thomas M'Kean, president.

Philadelphia, April 20th, 1789.

ANSWER.

To the trustees and faculty of the university of the state of Pennsylvania. Gentlemen,

I ACCEPT, with peculiar pleasure, the address of the university of the state of Pennsylvania, upon my appointment to the first office of the union.

Notwithstanding I had most seriously determined never more to take any part in transactions of a public nature, yet a conviction of duty would not suffer me, on the present occasion, to refuse a compliance with the unanimous call of my country; nor could I remain insensible to the honour that was conferred upon me by this fresh and distinguished proof of its approbation.

Probably my fellow-citizens anticipate too many and too great advantages from the appointment. It will, however, be an object, indeed, near to my heart, to verify, as far as may be in my power, those favourable presentiments, by endeavouring to secure the liberty and promote the happiness of the American people.

I am not a little flattered by being considered by the patrons of literature as one in their number. Fully apprized of the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, I shall only lament my want of ability to make it still more extensive. I conceive hopes, however, that we are at the eve of a very enlightened era. The same unremitting exertions, which, under all the blasting storms of war, caused the arts and sciences to flourish in America, will doubtless bring them nearer to maturity, when they shall have been sufficiently invigorated by the milder rays of peace.

I return you my hearty thanks for your devout intercession at the throne of grace for my felicity both here and hereafter. May you also, gentlemen, after having been the happy instruments of diffusing the blessings of literature and the comforts of religion, receive the just compensation for your virtuous deeds.

G. WASHINGTON.



Circular letter from the corresponding committee of the tradesmen and ma-

manufacturers of the town of Baltimore to the mechanics and manufacturers of the city of Philadelphia.

Baltimore, Feb. 26, 1789.

Gentlemen,

THE tradesmen and manufacturers of this town, at a late general meeting, having resolved to petition the federal legislature, in favour of American manufactures, and appointed us, the subscribers, a committee to correspond with our brethren within the union: we now beg leave to address you, on this interesting and important subject.

Conscious of the utility of prosecuting the business upon a liberal and extensive plan, we have waited in great expectation that some of our brethren in some other part of the union would first lead the way; but no communications having yet reached us, we take the liberty to address them.

We anxiously wish to cultivate a union of sentiment among the tradesmen and manufacturers at this important period: their joint exertions will have considerable weight, and cause their application to appear before the honourable congress with greater respectability.

We have taken the liberty to enclose you a copy of our petition now circulating through this state, for the purpose of signing, which we hope will meet your approbation; and make no doubt of your having already taken measures of a similar nature.

We shall be happy, gentlemen, to correspond with you, from time to time, and inform you of such steps as we may take to bring this interesting work to a happy issue, and expect the same attention from our good brethren in return.

We are, gentlemen,

With every sentiment of respect,

Your obedient humble servants,
Adam Fonerden, Geo. P. Keeporis,
John M^cClellan, John Bankson,
David Stodder, John Gray,
Ambrose Clarke, William Wilson.



Address of the convention of Kentucke, to the united States in congress assembled.

The people of Kentucke, represented in convention, as freemen, as citizens, and as a part of the American republic, beg leave by this hum-

ble petition, to state their rights, and call for protection in the enjoyment of them.

Fathers, fellow-citizens, and guardians of our rights,

AS we address you by the endearing appellation of fathers, we rely on your paternal affection to hear us; we rely on your justice as men and citizens, to attend to the wrong done to men and citizens; and, as a people recognized by the solemn acts of the union, we look for protection to the federal head.

When the peace had secured to America that sovereignty and independence, for which she had so nobly contended, we could not retire with our Atlantic friends, to enjoy in ease the blessings of freedom. Many of us had expended, in the struggle for our country's rights, that property which would have enabled us to possess a competence with our liberty. On the western waters, the commonwealth of Virginia possessed a fertile, but uninhabited wild. In this wilderness, we fought, after having procured liberty for our posterity, to provide for their support. Inured to hardships by a long warfare, we ventured into almost impenetrable forests. Without bread or domestic cattle, we depended on the casual supplies afforded by the chase. Hunger was our familiar attendant, and even our unsavory meals were made upon the wet surface of the earth, with the cloud-deformed canopy for our covering. Though forced to pierce the thicket, it was not in safety we trod. The wild savage thirsted for blood, lurked in our paths, and seized the unsuspecting hunter. Whilst we lamented the loss of a friend—a brother, a father, a wife, a child became a victim to the barbarian tomahawk. Instead of consolation, a new and greater misfortune deadened the sense of former afflictions. From the union, we receive no support, but we impeach not their justice. Ineffectual treaties, often renewed, and as often broken by the savage nations, served only to supply them with the means of our destruction. But no human cause could controul that providence which had destined this western country to be the seat of a civilized and happy people. The period of its accomplishment was distant, but it advanced with

rapid and incredible strides. We derived strength from our falls and numbers from our losses. The unparalleled fertility of our soil made grateful returns, far disproportioned to the slight labour which our safety would permit us to bestow. Our fields and herds afford us not only sufficient support for ourselves, but also for the emigrants, who annually double our numbers, and even a surplus still remains for exportation. This surplus would be far greater, did not a narrow policy shut up our navigation, and discourage our industry.

In this situation, we call for your attention, we beg you to trace the Mississippi from the ocean, survey the innumerable rivers which water your western territory, and pay their tribute to its greatness; examine the luxuriant soil which those rivers traverse. Then we ask, can the God of wisdom and nature have created that vast country in vain? Was it for nothing that he blessed it with a fertility almost incredible? Did he not provide those great streams which empty into the Mississippi, and by it communicate with the Atlantic, that other nations might enjoy with us the blessings of our fruitful soil? View the country, and you will answer for yourselves. But can the presumptuous madness of man imagine a policy inconsistent with the immense designs of the Deity? Americans cannot. As it is the natural right of the inhabitants of this country to navigate the Mississippi, so they have also a right derived from treaties and national compacts. By the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1763, between the crowns of Great Britain, France and Spain, the free navigation of the river Mississippi was ascertained to Great Britain. The right thus ascertained was exercised by the subjects of that crown until the peace of 1783, and, conjointly with them, by the citizens of the united states. By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independency of the united states, she also ceded to them the free navigation of the river Mississippi. It was a right naturally and essentially annexed to the possession of this western country. As such it was claimed by America, and it was upon that principle she obtained it. Yet the

court of Spain, who possess the country at the mouth of the Mississippi, have obstructed your citizens in the enjoyment of that right.

If policy is the motive which actuates political conduct, you will support us in this right, and thereby enable us to assist in the support of government. If you will be really our fathers, stretch forth your hands to save us. If you would be worthy guardians, defend our rights. We are a member, that would exert any muscle for your service. Do not cut us off from your body; by every tie of consanguinity and affection, by the remembrance of the blood which we have mingled in the common cause, by a regard to justice and to policy, we conjure you to procure our right. May your councils be guided by wisdom and justice, and may your determinations be marked by decision and effect. Let not your beneficence be circumscribed by the mountains which divide us. But let us feel that you are really the guardians and assertors of our rights. Then you would secure the prayers of a people whose gratitude would be as warm as their vindication of their rights will be eternal. Then our connexion shall be perpetuated to the latest times, a monument of your justice and a terror to your enemies.

Danville, Nov. 10, 1788.

Address of the convention of Kentucke, to the honourable the general assembly of Virginia.

THE representatives of the good people inhabiting the several counties composing the district of Kentucke in convention met, beg leave again to address you on the great and important subject of their separation from the parent state, and being made a member of the federal union.

To repeat the causes which impel the inhabitants of this district to continue their application for a separation, will in our opinion be unnecessary; they have been generously acknowledged and patronized in former assemblies, and met the approbation of that august body, whose consent was necessary towards the final completion of this desirable object, and

who resolved that the measure was expedient and necessary, but which from their peculiar situation they were inadequate to decide on.

As happiness was the object which first dictated the application for a separation, so it has continued to be the ruling principle in directing the good people of Kentucke to that great end, upon constitutional terms, and they conceive the longer that measure is delayed, the more will they be exposed to the merciless savage, (which is greatly to be feared) anarchy with all the concomitant evils attending thereon.

Being fully impressed with these ideas, and justified by frequent examples, we conceive it our duty as freemen, from the regard we owe to our constituents, and being encouraged by the resolutions of congress, again to apply to your honourable body, praying that an act may pass at the present session for enabling the good people of Kentucke district to obtain an independent government and be admitted into the confederation as a member of the federal union, upon such terms and conditions as to you may appear just and equitable; and that you transmit such act to the president of this convention with all convenient dispatch, in order for our consideration and the final completion of this business; this we are emboldened to ask, as many of the causes which produced former restrictions do not now exist.

Firmly relying on the justice and morality of your honourable house, often experienced and which we are ever bound to acknowledge, we solicit the friendly interposition of the parent state with the congress of the united states for a speedy admission of the district into the federal union, and also to urge that your honourable body in the most express manner to take effectual measures for securing to the inhabitants of this district the free navigation of the river Mississippi; without which the situation of a large part of the community will be wretched and miserable, and may be the source of future evils.

True copy.

THOMAS TODD, C.C.

Vol. V.

An oration delivered on the 28th day of July, 1788, in the borough of York, by mr. C. W. Hartley, (aged thirteen), son of the hon. Thomas Hartley, esq. member of the house of representatives of the united states.

Gentlemen,

CONVINCED of my inability to perform the task which is now before me, I feel at once the blush of diffidence, and the pang of sensibility; and did I not at this moment anticipate your kind indulgence on account of my youth, and particularly my inexperience as a speaker in public, I should sink in the attempt; nor dare to step forth on an occasion which calls for infinitely greater abilities than mine, to do it justice. I am convinced that my mind has not arrived to that maturity of reasoning, which is only to be discovered in more advanced life; yet, I find myself sensible of the high honour this day conferred upon me by you, the worthy and respectable citizens of York and its vicinity.

This town gave me birth, and whilst I acknowledge the pleasing fact, I cannot help feeling a degree of pleasure, unequalled by any other except that which arises from beholding so numerous and respectable an audience assembled together upon so important an occasion.

The industry, sobriety, and intelligence of the people of this place are well known, and acknowledged: you have just notions of liberty, you had a considerable share in laying the foundation of solid freedom in this country, and have given your aid to complete the superstructure. York county furnished the first troops from Pennsylvania, to aid our injured brethren of Boston; their zeal for the cause of liberty, soon carried them from the banks of Codorus to the plains of Cambridge. Shortly after this you observe a chosen band, which issued from the same county, upon the distant lakes of Canada, searching for the common foe.

The war being over, we see them accommodating themselves to the blessings of peace and endeavouring to establish good government.

This town, inconsiderable as it may now appear in the eyes of men, once afforded an asylum for the great na-

S f

tional council of America. When our sea ports were blocked up, and our country laid waste, by an hostile and insulting enemy, when our frontiers were ravaged by the havock of destructive war, when all around were scenes of desolation and bloodshed, here was the peaceful safe retreat of justice, liberty and government.

Here did the assembled patriots of America attend in solemn close debate, free from the horrors of the invading army. In short, this place from the peculiar happiness of its situation, from the reasons above mentioned, from its being a part of the federal empire, has much to hope, much to expect; already has science begun to dawn upon our youth, already have the arts taken foot-hold among our inhabitants; and under the genial influence of freedom, and a mild but energetic government, we may reasonably expect that York will rise to eminence and respectability; that she will have a name among the nations; that she will become the flourishing nursery of ingenious men, ardent and vigorous in their pursuits to promote the general welfare of mankind; and, in a particular manner, to increase the rising greatness of this beautiful town.

Rome, from being a post on the Palatium, a small height on the banks of the Tiber, arose to the zenith of empire, to the dominion of the world, to be the seat of arts and sciences, and the universal theatre of elegance and grandeur. Yet did not Rome in point of the original beauties of her situation, excel this place; for we are now surrounded by hills, equal in natural magnificence to those on which Rome was originally built.

The Tiber, so celebrated by the poet and historian's pen, cannot surpass in elegance and simplicity the beauteous stream which now rolls on before our eyes.* Even the Tarpeian rock, that tremendous precipice, which was once so dreadful to the offending criminal, and which has never failed to attract the attention of the traveller and historian, is equalled on the banks of Codorus, by a rock which is now within our view. Rome could not originally have boasted a vicinity, su-

perior to that of York, for whichever way we turn our eyes, are displayed the most beautiful diversifications of mountains and plains, replenished with useful materials, well wooded, and watered by never failing streams, ornamented by a rich variety of field lately over-burdened with ripening grain, and meadows which are crowded with verdure, and fitted for the sustenance of innumerable herds.

I now stand in silent admiration of the gay luxuriant scenes of magnificence and fertility which surround me, and cannot help indulging in delightful expectation, that, like the enchanting plains of Tivoli, which have been so often sung by the most elegant poets, these too, may become the favourite fields of fancy and poetical fiction.

After travelling through many scenes of embarrassments and difficulties, lately calling forth the united wisdom of America, we have now a prospect enjoying the blessings of peace, liberty and safety; far removed from the scene of anarchy and confusion, and perfectly secured from tyranny and oppression.

We are now assembled as brothers, friends and fellow-citizens, as the people to celebrate the adoption of a new constitution, the great and important era which is intended, and I trust will give happiness to this well world.

This constitution, according to opinion of the wisest and best of mankind, is as perfect as any human institution whatever; nay, many it is the most perfect plan of government that was ever formed. I not (like the one we have just relinquished) merely created for the purposes of the moment, formed when the minds of men were distracted between the contending passions of a pair and patriotism, and tenderly live to the miseries of a country exposed to the ravages of a cruel destructive war. I say this government is not merely created for purposes of the moment; but, like the masonry of the ancients, it is calculated to embrace distant ages. It fully stood the test of the strictest scrutiny; it had to combat the designs of those who were enemies to good order and safe government, as well as the schemes of men who were rivetted to state

NOTE.

* Codorus.

cs, and who regarded rather their own private interest, than the public good.

Some men opposed the government from principle; if they were mistaken, they are to be pried, but not blamed; others, from ignorance, have been averse from it, but, many of the last class, it is to be hoped, are by this time enlightened.

Yet, notwithstanding all these impediments, the constitution hath been adopted by ten of the states, and it may reasonably be expected, the other three will soon follow their wise example.

From all quarters we hear that the minority are submitting to the general sense of their country, and if upon experience, amendments should be found necessary to this system, they may readily be obtained in a constitutional manner.

Thus, my countrymen, have we become a nation! "the tottering fabric of our union has received a prop," and a sure foundation has been laid for our national safety and happiness. America, from being the scorn and ridicule of the world, will now bear rank among the nations of Europe.

Let us contrast our situation under the late government, with our approaching prospect;—the diamond was half its brilliance to the foil.

View the farmer oppressed with taxation, while we possess infinite resources from imposts, duties, and excise, engines of revenue that would sweep our national debt, if we had power to bring them into play. An influx of foreign manufactures, has silenced the hammer of industrious mechanics, without lessening in the smallest degree the public burden: nor has the merchant less reason to bless returning government: for some time the sails of commerce, have slept by the masts, while copious tides have welled our rivers in vain.

The scales of general justice have not been poised, nor can they, until the beam is held by the equal steady hand of wide-extended policy.

We have fallen from the honourable eminence of a free people, condescending for the rights of human nature, into divided and jarring republics.

The little policy of state legislation has moved in the contracted circle of

local interest, while we were sacrificing our character as a nation.

In this stage of political declension, behold, the trumpet is blown from east to west, and danger is announced, our country takes the alarm, her statesmen and politicians are convened, and we are furnished by the deliberative wisdom of the continent, with a system of national government, commensurate with our empire.

Agriculture will no longer languish under the oppression of direct taxation—the rising government will be its tutelary God—our rivers will once more be whitened by the canvass of commerce—our manufactures will be encouraged, and our coffers as a nation enriched by wise and general duties. No longer shall paper money, and her companion legal tender, banish mutual confidence, and sap the foundation of intercourse between man and man. Emerging from intestine tumult and provincial policy, we shall rise into view as a nation, and *e pluribus unum* be indeed our motto.



Extract from a periodical publication, entitled "the miscellanist," written in Dublin, by W. P. Carey.

LETTER IX.

Causes of the submission of great nations to arbitrary power—the ruinous effects of an oppressive government, felt by all ranks of society—public gratitude to the patriot—ardent spirit of liberty—its noble effects in all ages—Wallace, the unfortunate Scottish hero—Ireland's generous and ineffectual struggle for freedom—America gains her independence—distinguished abilities of the illustrious Washington.

AMIDST the reflexions which arise on an attentive perusal of history, the most penetrating wisdom is often at a loss in searching for the secret means by which powerful kingdoms have been for ages enslaved by a succession of tyrants, and populous countries held in a ruinous subjection by states inferior in natural strength, and rendered still weaker by remoteness of situation from the people injured by their oppressions. But daily experience convinces us, that mankind are held in stronger fetters by their own fallacious prejudices, than by armies

of mercenaries, or the most powerful grasp of despotism. Divided into numberless factions, acting from separate interests, and composed of persons various in their ruling passions, and opposite in their sentiments, political and religious, a people once wholly subdued by the iron hand of tyranny, with difficulty regain their liberties. The timid acquiesce under their burdens, through fear of the dangers attendant on a struggle for freedom: the selfish, sacrificing every generous sentiment to the gratification of a sordid appetite, and strangers to the noble enthusiasm of Roman virtue, are bribed to silence by meaner motives: enlisted in the pensioned bands of tyranny, they basely assist in forging chains for their posterity, and, conscious of having incurred the just resentment of their fellow citizens, they dread the hour of their country's emancipation, as the certain date of inevitable punishment for their treacheries: the affluent behold, in the tempests of intestine commotion, the shipwreck of their fortunes: the nobility, effeminated by luxury, and dazzled by the glittering tinsel of some phantom of honour, by the empty sound of an additional title, or the lucrative emoluments of office, meanly sell their privileges, and spread a baneful and widely extended influence over multitudes. Thus it happens, that nations groan for centuries, under the miseries of despotism, deprived of the natural rights of men, and plunged into the lowest state of abject despondency. In vain does heaven bestow on them a happy temperature of climate, and a luxuriant fertility of soil, to encourage and reward the practice of agriculture: the tempest is not more fatal to the hopes of the husbandman, than the influence of an oppressive government is to the dearest interests of society: it blasts the blossom of industry in the bud, and damps the fire of genius: it arrests the spirit of enterprise, and deadens the noblest faculties of the soul. As an unwholesome humour mingles with the current of the blood, and diffuses itself over the whole frame, corrupting the vitals, and sapping the constitution, so tyranny spreads its evil effects through all parts of the community, debasing the manners of the people,

and depressing their national spirit: it banishes honour, integrity, sincerity, courage, and all the noblest virtues; it introduces meanness, dissimulation, poverty, and the most shameful vices; it stifles in the soul the generous wish of sacrificing convenience, wealth, and even life itself, for the public good; while it makes avarice and the dread of an arbitrary power the governing motives of action—the most praise-worthy deeds are chosen for subjects of its ridicule and contempt—the foulest enormities are rewarded with titles, fortune, and distinguished rank. The unhappy peasant pines under the aggravated pressure of incessant fatigue and cheerless penury: doomed, literally, to eat the bread of sorrow—to murmur in friendless solitude at the unequal lot of man, and to feel with tenfold severity, the punishment inflicted on the fallen children of Adam; he beholds his scanty earnings, moistened with the sweat of his unremitting toil, wrested from his starving family, to satisfy the heavy exactions of his unfeeling lord. Commerce languishes, while the merchant is plundered by iniquitous schemes, devised to swell the revenues of lawless power, and enrich its worthless tools: the unprotected citizen is insulted and trampled on by a proud and dissipated nobility; who, in their turn, are doomed to be crushed by the hand of a rapacious and arbitrary sovereign.

To this state of wretchedness no country can sink at once. The patriotic exertions of spirited individuals have often defeated the designs of turbulent power, and rescued millions from the tyranny of a few. Ye happy citizens of those states which yet can boast of freedom—cherish that sacred—that invaluable blessing, as you would the fountains of your life and happiness. Reverence the generous men who bravely stand as bulwarks between you and slavery—who intrepidly stem the torrent of corruption, and equally resist the slow insidious attacks of specious treachery, and the menacing tempest of armed tyranny—bestow on them the most distinguished testimonies of public regard, esteem and gratitude: let every eye brighten at their approach, let every tongue be loud in their praise: by these rewards you will

excite the exertions of future patriots who will rise in defence of your rights: you will inspire them with a courage, which will remain unshaken amidst the sharpest persecutions—with a virtue, which will spurn with contempt the venal offers of an artful favorite or a guilty sovereign—a virtue which will combat with success, the prostituted abilities of the corrupt advocates of oppression, and securely fix your liberties on a basis, firm as the centre of the earth.

'Twas a virtue like this, which led the Grecian heroes to victory and renown at Marathon: which fired the gallant Leonidas and his Spartan band, to brave the force of half a world in arms, at Thermopylæ—and which finally triumphed over the mighty powers of Persia at Platea and Mycale. 'Twas this daring, this sacred enthusiasm, which elevated Rome to the zenith of glory, and rendered her the terror of her own times, and the admiration of all future ages. 'Twas this animated the generous bosom of the brave, but unfortunate Wallace, who so long fought against the adverse fate of his country, and who, expiring under the hands of the executioner, gained a brighter fame than the barbarous conqueror, to whose fury and revenge he fell a lamented sacrifice. 'Twas this which led the valiant Bruce, and a crowd of dauntless Scots, to battle and to victory. But why need I recur to past times—why fly to distant nations for illustrious examples? IRELAND!!!—unhappy IRELAND!!!—'twas this noble thirst of freedom, which led so many of thy illustrious, thy intrepid sons, to take arms against a ruthless invader—which impelled them so often to the fruitless—to the unequal contest. Ye sacred shades of heroes, guide my pen in that just cause for which you bravely fell!—Ye plains, so often steeped with the precious blood of my countrymen—so often bedewed with the tears of the miserable widows and orphans of the slain—will you never * * * * *

The Carthaginian chief, weeping over the ruins of his country, still had hopes of her regaining her former splendour. Nothing is impossible to a people determined to be free!

In America we behold the sublime and affecting spectacle of a brave peo-

ple, who, being driven to resistance by a proud and rapacious nation, have founded a mighty empire, which, though yet somewhat agitated, like the swelling bottom of the ocean after a storm, rises fast into superior consequence, and promises fair to be the asylum of genius and liberty, the seat of arts and learning, and the universal emporium of wealth and commerce. Amidst the number of intrepid soldiers, of experienced generals, and wise legislators, who have distinguished themselves on this occasion, an illustrious name appears, which is not only eminently conspicuous in the annals of the present age, but shines unrivalled by the most celebrated characters of antiquity. The irresolute only, who fail in resisting oppression, are branded with the name of rebels. The brave, who succeed in the arduous strife, reap, with the glorious fruit of their toils, the laurel of renown: convinced of this, the great WASHINGTON drew his sword; at the eventful perilous moment, when the world, with eager concern, attended to the fate of America, in the infancy of her strength, unjustly invaded by the overwhelming power of a monarchy grown wanton, and deemed irresistible, through an almost uninterrupted series of victory and conquest, this great man rushed forward, and, to save his country, risked his fame, his property, and his life!—Animated with a generous, a disinterested ardour, he stood forth a volunteer, in the sacred cause of justice!—Freedom, and not power, was his aim—Independence, happiness, and the prayers of virtuous millions, were his reward. (*Remainder in our next.*)

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Anecdote of general Wolfe.

GENERAL Wolfe had very fair hair. Observing one day several young officers more attentive to the outside of their heads, than they ought to be, in the field, he took a pair of scissors and cut off those locks which had been frequently admired by both sexes. Then he gave his scissors to the young gentleman who seemed to have the greatest affection for his hair—"I dare say, sir, you will be polite enough to follow my example." He did so, and his well curled companions immediately cropped themselves.

Articles exported.	Unit. Stat. of Am.		Nova Scotia.		West Indies.		Europe.		Africa & E. Indies.		Total
	Qua.	Amount. £. s. d.	Quan.	Amount. £. s. d.	Qua.	Amount. £. s. d.	Qua.	Amount. £. s. d.	Qua.	Amount. £. s. d.	Amount. £. s. d.
Amount brought over,		78369 3 0		4634 9 0		145762 17 6		89068 7 0		17328 19 10	335153 16 4
Q. casks other wine, 9os.	131	589 10 0	44	198 0 0	18	81 0 0	1	4 10 0	25	112 10 0	219 985 10 0
Tierces rice, 8os.	7	28 0 0	29	116 0 0	614	2456 0 0	333	1332 0 0	77	308 0 0	1060 4240 0 0
Barrels pork, 66s.	114	376 4 0	72	237 12 0	408	1346 8 0	15	49 10 0	352	1161 12 0	961 3171 6 0
Do. beef, 42s.	1748	3670 16 0	42	88 4 0	2468	5182 16 0	104	218 8 0	1640	3444 0 0	6002 12604 4 0
Do. flour, 32s.	634	1014 8 0	4385	7016 0 0	1850	2960 0 0	2788	4460 16 0	2857	4571 4 0	12514 20022 8 0
Do. bread, 18s.	125	112 10 0	623	560 14 0	184	165 12 0	10	9 0 0	181	162 18 0	1123 1010 14 0
Kegs crackers, 4s.			30	6 0 0	453	90 12 0			618	123 12 0	1101 220 4 0
Bushels corn, 3s.	1882	282 6 0	12909	1936 7 0	932	139 16 0	6397	959 11 0	7447	1117 1 0	29567 4435 1 0
Bushels meal, 3s.	94	14 2 0	597	764 11 0	192	28 16 0					5382 807 9 0
Barrs. peas & beans, 18s.			237	213 6 0	381	342 18 0	21	18 18 0	144	129 12 0	783 704 14 0
Bushels potatoes, 1s.	9383	462 3 0	981	49 1 0	1963	98 3 0	480	24 0 0	225	11 5 0	1332 651 12 0
Firkins butter, 5os.	162	405 0 0	241	602 10 0	767	1917 10 0	175	437 10 0	1283	3207 10 0	2628 6570 0 0
Do. hogs' fat, 5os.	4	10 0 0			106	265 0 0			23	57 10 0	133 332 10 0
Oxen, 15os.			673	5047 10 0	460	3450 0 0					1133 8497 10 0
Cows, 10os.			20	100 0 0	1	5 0 0					21 105 0 0
Sheep, 10s.	10	5 0 0	1063	531 10 0	397	198 10 0					1470 735 0 0
Hogs, 15s.			390	292 10 0	269	201 15 0	19	14 5 0			678 508 10 0
Dozens poultry, 12s.	12	7 4 0	130	78 0 0	251	150 12 0					203 235 16 0
C. hollow ware, 12s.	1565	939 0 0			4	2 8 0					1509 941 8 0
C. bar iron, 25s.	537	671 5 0									894 1117 10 0
Calks flaxseed, 4os.	1113	2226 0 0									7381 14768 0 0
M. bricks, 18s.	532	478 16 0	174	156 12 0	496	446 8 0			357	446 5 0	1207 1086 6 0
B. pot & pearl ashes, 10os.							6271	12512 0 0			6203 31015 0 0
Trunks furs, 100l.								800 0 0			8 800 0 0
Calks furs, 200l.								9200 0 0			46 9200 0 0
Calks oil, 6l.								20196 0 0			3366 20196 0 0
Barrels oil, 8os.	5949	23796 0 0			805	3220 0 0		20868 0 0		808 0 0	12173 48692 0 0
C. whalebone, 20os.	47	470 0 0						6580 0 0			705 7250 0 0
Lbs. wax, 1s. 6d.								165 0 0			3800 285 0 0
Boxest. candles, 4os.	2207	4414 0 0	62	124 0 0	114	228 0 0					2453 4906 0 0
Do. spermaceti do, 8os.	1557	6228 0 0	4	16 0 0	557	2228 0 0			70	140 0 0	2622 10488 0 0

[illegible]

History of the treatment of prisoners among the American Indians.

THE prisoners, when they arrive in the conquering nation, undergo fates so dissimilar and opposite, that it is difficult to account for them on any principles known in civilized life. Some are adopted into families which have lost a husband, a brother, or a son, and, with the prerogatives and relations of the deceased, assume with astonishing facility the passions and duties of their new situation; while others are destined to perish by every torture, that ingenuity can invent, or cruelty inflict.

Previously, however, all pass through a discipline, dictated by the extremes of inconsiderate levity, or of brutal rage.

The same frolic and thoughtless impulse that prompts children to divert themselves with the miseries of inferior animals, makes a young savage find his pastime in persecuting his unfortunate prisoner; and older and more determined warriors transfer for the moment to the miserable captive, all the rage that burns in their breasts against the hostile nation. Apparently forgetful of the vicissitudes of fortune, they remember not that they may sometime be exposed to the same fate, or they remember it only to exasperate their rage. Savages seem to have no idea of alleviating the calamities of war, from the considerations of mutual interest, more than from the softer and refined affections that are so much the ornament of human nature in civil life. At their approach to every village, the youth, armed with clubs, with stones, and with balls composed of coarse gravel mixed with clay, arrange themselves in a double line along the street. Through this lane the naked wretches are compelled to run, and to suffer the peltings and bruises of the most wanton cruelty. If the prisoner, wounded and beaten, and discouraged by the length of the race still before him, can, by desperate efforts, break the line of his persecutors, and force his passage into a neighbouring hut, the humaner feelings of the women commonly interest them in his protection. If a woman who has lost a husband or a son, as frequently happens, adopts him on the spot, he is secured from further insult. But,

if not, seldom can any interposition save him from finishing the scene of savage amusement. He is forced from his temporary shelter to run the remainder of his course, and to become the sport of more insolent diversions, for his unsuccessful endeavour to escape.

Having arrived at the place of their destination, the fates of the prisoners* are decided by the chiefs and warriors. By their decree, some are consigned to the house of life, and others to the house of death. After the first scene of frantic joy, and while the heads of the nation are engaged in these important deliberations, all the captives are treated with equal kindness. Whatever attentions their rude hospitality knows, are shewn to the unfortunate men; and, in some southern nations, these attentions are augmented by offers of pleasure, and the flattering company of the handsomest women.

Those that are consigned to the house of life, are generally the women, the children, and such of the men as have not yet distinguished themselves by their martial prowess. These are entrusted to the disposal of the civil chief, who, by a herald, invites all those who have lost relations, or who are destitute of children, to attend the distribution of the captives. Women, who have lost their husbands, and parents who have lost their sons in battle, are indulged with a choice before others.

After the devastations of war are supplied, those who have lost their friends by any other fatality; those who are childless; those who need assistance in their houses; or those who are prompted by any impulse in favour of a captive; are next admitted to their election. The whole choice is conducted with perfect harmony. And, in their phrase, they place the prisoners on the mats of the deceased. They enter into the same connexions, they imitate and become the objects of the same passions, and they assume, in the family, the same stations.

If the men, chosen by the women, please them, they are speedily taken

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* Except those who have been previously adopted.

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into the relation of husbands ; if not, they are commonly committed to some of the youth, to be killed in private : having become, by submitting to life, unworthy of the public tortures of a great hero. The captive women instantly become wives. A woman makes some trial of the disposition and activity of her future husband ; because, she is about to exalt him to the station of superiority and command—in the choice of a wife, the other sex needs less precaution ; because the prerogative of men, in a savage state, is so great, that the wife is commonly what they please. Supernumerary prisoners are assigned as slaves to some favourite chiefs. But this appropriation is not purely savage. It indicates some progress in idea towards civilization ; and the custom has been known to have greatly increased since their intercourse with the nations of Europe. Adoptions so contrary to the ideas of improved society, seem to be made and accepted with sentiments the most cordial and sincere. With surprising facility, they mutually enter into the affections, and apply themselves to discharge the duties of their new relations. The acceptance of adoption among a hostile tribe, renders a prisoner forever infamous in his own country. They esteem the first glory of a warrior never to be over-reached in stratagem, or taken by an enemy ; but if taken, his second glory, and the only honourable part that is left for him to act, is to die with unconquerable fortitude, and to impress upon his foes a just respect for the bravery of his nation, by a patience that triumphs over every torture. If he should accept of life in a hostile region, where enmities are mortal, he would be considered as unworthy the character of a warrior, and forever spurned and rejected by his own tribe.

An exchange of prisoners never enters into their ideas. It would be contrary to their martial habits and opinions. Every prisoner is held, among them, to be dead. To a brave man there is no alternative. A warrior of age, of distinction, or of high sentiments, would refuse an offered adoption. It is never proposed to him : and he must prepare to impress the last seal upon his military character,

by suffering with an heroism equally incapable of yielding or complaining. Consigned to the house of death, his fate is at the disposal of the principal warrior. He is still treated with kindness ; he receives the appellation of brother ; apparently indifferent about his approaching destiny, he eats and drinks with the same relish, and sleeps with the same tranquility as if his life were in no danger. He is supported by an insensibility little known in polished society, or by a pride that scorns to suffer an enemy to perceive or be witness to his emotion.

By many exquisite and lingering torments they put their prisoners to death ; but, among these the principal is fire.—A large pile is erected in the middle of their village or encampment, and near it is a tree, to which the victim is to be tied. A warrior arrives to inform him that his fate is ready—he replies, “ it is well,” and marches with an elevated and sullen air towards the place of his execution. When he sees the flames, the tree, and his enemies standing round thirsting for his blood, he raises, for the last time, his death song ; which he had frequently, during the retreat, been compelled to sing. It consists of a kind of rudely measured prose, chanted by the voice, in a wild lugubrious tone—“ I am going to die—I will die like a brave man—my enemies will make me suffer—but they shall not see me complain—I will defy their power—they shall not subdue a warrior of my nation—then will I go and see all the great chiefs and warriors that have perished before me.” In strains like these, that would add glory to the fame of Regulus or Cato, does he express his contempt of death, and triumph over the terrors of his destiny. Tied by a cord to the tree, within the scorching influence of the flame, but not so near as to be speedily consumed, the terrible scenes of his sufferings, commence. Some enraged woman, who has lost, in the late battle, a husband or a son, or some fierce warrior gives the signal of onset, by striking him with a club, by piercing him with an arrow or a knife, or by rushing upon him with a fiery stake. Instantly all endeavour to bear a part in this bloody tragedy ; men, women, and children, seem to

emulate one another in the wantonness of cruelty—They shout, and yell, and dance around him, and enjoy his agonies—some mangle his flesh, some pierce it with burning brands—some endeavour to wrench it from his bones, some twist and strain his sinews, some attempt to tear off the nails, or to pierce beneath them with pointed splinters—sometimes they encourage their children to aim their arrows at him, from such a distance that they cannot inflict a mortal wound, thus, at once prolonging the tortures of the sufferer, and training their sons sometimes to a thirst of cruelty and blood. They study to unite the exquisiteness of pain, with the prolongation of torture; and their unhappy ingenuity often protracts it during several days.—Nothing but the fear of terminating his misery too soon, imposes any restraint upon their fury. He has it in his power to put a voluntary period to his sufferings, by dashing himself against the tree, or by rushing into the flames. But such an action would not accord with their ideas of true glory, and would be branded among them with the reproach of cowardice. It is not the contempt of death, that constitutes the highest praise of a savage hero, but the contempt of pain. To this end his whole education is directed, and by astonishing efforts of patient fortitude, he establishes his claim to the heroic character. That he may complete the measure of his glory by uncommon sufferings, he endeavours to provoke their utmost rage. He tells them they know not how to try the fortitude of a brave man—they are ignorant in the art of torture.—He recounts the numbers of their friends who have perished by his hands—he relates with insulting triumph the torments in which he has made them expire—he reminds them of the ample vengeance which his nation will speedily take of them for his blood. Here you see a dreadful contest between ingenious cruelty, and invincible patience.—Their revenge prompts them to make him sensible of the keenest miseries—he glories in seeming not to feel them.—They endeavour to subdue his pride—he seems to derive a pleasure from shewing them his superiority over their power. Their triumph would be

completed, if they could reduce a warrior of a rival nation to complaints and intreaties. He glories in suffering with a high unbroken spirit. Sometimes the bitterness of his insults will provoke the young warriors to rash efforts of rage, that speedily terminate his miseries; such impetuosity, however, is always avoided by the old and the experienced. “Thou shouldst not,” said an old Onondago chief to a young Huron, who had stabbed him thrice with his knife, “thou shouldst not be too furious; thou wilt spoil thy revenge, and not have time to learn to die like a man.” A distinguished warrior will never suffer his mind to be vanquished by the severity or the continuance of pain. But alternately he insults his tormentors, and chants his death-song, till some chief, weary of contending against such persevering fortitude, strikes a tomahawk into his skull; or, till nature being exhausted by the variety and duration of his sufferings, he sinks down without a groan, apparently more satisfied at having braved so many enemies, than distressed at the loss of life. If it happens that a prisoner of the lower class is overcome with fear, and cries out, or trembles at death, surrounded with so many terrors; this never excites the pity, but the contempt of his enemies, and some haughty warrior dispatches him at once as a wretch unworthy to be treated like a man.

(To be continued.)



Remarks on the North American Indians.—By dr. Franklin.*

THE Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counsellors; for all their government is by the counsel or advice of sages: there is no force, there are no prisons; no officers to compel obedience, or inflict punishment. Hence they generally study oratory; the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian women till the ground, dress the food, nurse and bring up the children, and preserve and hand down

NOTE.

* Some of these remarks were published in a former Museum: but are here republished, to preserve the connexion. C.

to posterity the memory of public transactions. These employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they esteem slavish and base; and the learning, on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless.

Having frequent occasions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their memories, (for they have no writing) and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again and deliver it. To interrupt another even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeness of these savages in conversation, is, indeed, carried to excess; since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means, they indeed avoid disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make upon them. The missionaries, who have attempted to convert them to christianity, all complain of this as one of the great difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation. You would think they were convinced:—no such matter; it is mere civility.

A Swedish minister having assembled the chiefs of the Snsquehannah Indians, made a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is

founded; such as the fall of our first parents by eating an apple; the coming of Christ to repair the mischief; his miracles, and suffering, &c.—When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him. “What you have told us,” says he, “is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cyder. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far, to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers. In return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours.

“In the beginning, our fathers had only the flesh of animals to subsist on; and if their hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made a fire in the woods to broil some parts of it. When they were about to satisfy hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on that hill which you see yonder among the blue mountains. They said to each other, it is a spirit that perhaps has smelt our broiling venison, and wishes to eat of it: let us offer some to her. They presented her with the tongue: she was pleased with the taste of it, and said, your kindness shall be rewarded: come to this place after thirteen moons, and you will find something that will be of great benefit in nourishing you and your children to the latest generations. They did so, and, to their surprise, found plants they had never seen before; but which, from that ancient time, have been constantly cultivated among us, to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground, they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney beans; and where her backside had sat, on it they found tobacco.” The good missionary, disgusted with this idle tale, said, “what I delivered to you were sacred truths; but what you tell me is mere fable, fiction, and falsehood.” The Indian, offended, replied, “my brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practise these rules, believed all your stories; why do you refuse to believe ours?”

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have," say they, "as much curiosity as you; and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil, in travelling strangers, to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the Stranger's House. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, conversation begins, with enquiries who they are? whither bound? what news? &c. and it usually ends with offers of service, if the strangers have occasion for guides or any necessaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons: of which Conrad Weiser, our interpreter, gave me the following instance: He had been naturalised among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a message from our governor to the council at Ononaga, he called at the habitation of Canassatego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink.

When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canassatego began to converse with him: asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other? whence he then came? what had occasioned the journey? &c. Conrad answered all his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs: I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in the great house: tell me what it is for? What do they do there?" "They meet there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "I do not doubt," says the Indian, "that they tell you so; they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I generally used to deal with Hans Hanson, but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver? He said he could not give more than four shillings a pound; but, says he, I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too; and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said, but perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought too, that the man had mentioned something of beaver, and I suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out, I accosted my merchant, well, Hans, says I, I hope you have agreed to give more than four shillings a pound?" "No," says he, "I cannot give so much, I cannot give more than three shillings and six pence." "I then spoke to several

other dealers, but they all sung the same song, three and six pence, three and six pence. This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right; and that, whatever they pretended of meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was, to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn good things, they certainly would have learnt some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our practice; if a white man, in travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirst and hunger; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on: we demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, "Where is your money?" and if I have none, they say, "get out, you Indian dog." "You see they have not yet learned those little good things that we need no meeting to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impossible their meetings should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect; they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver."



Remarks on the different successs, with respect to health, of some attempts to pass the winter in high northern latitudes. By John Aikin. M. D.—P. 118.

IN a manuscript French account of the islands lying between Kamtschatka and America, drawn up by that eminent naturalist and geographer, Mr. Pallas, I find it mentioned, that "the Russians, in their hunting voyages to these islands, (an expedition generally lasting three years) in order to save expence and room in purchasing and stowing vegetable provision, compose half their crews of natives of Kamtschatka, because these people are able to preserve themselves from the scurvy with animal food only, by abstaining from the use of salt."

Lastly, in the excellent oration of Linnæus, on the advantages of travelling in one's own country, printed in the third volume of the *Amœnitates academicæ*, it is asserted, "that the Laplanders live without corn and wine, without salt and every kind of artificial liquor, on water and flesh alone, and food prepared from them; and yet are entirely free from the scurvy."*

Having thus stated the facts which have fallen in my way relative to this subject, I proceed to a comparison of their several circumstances, and some remarks on the general result.

The scurvy appears to be the disease peculiarly dreaded and fatal in all the above-related attempts to winter in extremely cold climates. Whether the circumstance of cold itself, or the want of proper food occasioned by it, principally conduces to the generation of this disease, is a point not clearly ascertained. From the preceding narrations, however, no doubt can be entertained, that it is possible for persons to keep free from the scurvy, in countries and seasons the most intensely cold, provided their diet and manner of living be properly adapted to such situations; and this, without the aid of fresh vegetables, or any of those other preservatives, which have of late been proposed by ingenious writers.

When we compare the histories above recited, it is impossible not to be immediately struck with these leading circumstances, that those in whom the scurvy raged, fed upon salt provisions, and drank spiritous liquors; whereas those who escaped it, fed upon fresh animal food, or, at least, preserved without salt, and drank water.

It is well enough known, among sea-faring people, that fresh animal food is serviceable to scorbutic persons; but whether the constant use of

NOTA.

* "In Laplandiâ observabit homines absque Cere et Baccho, absque sale et potu omni artificiali aqua tantum et carne, et quæ ab his præparantur, contentos vivere."

"Quare Norlandi, ut plurimum scorbuto sint infecti; et cur Lappones, contra, hujus morbi prorsus exempti?"

it alone would prevent the scurvy, they have no means of experiencing. As little can we learn from their experience, whether any other mode of preserving animal flesh, than that of salting, will keep it in such a state as to be salubrious food. But the narrative of the eight Englishmen seems to determine both these important points; for their provision was all of the animal kind, and the greatest part of it was flesh killed several months before, and kept from decaying, either by the coldness of the climate alone, or by the cooking it had undergone. It is evident, too, that the sailors of Kamtschatka, who subsist during so long a voyage on animal food unsalted, must either preserve it by smoking, freezing, or other similar processes, or must use it in a putrid state. To this last, indeed, from the accounts we have of the usual diet of these people, they seem not at all averse; though we may find it difficult to conceive how the body can be kept in health by food absolutely putrefied. The Laplanders, also, who subsist so entirely on animal food without salt, must have other methods of preserving it for a considerable time; and, indeed, it seems to be the constant practice in Russia and other northern regions, for the inhabitants to freeze their meat in order to lay it up for their winter's stock.

These facts lead to the consideration of the question, whether salted meat be prejudicial on account of the quantity of salt it contains; or merely because the salt fails to preserve the juices of the flesh in such a state as to afford proper nutriment? The latter, I believe, is the more prevalent opinion; yet I confess, I cannot but think, that sea-salt itself, when taken in large quantities, must prove unfriendly to the body. The septic quality of small proportions of salt mixed with animal matters (and small proportions only can be received into the juices of a living animal) has been proved by the well-known experiments of sir John Pringle. But besides this, it may prove hurtful, by the acrimonious and corrosive property with which it may impregnate the fluids. It is universally allowed, that much salt, and salted meats, are very prejudicial in the disorders vul-

garly called scorbutic amongst us; which, though in many respects different from the genuine sea-scurvy, yet resemble this disease in many leading symptoms, as lassitude, livid blotches, spongy gums, and disposition to hæmorrhage. And some of the symptoms of the sea-scurvy seem to indicate a saline, and not a simply putrid acrimony; such as that of the disjoining of bones formerly broken, in which case, the osseous matter of the callus is probably redissolved, by the saline principle contained in the animal fluids. On the other hand, it seems to be a fact, that several of the northern nations, whose diet is extremely putrid, (as before hinted with respect to the people of Kamtschatka) are able to preserve themselves from the scurvy; therefore, putrid aliments alone will not necessarily induce it.

On the whole, on an attentive consideration of the facts which have been recited, some of which are upon a pretty extensive scale, I cannot but adopt the opinion, that the use of sea-salt is a very principal cause of the scurvy; and a total abstinence from it, is one of the most important means for preventing this disease.

A considerable article of the diet of the eight Englishmen, though necessity alone could have brought them to use it, was probably of considerable service in preventing the disorders to which their situation rendered them liable. This was the whale's fritters, which, though deprived of great part of their oil, must still contain no small share of it. All voyagers agree, that the Samoides, Esquimaux, Greenlanders, and other inhabitants of the polar regions, make great use of the fat and oil of fish and marine animals in their diet, and indeed can scarcely subsist without them. In what precise manner these substances act, is not perhaps easily explained: but as the use of them would, doubtless, cause an accumulation of similar parts in the body, and as we find all animals destined to endure the severe cold of the arctic climates, are copiously furnished with fat, we may conclude, that it possesses some peculiar efficacy in defending from the impressions of the cold.

With respect to the warm rein-

deer's blood, which the Russian sailors seem to have thought so salutary, and the use of which is confirmed in one of the quotations; if it has any particular effect in preventing the scurvy, beyond that of the juices extracted from recent animal flesh by cookery or digestion, it must probably reside in some unassimilated particles, derived from the vegetable food of the animal, and still retaining considerably of a vegetable nature. It is well known that the chyle does not immediately lose its peculiar properties, and mix undistinguishably with the blood; and that the milk, that secretion the most speedily and abundantly separated from the blood, possesses many properties in common with vegetable substances. As to their other preservative, the swallowing of raw frozen meat, I am at a loss to account for any salutary effects it may have, except as an aliment rendered easy of digestion, by the power of frost in making substances tender.

To proceed to the next important article, that of drink. It appears, that in all the unsuccessful instances, vinous and spiritous liquors were used, and probably in considerable quantities. Thus, in one of the Dutch journals, notice is taken, that an allowance of brandy began to be served to each man as soon as the middle of September. Writers on the scurvy seem almost unanimously to consider a portion of these liquors as an useful addition to the diet of persons exposed to the causes of this disease; and due deference ought certainly to be paid to their knowledge and experience: but, convinced as I am, that art never made so fatal a present to mankind as the invention of distilling spiritous liquors, and that they are seldom or never a necessary, but almost always a pernicious article in the diet of men in health: I cannot but look with peculiar satisfaction on the confirmation this opinion receives by the events in these narratives.

Indeed, from reasoning alone, we might naturally be led to the same conclusion. A great degree of cold renders the fibres rigid; and by repelling the blood and nervous principle from the surface of the body, increases the vital energy of the internal organs. Hence, the heart contracts more for-

cibly, and the stomach has its warmth and muscular action augmented. In these circumstances, stimulants and astringents seem by no means indicated; but rather substances of an opposite nature. We have acquired, by association, the idea of opposing actual cold, by matters potentially or metaphorically hot; but this is in great measure a fallacious notion. On the contrary, it is found that the effects of excessive heat are best resisted by warm and acrid substances, such as the spicy and aromatic vegetables which the hot climates most abundantly produce, and which are so much used in the diet of the inhabitants. And if it be admitted as a general law of nature, that every country yields the products best adapted to the health and sustenance of its inhabitants, we should conclude that aromatic vegetables, and fermented liquors are peculiarly appropriated to the warmer climates; while bland, oily, animal matters are rather designed for the use of the frigid regions. Spirits, as antiseptics, may, indeed, seem to be indicated where there is a necessity of living upon corrupted putrescent flesh; but they cannot act in this way, without, at the same time, rendering the food harder and more indigestible, and, consequently, lessening the quantity of nutriment to be derived from it. The temporary glow and elevation caused by spiritous liquors, are, I imagine, very fallacious tokens of their good effects; as they are always succeeded by a greater reverse, and tend rather to consume and exhaust, than to feed and invigorate, the genuine principle of vital energy. Another extremely pernicious effect of these liquors, is, the indolence and stupidity they occasion, rendering men inattentive to their own preservation, and unwilling to use those exertions, which are so peculiarly necessary in situations like those described in the foregoing narratives, and this leads me to the consideration of a third important head, that of exercise.

The utility of regular and vigorous exercise to men exposed to the causes inducing scurvy, is abundantly confirmed by experience. Captain Cook seems to attribute his remarkable success in preserving the health of his

crew, more to great attention to this point, than to any other circumstance. This opinion is greatly corroborated by the relations before us. Captain Monck's crew, wintering with their ships in safety before them, and well furnished with all kinds of sea stores, could have little occasion for labour. The two companies of Dutchmen seem to have done little during their melancholy abode, but drink brandy, and smoke tobacco over their fires. On the other hand, captain James's men were very sufficiently employed in the laborious task of building their huts, which, notwithstanding their weak and sickly state, they had nearly completed, before they found the work unnecessary. The three Russians on East Spitzbergen, who survived, are expressly said to have used much exercise by way of preservative; also, according to counsellor Müller, do those who winter on Nova Zembla. A difficulty, however, here occurs; which is, that we know it to be the custom of the inhabitants of the very northern regions, to spend their long winter night almost entirely under ground; seeming, in that respect, to imitate the animals of the country, which lie torpid in their holes and dens during the winter. From the journal of the eight Englishmen, too, I should judge, that they were inactive during the greatest part of the time that the sun was invisible. But it is to be remarked, that in these instances, what I consider as the most powerful cause of the scurvy, the use of salted provisions, did not exist; and therefore less powerful preservatives would be necessary. Further, the English crew had a very scanty allowance of provision of any kind; which would, doubtless, take off from the necessity of much exercise. Thus, the animals which sleep out the winter, take in no nutriment whatsoever, and therefore are not injured by absolute rest.

Exercise is probably serviceable, both by promoting the discharge of acrid and corrupted particles by excretion, and by augmenting the animal heat. As far as cold in itself can be supposed a cause of disease, its effects will be most directly opposed by increasing the internal or external heat. And this leads to the conclusion.

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deration of the further means for guarding against and tempering the intense severity of the wintry air in these climates.

It appears from the journals of the unfortunate sufferers in these attempts, that they endured great miseries from the cold; their fuel soon proving insufficient for their consumption, and their daily increasing weakness preventing them from searching for more, or keeping their fires properly supplied. On the other hand, the English and Russians had not only made their huts very substantial, but had secured plentiful supplies of fuel. And the nations who constantly inhabit the arctic regions, are represented as living in an actually warm atmosphere in their subterraneous dwellings, and guarded by impenetrable coverings when they venture abroad. The animals, too, which retire during the winter, are always found in close caverns or deep burrows, rolled up, and frequently heaped together in numbers, so as to preserve a considerable degree of warmth. Of the several methods of procuring heat, there can be little doubt, that warm clothing, and the mutual contact of animal bodies, must be most friendly, as being most equable, and not inviting such an influx of cold air, as is caused by the burning of an artificial fire. And the advantage of subterraneous lodgings is proved by the well known fact of the unchanging temperature of the air at certain depths beneath the surface.

These are the most material observations that have occurred to me, on reflecting upon the remarkable histories and facts above related. I would flatter myself that they might assist in the framing of such rules and precautions as would render the success of any future attempts of the like kind less precarious. I shall be happy if they prove acceptable to the public; and still more, if they in any degree conduce to the welfare of mankind.



Remarks on the manners, government, laws, and domestic debt of America.—P. 272.

SPECULATIVE philosophers and historians have often described, and sometimes ridiculed the warmth with which nations have de-

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fended errors in religion and government. With the most profound deference for wise and respectable men, I must think they are guilty of a mistake; and that the errors which nations fight to defend, exist only in the heads of these theorists. Whatever speculation may tell us, experience and the peace of society require us to consider every thing as right*, which a nation believes to be so. Every institution, every custom, may be deemed just and proper, which does not produce inconveniences that the bulk of mankind can see and feel. The tranquility of society, therefore, should never be disturbed for a philosophical distinction.

It will, perhaps, be objected, that these doctrines, if practised, would prevent all improvements, in science, religion, and government. By no means: but they point out the method in which all improvements should be

NOTE.

* *With due submission to the patriotic writer of this essay, this sentiment, in the extended sense here given to it, is not just. Throughout Europe it was once esteemed meritorious and right, to raise prodigious armies to extirpate the Saracens from Judea, and wade to the Holy Land, through seas of human blood, spilled at the shrine of the most absurd prejudice. In England and Ireland, it was once thought right, to hang a Roman catholic clergyman, if convicted of celebrating divine service a certain number of times. In China—the enlightened China—it is thought right, that a parent, unable to provide for his offspring, may, with more barbarity than the most savage monster, expose the helpless infant on the highway. Even in this new world, which should claim an exemption from the errors and follies of the old, it was once thought right, to fortify a depreciated and depreciating paper currency with a legal tender, the operation of which was—to sap the foundation of morals and manners. In fine, there is hardly a country in the world, wherein, at some period or other, it has not been thought right to practise the most shocking enormities under the mask of the most specious appearances.—C.*

made, when opinion and fixed habits are to be overthrown, or changed. They shew that all reformation should be left to the natural progress of society, or to the conviction of the mind. They shew the hazard or impracticability of changes, before the mind of the body of the people are prepared for the innovation. I speak not of despotic governments, where the will of the prince is enforced by an army; and yet even absolute tyrants have been assassinated for neglecting to attend to the spirit and habits of their subjects.

In vain do rulers oppose the general opinion of the people. By such opposition, Philip II. of Spain, kept one part of his subjects, for half a century, butchering the other, and, in the end, lost one third of his dominions. By not regarding the change of habits in the nation, Charles I. of England, lost his head. By carrying his changes too far, Cromwell began to oppose the spirit of the nation, and, had he lived to prosecute his system, that spirit would, in a few years, have brought his neck to the block. The general spirit of the nation restored to the throne the son of the prince, whom that spirit had a few years before arraigned and condemned. By opposing that spirit, James was obliged to leave his kingdom; and the sense of the nation excludes the family, which, by its own law of succession, has the best title to the throne. But there is no prescription against general opinion—right that can enter the lists against the sense of a nation—that sense, which, after all our reasonings, will forever determine what is best.

The truth of these remarks is proved by examples in this country. An immense revenue might have been drawn from America without resistance, in almost any method but which the British parliament adopted. But their first attempts were made on articles of common necessity—these attempts were too visible—the people felt and resisted. Their apprehensions were alarmed—their fears, whether well founded or imaginary, were multiplied and confirmed by newspaper rhapsodies, and finally produced a combined opposition to all British taxation. Then Great-Britain should

have compounded—she did not—she opposed the general sense of two millions of her subjects, and lost the whole.

But a question will arise, how far may the people be opposed, when their schemes are evidently pernicious? I answer, this can never happen through design—and errors even of the populace may gradually be removed. If the people cannot be convinced, by reason and argument, of the impolicy or injustice of a favourite scheme, we have only to wait for the consequences, to produce conviction. All people are not capable of just reasoning on the great scale of politics—but all can feel the inconveniencies of wrong measures; and evils of this kind generally furnish their own remedy. All popular legislatures are liable to great mistakes. Many of the acts of the American legislatures respecting money and commerce, will, to future generations, appear incredible. After repeated experiments, people will be better informed, and astonished that their fathers could make such blunders in legislation.

But let us attend to the immediate and necessary consequences of the American revolution.

So great an event as that of detaching millions of people from their parent nation, could not have been effected without the operation of powerful causes. Nothing but a series of real or imaginary evils could have shaken the habits by which we were governed, and produced a combined opposition against the power of Great-Britain. I shall not enumerate any of these evils; but observe that such evils, by twenty years operation upon the fears or feelings of the Americans, had alienated their affections, or weakened those habits of respect, by which we were predisposed to voluntary obedience. When a government has lost respect, it has lost the main pillar of its authority. Not even a military force can supply the want of respect among subjects. A change of sentiment prepares the way for a change of government, and when that change of sentiment had become general in America, nothing could have prevented a revolution.

But it is more easy to excite fears than to remove them. The jealousy,

raised in the minds of American against the British government, wrought a revolution; but the spirit did not then subside—it changed its object, and, by the arts of designing men, and the real distresses, consequent on such a political storm, was directed against our own government. The restraints imposed by respect and habits of obedience, were broken through, and the licentious passions of men set afloat.

Nothing can be so fatal to morals and the peace of society, as a violent shock given to public opinion or fixed habits. Polemic disputes have often destroyed the friendship of a church, and filled it, not only with rancor, but with immorality. Public opinion, therefore, in religion and government, the great supporters of society, should never be suddenly unhinged. The separation of America, however, from all dependence on European government, could not have been effected without previously attacking and changing opinion. It was an essential step—but the effects of it will not easily be repaired. That independence of spirit which preceded the commencement of hostilities, and which victory has strengthened—that love of dominion, inherent in the mind of man, which our forms of government are continually flattering—that licentiousness of enquiry which a jealousy of rights first produced, and still preserves, cannot be controuled and subdued, but by a long series of prudent and vigorous measures.

Perhaps the present age will hardly see the restoration of perfect tranquility. But the spirit and principles, which wrought our separation from Great-Britain, will mostly die with the present generation; the next generation will probably have new habits of obedience to our governments; and habits will govern them, with very little support from law.

Most of the states had new constitutions of government to form; they had a kind of interregnum—an interval, when respect for all government was suspended—an interval, fatal, in the last degree, to morals and social confidence. This interval between the abolition of the old constitution and the formation of a new one, lasted longer in Massachusetts,

than in the other states, and there the effects were most visible. But perhaps it is impossible to frame a constitution of government, in the closet, which will suit the people, for we frequently find one, the most perfect in theory, the most objectionable in practice. Hence we often hear popular complaints against the present governments in America: and yet these may proceed rather from the novelty of the obedience required, than from any real errors or defects in the systems: it may be nothing but the want of habit which makes people uneasy—the same articles, which now produce clamours and discontent, may, after twenty years practice, give perfect satisfaction. Nay, the same civil regulation, which the present generation may raise a mob to resist, the next generation may raise a mob to defend.

But perhaps a more immediate and powerful cause of a corruption of social principles, is a fluctuation of money. Few people seem to attend to the connexion between money and morals: but it may doubtless be proved to the satisfaction of every reflecting mind, that a sudden increase of specie in a country, and frequent and obvious changes of value, are more fruitful sources of corruption of morals, than any other events that take place in a community.

The first effect of too much money, is to check manual labour, the only permanent source of wealth. Industry, which secures subsistence, and advances our interest by slow and regular gains, is the best preservative of morals: for it keeps men employed, and affords them few opportunities of taking unfair advantages. A regular commerce has nearly the same effect as agriculture or the mechanic arts; for the principles are generally fixed and understood.

Speculation has the contrary effect. As its calculations for profit depend on no fixed principles, but solely on the different value of articles in different parts of the country, or on accidental and sudden variations of value, it opens a field for the exercise of ingenuity in taking advantage of these circumstances.

But the speculators are not the only men whose character and principles

are exposed by such a state of the currency; the honest labourer and the regular merchant are often tempted to forsake their respective lines of profession. Every temptation of this kind attacks the moral principles, and exposes men to small deviations from the rectitude of commutative justice.

Dissipation was another consequence of a flood of money. No country perhaps on earth can exhibit such a spirit of dissipation among men, who derive their support from business, as America. It is supposed by good judges, that the expenses of subsistence, dress, and equipage were nearly doubled in commercial towns, the two first years after peace. I have no doubt the support of the common people was enhanced twenty-five per cent. This augmentation of expenses, with a diminution of productive industry, are the consequences of too much money.

That instability of law, to which republics are prone, is another source of corruption. Multiplication and changes of law have a great effect in weakening the force of government, by preventing or destroying habits. Law acquires force by a steady operation, and government acquires dignity and respect in proportion to the uniformity of its proceedings. Necessity, perhaps, has made our federal and provincial governments frequently shift their measures, and the unforeseen or unavoidable variations of public securities, with the impossibility of commanding the resources of the continent, to fulfil engagements, all predict a continuation of the evil. But the whole wisdom of the legislatures should be exerted to devise a system of measures which may preclude the necessity of changes that tend to bring government into contempt.

Extensive credit in a popular government is always pernicious, and may be fatal. When the people are deeply or generally involved, they have power and strong temptations to introduce an abolition of debts—an agrarian law—or that modern refinement on the Roman plan, which is a substitute for both, a paper currency, issued on depreciating principles.

In governments like ours, it is policy to make it the interest of people to be honest. In short, the whole art

of governing consists in binding each individual by his partial interest, to promote the aggregate interest of the community.

Laws to prevent credit would be beneficial to poor people. With respect to the contraction of debt, people at large, in some measure, resemble children: they are not judges even of their own interest. They anticipate their incomes, and very often, by miscalculation, much more than their incomes. But this is not the worst effect—an easy credit throws them off their guard in their expenses. In general, we observe, that a slow, laborious acquisition of property creates a caution in expenditures, and gradually forms the miser. On the other hand, a sudden acquisition of money, either by gambling, lotteries, privateering or marriage, has a tendency to open the heart, or throw the man off his guard, and thus make him prodigal in his expenses. Perhaps this is ever the case, except when a penurious habit has been previously formed.

An easy and extensive credit has a similar effect. When people can possess themselves of property without previous labour, they consume it with improvident liberality. A prudent man will not; but a large proportion of mankind have not prudence and fortitude enough to resist the demands of pride and appetite. Thus they often riot on other men's property, which they would not labour to procure. They form habits of indolence and extravagance, which ruin their families and impoverish their creditors.

The only way to become rich at home, and respectable abroad, is to become industrious, and to throw off our slavish dependence on foreign manners, which obliges us to sacrifice our opinions, our taste, and our interest, to the policy and aggrandisement of other nations.



On smuggling, and its various species.

THERE are many people that would be thought, and even think themselves, honest men, who fail, nevertheless, in particular points of honesty; deviating from that character sometimes by the prevalence of mode or custom, and sometimes

through mere inattention; so that their honesty is partial only, and not general or universal. Thus, one who would scorn to over-reach you in a bargain, shall make no scruple of tricking you a little now and then at cards; another, that plays with the utmost fairness, shall with great freedom cheat you in the sale of a horse. But there is no kind of dishonesty, into which good people more easily and frequently fall, than that of defrauding government of its revenues by smuggling, when they have an opportunity, or encouraging smugglers by buying their goods.

I fell into these reflexions the other day, on hearing two gentlemen of reputation discoursing about a small estate, which one of them was inclined to sell, and the other to buy; when the seller, in recommending the place, remarked, that its situation was very advantageous on this account, that being on the sea-coast in a smuggling country, one had frequent opportunities of buying many of the expensive articles used in a family, (such as tea, coffee, chocolate, brandy, wines, cambricks, Brussels laces, French silks, and all kinds of India goods,) twenty, thirty, and in some articles fifty per cent. cheaper than they could be had, in the more interior parts, of traders that paid duty. The other honest gentleman allowed this to be an advantage, but insisted that the seller, in the advanced price he demanded on that account, rated the advantage much above its value. And neither of them seemed to think dealing with smugglers, a practice that an honest man (provided he got his goods cheap) had the least reason to be ashamed of.

At a time when the load of our public debt, and the heavy expense of maintaining our fleets and armies to be ready for our defence on occasion, makes it necessary not only to continue old taxes, but often to look out for new ones; perhaps it may not be unuseful to state this matter in a light that few seem to have considered it in.

The people of Great Britain, under the happy constitution of this country, have a privilege few other countries enjoy, that of choosing the

third branch of the legislature ; which branch has alone the power of regulating their taxes. Now, whenever the government finds it necessary for the common benefit, advantage, and safety of the nation, for the security of our liberties, property, religion, and every thing that is dear to us ; that certain sums shall be yearly raised by taxes, duties, &c. and paid into the public treasury, thence to be dispensed by government for those purposes ; ought not every honest man freely and willingly to pay his just proportion of this necessary expense ? can he possibly preserve a right to that character, if by any fraud, stratagem, or contrivance, he avoids that payment in whole or in part ?

What should we think of a companion, who, having supped with his friends at a tavern, and partaken equally of the joys of the evening with the rest of us, would nevertheless, contrive by some artifice to shift his share of the reckoning upon others, in order to get off scot-free ? if a man who practised this, would, when detected, be deemed and called a scoundrel ; what ought he to be called, who can enjoy all the inestimable benefits of public society, and yet by smuggling, or dealing with smugglers, contrive to evade paying his just share of the expense, as settled by his own representatives in parliament ; and wrongfully throw it upon his honest and perhaps much poorer neighbours ? he will perhaps be ready to tell me, that he does not wrong his neighbours ; he scorns the imputation ; he only cheats the king a little, who is very well able to bear it. This, however, is a mistake. The public treasure is the treasure of the nation, to be applied to national purposes. And when a duty is laid for a particular public and necessary purpose, if through smuggling, that duty falls short of raising the sum required, and other duties must therefore be laid to make up the deficiency ; all the additional sum laid by the new duties and paid by other people, though it should amount to no more than a halfpenny or a farthing per head, is so much actually picked out of the pockets of those other people, by the smugglers and their abettors and encouragers. Are they then any better or other than pickpocket ? and

what mean, low, rascally pickpockets must those be, that can pick pockets for halfpence and for farthings ?

I would not, however, be supposed to allow in what I have just said, that cheating the king is a less offence against honesty, than cheating the public. The king and the public in this case are different names for the same thing ; but if we consider the king distinctly, it will not lessen the crime : it is no justification of a robbery, that the person robbed was rich and able to bear it. The king has as much right to justice, as the meanest of his subjects ; and as he is truly the common father of his people, those that rob him, fall under the scripture woe, pronounced against the son that rob-beth his father, and saith it is no sin.

Mean as this practice is, do we not daily see people of character and fortune engaged in it for trifling advantages to themselves ?—Is any lady ashamed to request of a gentleman of her acquaintance, that, when he returns from abroad, he would smuggle her home a piece of silk or lace from France or Flanders ? is any gentleman ashamed to undertake and execute the commission ?—not in the least. They will talk of it freely, even before others whose pockets they are thus contriving to pick by this piece of knavery.

Among other branches of the revenue, that of the post-office is, by a late law, appropriated to the discharge of our public debt, to defray the public expenses of the state. None but members of parliament, and a few public officers have now a right to avoid, by a frank, the payment of postage. When any letter, not written by them, or on their business, is franked by any of them, it is a hurt to the revenue ; an injury which they must now take the pains to conceal, by writing the whole superscription themselves. And yet, such is our insensibility to injustice, in this particular, that nothing is more common than to see, in a very reputable company, a very honest gentleman or lady declare his or her intention to cheat the nation of three pence by a frank ; and, without blushing, apply to one of the very legislators themselves, with a modest request that he would be pleased to become an accomplice

in the crime, and assist in the perpetration?

There are those, who, by these practices, take a great deal in a year out of the public purse, and put the money into their own private pockets. If passing through a room where public treasure is deposited, a man takes the opportunity of clandestinely pocketing and carrying off a guinea, is he not truly and properly a thief? And if another evades paying into the treasury a guinea he ought to pay in, and applies it to his own use, when he knows it belongs to the public as much as that which has been paid in; what difference is there in the nature of the crime, or the baseness of committing it?

Some laws make the receiving of stolen goods equally penal with stealing, and, upon this principle, if there were no receivers there would be few thieves. Our proverb, too, says truly, "that the receiver is as bad as the thief." By the same reasoning, as there would be few smugglers, if there were none who knowingly encouraged them by buying their goods, we may say that the encouragers of smuggling are as bad as the smugglers; and that as smugglers are a kind of thieves, both equally deserve the punishment of thievery.

In this view of wronging the revenue, what must we think of those who can evade paying for their wheels and their plate, in defiance of law and justice, and yet declaim against corruption and speculation, as if their own hands and hearts were pure and unsullied? The Americans offend us grievously, when, contrary to our laws, they smuggle goods into their own country: and yet they had no hand in making those laws. I do not, however, pretend from thence to justify them. But I think the offence much greater in those who either directly or indirectly have been concerned in making the very laws they break. And when I hear them exclaiming against the Americans, and for every little infringement of the acts of trade, or obstruction given by a petty mob to an officer of our customs in that country, calling for vengeance against the whole people as rebels and traitors; I cannot help thinking there are still those in the world who can see a mote in their brother's eye, while they

do not discern a beam in their own; and that the old saying is as true now as ever it was, "one man may better steal a horse, than another look over the hedge."

London, Nov. 24, 1767.

B. F.



The whole process of the silk-worm, from the egg to the cocoon; communicated to dr. John Morgan, physician in Philadelphia, in two letters from messrs. Hare and Skinner, silk merchants in London, July 27, 1774, and February 24, 1775.

CHAP. III. Of cocoons royal, perforated cocoons, and soufflons.

THE royal cocoons are those which you have kept for seed. The worm makes a hole in them for his passage, so that they cannot be wound, and are in the same class with the perforated cocoons.

Neither can the soufflons be wound, because their thread being the produce of a weak, sick worm, it has not the gum it ought to contain. Besides, they cannot be wound off, their thread being interlaced, and entangled.

The uses you make of these cocoons are the following; and first for the

Soufflons; you must let them boil for about half an hour in common water, after which you must dry them. When they are quite dry, you must thresh them on the floor with a flail, to bring out the worm, which is reduced to ashes by the fire and air. Afterwards, you put them on a distaff, and open them; to effect which, you must take them by the two ends, and stretch them out at arms length; you may then fasten them on your distaff.

2. With the perforated cocoons, you must observe the same method as for the soufflons, except that you must let them boil three-quarters instead of half an hour, because they contain a greater quantity of gum.

3. The cocoons royal. As it is natural to suppose you keep the best of your cocoons for seed; they are fuller of gum than the others, for which reason you must let them boil an hour; after which you must not thresh them as the former, because they contain no worm, neither is it necessary to stay till they are quite dry, before you spin them; on the contrary, they open more easily when damp. The

produce of these three sorts of cocons, when worked, makes what we call *fleuret*.

After you have boiled the cocons, and threshed them well, to shake out the worm they contain, you may card them, instead of opening them as above; you will then make a much more beautiful *fleuret*, and of a brighter colour, but it will, at the same time, come considerably dearer, because of the waste in carding. A good spinster performs a very reasonable day's work, if she can spin an ounce of *fleuret*.

To sum up the whole, and give you an idea of the value of these three sorts of cocons, you may calculate thus.

If the good cocons are worth one hundred, the perforated are worth thirty-three one third, the soufflons twenty-five, the royal cocons two hundred and fifty; but if your royal cocons are not chosen ones for seed, they are worth but two hundred.

The best *fleuret* is that which proceeds from the royal cocons, afterwards that of the perforated cocons unchosen, last of all, that of the soufflons.

CHAP. IV. *Of the filature, or winding from the worm.*

Although the fresh cocons, that is to say, those that have not been baked in the oven, yield a brighter silk than those that have, and at the same time yield better weight, by reason of part of their gum which they have not lost by the fire, yet most people prefer those that are baked, in order to have a silk more even in its colour; unless you could have a considerable quantity of fresh cocons, and time to wind them so; for otherwise, it is undeniable, that the fresh would be much more advantageous, as well for the reason above mentioned, as because they are easier to wind, not having been dried by the fire.

Before you begin to wind, you must prepare your cocons as follows.

1. In stripping them of that waste silk that surrounds them, and which served to fasten them to the twigs. This burr is proper to stuff quilts, or other such uses; you may likewise spin it to make stockings; but they will be coarse and ordinary.

2. You must sort your cocons, separating them into different classes in

order to wind them apart. These classes are,

The good white cocons.

The good cocons of all the other colours.

The dupions.

The cocalons, among which are included the weak cocons.

The good choquette; and, lastly,

The bad choquette.

In sorting the cocons, you will always find some perforated cocons amongst them, whose worm is already born; those you must set apart for *fleuret*. As I have described above, you will likewise find some soufflons, but very few; for which reason you may put them among the bad choquette, and they run up into waste.

The good cocons, as well white as yellow, are the easiest to wind; those which require the greatest care and pains, are the cocalons; you must wind them in cooler water than the others, and if you take care to give them to a good windster, you will have as good silk from them as the rest. You must likewise have careful windsters for the dupions and choquettes. These two articles require hotter water than the common cocons.

The good cocons are to be wound in the following manner. First choose an open convenient place for your filature, the longer the better, if you intend to have many furnaces and coppers. This building should be high and open on one side, and walled on the other, as well to screen you from the cold winds, and receive the sun, as to give a free passage to the steam of your basons or coppers.

These coppers or basons are to be disposed (when the building will admit of it) in a row on each side of the filature, as being the most convenient method of placing them, for by that means, in walking up and down, you see what every one is about. And these basons should be two and two together, with a chimney between every couple.

Having prepared your reels, (which are turned by hands, and require a quick eye) and your fire being a light one under every bason, your windster must stay till the water is as hot as it can be without boiling. When every thing is now ready, you throw into

your basons two or three handfuls of cocoons, which you gently brush over with a whisk about six inches long, cut stumpy like a broom worn out: by these means the threads of the cocoons stick to the whisk. You must disengage these threads from the whisk, and purge them by drawing these ends with your fingers till they come off entirely clean. This operation is called *la battüe*.

When the threads are quite clear, you must pass four of them (if you will wind fine silk) through each of the holes in a thin iron bar that is placed horizontally at the edge of your bason; afterwards you twist the two ends (which consist of four cocoons each) twenty or twenty five times, that the four ends in each thread may the better join together in crossing one another, and that your silk may be plump, which otherwise would be flat.

Your windster must always have a bowl of cold water by her, to dip her fingers in, and to sprinkle very often the said bar, that the heat may not burn the thread. Your threads, when thus twisted, go upon two iron hooks called *rampins*, which are placed higher, and from thence they go upon the reel. Now at one end of the axis of the reel is a cogwheel, which, catching in the teeth of the post-rampin, moves it from the right to the left, and consequently the thread that is upon it; so that your silk is wound on the reel cross ways, and your threads form two hanks of about four fingers broad.

As often as the cocoons you wind are done, or break or diminish only, you must join fresh ones to keep up the number requisite, or the proportion: I say the proportion, because, as the cocoons wind off, the thread being finer, you must join two cocoons half wound to replace a new one: thus you may wind three new ones and two half wound, and your silk is from four to five cocoons.

When you would join a fresh thread, you must lay one end on your finger, which you throw lightly on the other threads that are winding, and it joins them immediately, and continues to go up with the rest. You must not wind off your cocoons too bare or to the last; because, when

they are near at an end, the *bairré*, as we call it, that is the husk, joins in with the other threads, and makes the silk foul and gouty.

When you have finished your first parcel, you must clean your basons, taking out all the striped worms as well as the cocoons, on which there is a little silk, which you first open, and take out the worm, and then throw them into a basket by you, into which you likewise cast the loose silk that comes off in making the *battüe*.

You then proceed, as before, with other two or three handfuls of cocoons; you make a new *battüe*; you purge them, and continue to wind the same number of cocoons or their equivalent, and so to the end.

As I said above, your windster must always have a bowl of cold water by her, to sprinkle the bar, to cool her fingers every time she dips them in the hot water, and to pour into her bason when necessary, that is, when her bason begins to boil. You must be very careful to twist your threads a sufficient number of times, about twenty-five, otherwise your silk remains flat, instead of being round and full; besides, when the silk is not well crossed, it never can be clean, because a gout or nub that comes from a cocoon will pass through a small number of these twists, though a greater will stop it: your thread then breaks, and you pass what foulness there may be in the middle of your reel, between the two hanks, which serves for a head-band to tie them.

You must mind your water be just in a proper degree of heat. When it is too hot, the thread is dead and has no body; when it is too cold, the ends which form the thread do not join well, and form a harsh ill qualified silk.

You must change the water in your bason four times a-day, for your dupions and choquette, and twice only for good cocoons when you wind fine silk, but if you wind coarse silk, it is necessary to change it three or four times. For if you was not to change the water, the silk would not be so bright and glossy, because the worms contained in the cocoons foul it very considerably. You must endeavour as much as possible to wind with clear water, for if there are too many worms in it, your silk is covered with a kind

of dust, which attracts the moth and destroys your silk.

You may wind your silk of what size you please, from one cocon to a thousand; but it is difficult to wind more than thirty in a thread. The nicety, and that in which consists the greatest difficulty, is to wind even; because, as the cocon winds off, the end is finer, and you must then join other cocoons to keep up the same size. This difficulty of keeping the silk always even, is so great, that (excepting a thread of two cocoons, which we call *such*) we do not say a silk of three, of four, or of six cocoons, but a silk of three to four, of four to five, of six to seven cocoons. If you proceed to a coarser silk, you cannot calculate so nicely as to one cocon more or less. We say, for example, from twelve to fifteen, from fifteen to twenty, and so on.

It is easy to conceive, that it is more difficult to wind a coarse silk even, than a fine one, because it is harder to keep a great number of cocoons always to the same size, than a small one.

The dupions which you design for *rondelette*, or ordinary sewing silk, are to be wound from fifteen to twenty. The rest you may wind as coarse as possible, i.e. from forty to fifty: they serve to cover and fill up in coarse stuffs, and may likewise be used for some sort of sewing silk.

The good *choquette* is to be wound according to the uses to which you intend to apply it; however, not finer than from seven to eight. The bad *choquette* you may wind from fifteen to twenty cocoons.

In winding the good cocoons, you will always meet with some defective which will not wind off and are full of gouts and nubs. These you must take out of your *bafon* and keep by themselves. They are called *bassinats*. They are to be wound apart as coarse as you can. They make a foul, dirty silk. To have a good silk, you must wind in fine weather. If the wind be high, it shakes your silk, prevents its lying smooth on the reel, and forms strings of threads, which make it very difficult to wind on bobbins. If the weather is rainy, the silk is damp, and has not that lustre it ought to have, or which it has when it dries,

as it goes upon the reel. You must mind not to hank it when damp, but let it dry on the reel; otherwise it would be *furzy*.

I have now only to speak of the waste that comes from the battie, and the husks of the cocoons, that have still some silk upon them, which are thrown into baskets in winding, and are what we call *moresques*. These you first dry in the sun, then thresh, and afterwards card and spin them to make *fleuret*. One hundred and fifty ounces of good cocoons yield about eleven ounces of silk from five to six cocoons; if you wind coarser, something more. You may wind about eleven or twelve ounces of silk from five to six cocoons in fourteen hours.

The silk which is made of *bassinats* and bad *choquette* serves to make stockings and coarse heavy stuffs, such as *fatinades* and *damasks* for hangings, &c. &c.



Extracts from an essay entitled "national arithmetic, or observations on the finances of the commonwealth of Massachusetts."

What labour is profitable, and what unprofitable to the state.—P. 259.

Whale fishery.

THERE was not before the revolution, and there is not now, any part in America, or in Europe, where whaling vessels can be fitted for sea, to so much advantage, as they can be at Nantucket. From long habit, and a perseverance peculiar to themselves, the people of this place, with their neighbouring islanders, the inhabitants of Martha's-Vineyard, have become the most expert and knowing in the whale fishery, of any people on earth. The merchants there, had for many years bent their whole attention to this branch of labour, had reduced every expence, and brought all their supplies, to the nicest point of saving: indeed the manners, dress, and living of most of the people on Nantucket, are models, from which all ranks ought to take pattern; and should this ever be the case, I may venture to affirm, that this commonwealth will become opulent, great, and respectable. It is not necessary to be of the religious profession of the

quakers; but to use economy in living, plainness in dress, and frugality in all the appendages of furniture, carriages, &c. is what reason and common sense dictate to us. These people follow strictly those principles, and are the brightest example of those practices, which form the good American citizens, and the most profitable labourers in the community.

During the late revolution, this branch of labour (the whale fishery) almost ceased. In the year 1775, the inhabitants of Nantucket owned 150 sail of whaling vessels. In the year 1784, they had but 19 sail. In 1775, those vessels carried from ten to 11000 tons. In 1784, these carried only 2400 tons. A decline, in so extensive a degree, of so great a part of the profitable labour in the state, could not, after the peace, pass long unobserved by the legislature. Accordingly, in a late general court, there was a bounty granted, of twenty dollars per ton, on all oil, caught in vessels, the property of citizens of the commonwealth; but I am afraid, whilst Great Britain opposes it, by an eighty dollar duty, that, unless other markets shall be found, that will take it off our hands, at a profit, this great branch of our labour must fall, or be removed to Nova Scotia or to England, where the high price is a bait, which several have not, and more will not be able to resist.

Whale oil.

It is wise in France, to admit into her kingdom, as she has done lately, a certain quantity of our oil, on terms not disadvantageous to us. This measure insures to her a certain remittance, and bids fair to be a means of introducing a business, which will be truly beneficial to her, and productive of much traffic with New England.

Commercial treaty with Britain.

It behoves congress, (and I have no doubt but they have bestowed a suitable attention on this subject) to use every means in their power to obtain a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, which shall, in some degree, lessen the dismal prospect, which now forces itself upon us, of the destruction of this hitherto profitable branch of our labour.

Wool-combing, &c.

The wool-comber and the flax-

dresser, with the spinners and weavers of the articles they furnish, are most profitable labourers. Most of the merchandize imported from Europe, at least all that is necessary, is the product of their different labours. Whilst a country like this, abounding in pasture and fodder, to raise the sheep that supply the wool, and with fields, on which to grow the flax, shall import many of those necessities, of a coarse and plain kind, it cannot continue long in affluence, if in comfortable circumstances: yet, true it is, whilst these things are so easily obtained by our own labour, and when our women and yeomen are idle a great part of the year—(during which time they might be employed in useful labour)—we are expending our substance for such articles as we may have within ourselves; and are bleeding to death to obtain, in addition to these, the most useless, costly dresses that European luxury can invent. Ribands of various shades and figures, silks and satins, silk and morocco-shoes, gauzes and feathers, for the women; silk-stockings, satin-breeches and waistcoats for the men, compose the greatest part of the modern dress, even where it can be least afforded. The two articles of linen and woolen manufacture, added to those of the hatter and shoe-maker, the tanner and currier, form all that are necessary for common use in the dress of man and woman. The materials for these tradesmen's manufactures abound within ourselves, and these, with our labour upon them, will be amply sufficient to supply the inhabitants of the commonwealth. I hope to see such labours encouraged, and that we shall soon cease from importing any of the coarser clothing into the state.

Domestic manufactures.

Woolens and linens.

Before the late war, (and we have more diffusive means within ourselves since) there was scarce a family out of the sea-port towns, which did not supply itself with woolen and linen cloth from the labour of its own hands, without retarding the improvement of their farms, by taking such hours for this purpose as could not be employed in agriculture. If any one did not raise sheep, he might purchase from him that did, or barter with him for

flax or some other commodity, which the other wanted. Every plat of land, or farm, is not calculated to raise all the articles necessary for the making of clothing: but, every person may, by improving his lands to the utmost, obtain with the produce of them, what he wants, from others. A few pounds weight of wool or flax, will provide staples for more cloth, than one family can commonly want; and these being obtained, the labour necessary to prepare them for use is furnished by a man's own family. The mistress, daughter and maid-servant, comb the wool and spin it into yarn. The flax being broken, cleaned and dressed by the master, son or man-servant, is by the woman drawn into thread. The yarn and thread thus furnished, are speedily woven into cloth, by one who professedly follows that employment, or by a woman or man in the family, on a loom, kept for the purpose, in almost every thrifty farmer's house. Most of the time used in those different operations, may be that, which otherwise would have been spent idly, when no out-door business could be followed; and time thus improved, is just as profitable as money saved; so many hours labour, being worth exactly so much cash as it could be purchased for, of others,

Stockings.

Another part of clothing, namely, stockings, might be knit at such seasons, and by such persons, as could give no interruption, to any other business. A woman, at paying her neighbourly visits, with great propriety, might amuse herself in knitting; so she could many hours in her house—old women and children, who are so far in the extremes of life, as to be unfit for labours of attention or fatigue, might be employed in making stockings.

Leather.

The hides of the calves, sheep and oxen, which every farmer must kill yearly, will afford him a much larger quantity of leather than is necessary for the supply of shoes for the family—and hence the leather needed by those who are not farmers, and who are principally concerned in employments on the sea, or who live on shore by the profits of others labours at sea.

Hats.

The finest of the wool, with the furs

which are to be found in the wilderness every season, are more than sufficient to supply the whole country with hats.

Cloths, &c.

From this aggregate of labours, we can most indisputably be supplied with clothing; and although it may be looked upon by some as chimerical, yet it is demonstratively true, that there is not the smallest necessity, that any part of the coarser clothing should be supplied by foreign nations. Nay, before the war, two thirds of our fishermen were clad with the cloth manufactured amongst ourselves, which, being found stronger, though not so well dressed, was very properly preferred. Indeed every one knows, that that cloth, whether cotton or linen, which is sometimes brought to market from the country, and is made by the industrious few, is stronger, and cheaper, than that of the same quality, as to fineness, which is imported.

When a country, like England, exports large quantities of cloths, numerous manufactories must be employed to afford the supply, and as there must necessarily be persons to buy up the wool, so there must be merchants to purchase that wool and deliver it to the spinners; others, again, who buy up the yarn, and deliver it to the weavers, and woollen dressers, who buy the cloth in the rough, polish it, and sell it to the woollen drapers: by them it is sold to the exporters; by the wholesale trader in America to the retailer. Each of these must have a profit proportioned to his time, to the interest of his money and the risque of the credit he gives. Cloth thus supplied comes doubly dearer than that which a man can make at home; notwithstanding a manufactory of twenty looms furnishes a much cheaper supply than one of a single loom,* yet as all the labourers in the different

NOTE.

* “A man not educated to the pin making business, could scarce perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater

stages, are in the husbandman's own family, and as the business may be done, at seasons and hours, when nothing else would be done, there is a double reason why we should manufacture our own clothing. Upon the whole, it is concluded, that the wool-comber and flax-dresser, the spinner and weaver, tanner, currier, shoemaker, and harter, are all profitable labourers, and ought to receive the particular attention of government, and that each should have every encouragement possible. To this end it may be hinted, that sheep and flax, and their value, ought to be exempted from taxation, and ought not to be included in any general valuation (indeed I believe sheep were not in the last valuation), and that a bounty should be given to those who should raise the most of each. That leather made, or not made, into shoes, and hats imported, should not be highly duties, but absolutely prohibited. This, to prevent smuggling, is the best way that can be taken as to all articles that may be had amongst ourselves. It will prevent much perjury, and encourage our manufactures.

NOTE.

part are likewise peculiar trades. The important business of making a pin, is divided into eighteen distinct operations. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind where ten men only were employed, and where some of them consequently performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. These ten persons, therefore, could make among them, upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had wrought all separately and independently, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day." Nature and causes of the wealth of nations, by Dr. Adam Smith.

Masts, spars, &c.

The person who forms the stately pines and oaks, into masts, spars, boards, joists, deals, timber, flaves, &c. so as to make them fit for exportation or home use, is also a profitable labourer to the state. The sum arising from the product of our extensive forests, forms a great part of the wealth and resources of this state. For some years before the late war, four million feet of pine boards; one million feet of oak boards; about thirty million of shingles; three thousand tons of masts, yards, and bowsprits; ten thousand tons of pine timber; three thousand tons of oak timber, besides large quantities of hoops, flaves, and joists, and about sixty sail of ships, were exported from the Massachusetts in one year; and these accounts being mostly taken from Lord Sheffield's observations on the commerce of the American states, it may readily be concluded, are not exaggerated.

No country can deprive Massachusetts of any branch of this trade by underselling her at a foreign market, although she severely feels the check given to shipbuilding, since the rulers of almost every trading nation, have declared their navigation shall be conducted wholly in ships of their own building; but as a balance to this, I hope soon to see congress fully empowered to regulate our trade, and that no powers will be allowed to

NOTE.

+ "Those who gave up the territory of Penobscot, east of Casco Bay, which was in our possession, deserve the utmost degree of censure. It is by far the finest part of America for the articles now in question; and they have also given up a very fine fishery, fine harbour, and the best river along that coast. The coast abounds with lumber fit for the navy and for private uses, sufficient to supply Britain for ages; but which may now form the grand resource of the American states for these articles. The white pine, (which abounds in these parts and is known in Britain by the name of the Weymouth or New-England pine), is by far the best for masts and spars, and grows to a prodigious height." Lord Sheffield,—on commerce, p. 78.

transport for us, which prohibits us from transporting for them.

The lumber business has this disadvantage attending it, that it prevents agriculture in those parts where it is followed. The eastern parts of this state are a striking proof of this. It was eventually beneficial to the people of those parts, that the late war, whilst it debarred them of the privilege of sending their boards to market, forced them to bestow some attention on the cultivation of the fields, which otherwise, as is too frequently the case, after being cleared, would have been over-run again with brush and young wood. The preference given to lumbering arises from a love of ease more than a provident care and foresight. When the tree is felled, and the logs are hawled to the mill, the labour is over; the surveyor takes his toll or fees from the boards he has sawn out of the logs, and the owner sells the remainder to the merchant or to the captains of vessels, who may be waiting for them in exchange for rum, provisions, and clothing. Being thus easily supplied with the necessaries of life, the cultivation of the field is neglected, no orchard is planted, idleness a great part of the year prevails, of course, introduces vice of different kinds, particularly that horrid one, drunkenness; and the almost certain consequence is want. As age advances, the lumberer's abilities to provide for himself and family decrease more rapidly, than the timber re-grows—hence we behold poverty and a naked country, in many parts, east of Kennebeck river. The soil and capabilities of the country, have been observed, and wherever the industrious had cleared a field and cultivated it, and had planted fruit trees, there were rich returns and good orchards. Hence it may be concluded, that the lumber business is profitable to the state, provided means could be fallen upon to prevent the noncultivation of those lands which have been robbed of their timber, and this, in my opinion, would be easiest done, by taxing such lands in a considerable proportion, as improvable lands are; by erecting courts of justice in different parts east of Pownalborough, and by dividing the county of Lincoln into two or more judicial districts.

But what must give the greatest encouragement to clearing and cultivating the eastern parts of this commonwealth, is, that as soon as the produce of any labour is fit for sale, the numerous navigable rivers, which intersect the whole country at easy distances, and the extensive course of sea coast, will admit shipping to almost every man's door, and thereby an opportunity is afforded for disposing of it immediately, by which quick transfer, a poor man may turn every days work into necessities for the next day, and, with the price of his lumber, pay himself for his labour and for the purchase money of his land, so that a farm once cleared, in those parts, really costs the owner nothing. An inland farmer is forced to have large quantities of stores laid up for himself and his labourers, to supply them for months, nor can he advantage himself by the timber, &c. on his land: but, fortunately, as no country is by nature advantaged exclusively, so the people of the old province of Massachusetts happily have no situation more than forty-five miles from water carriage—a convenience which few of the sister states are accommodated with. Worcester I conceive to be the most central of the inland parts of the state; west, it is about forty-five miles to Connecticut river; east, the same distance to the bay, south, much less to Providence; and north, about as far from Merrimack.

Besides those mentioned, there are many classes of labourers in the state, which need not be named to determine their usefulness—of such are the paper makers, printers*, clothiers, workers in iron, as axe and other edge tool makers, nail makers, cast iron manufacturers, glass makers, and mechanics in general.

Thus much, with respect to that labour which I think is profitable to the state.

[To be continued.]

NOTE.

* It is a shame that primers, spelling and other school books, should be allowed to be imported from Great Britain, when so many of the printers in this state are forced to be idle in consequence of it.

An account of the earthquakes which have happened in New England, since the first settlement of the English in that country, especially of that, which happened on October 29, 1727. Communicated to the royal society by Paul Dudley, Esq. F. R. S. in a letter to the secretary.

SIR, Roxbury, Nov. 13, 1727.

YOU will doubtless from the public prints have an account of the terrible earthquake that happened here on the 29th of October last in the night; however, I think it my duty, and hope it will be acceptable to the society, to have the particulars from one of their own members.

That this country is subject to earthquakes is certain; and we have been often admonished of it since the first settlement of the English here, which now is about an hundred years. Our printed books, and other good records, have taken notice of the most remarkable that have happened. The first and most considerable earthquake that I find in our history, and which seems to have been much like our last, was on the second of June, 1638. This is said (by the author, who was a gentleman of character and probity) "to have been a great and fearful earthquake; it was heard before it came, with a rumbling noise or low murmur, like unto remote thunder; it came from the northward, and passed southward; as the noise approached near, the earth began to quake; and it came at length with that violence, as caused platters, tiles, &c. to fall down; yea, people were afraid of their houses. The shock was so violent and great, as that some being without-doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts, &c. About half an hour after, or less, came another noise and shaking, but not so loud nor strong as the former: ships and vessels in the harbour were shaken," &c. In 1658, there was another very great earthquake, but no particulars related. In 1660, January 31st, a great earthquake. In 1662, January 26th, about six o'clock at night, there happened an earthquake, which shook the houses, caused the inhabitants to run out into the streets, and the tops of several chimnies fell down. About the middle of the

same night was another shake; also in the morning following the earth shook again. In 1665, and in 1668, and 1669, the earth was shaken; since which we have also had several tremors of the earth, but not very considerable; so that our people began to hope we should hear no more of them. But we are now convinced that New England is still liable to the same terror and desolation that other countries are, from these extraordinary motions of the earth.

I now proceed to give the best account I can, of our late terrible earthquake, which has so justly amazed and terrified the inhabitants from one end of the country to the other. The first thing I shall begin with, is, to give a short account of the weather or season preceding the earthquake: our winter in January and February was very moderate, and excepting a few cold days, the weather was pleasant, and no great frost in the ground. In the beginning of March, we had a great deal of snow, and cold weather, which soon went over; and on the 11th day, 15 minutes after four o'clock, the sun was eclipsed about five digits, as near as I could make it without an instrument; after which, to the end of the month, we had pleasant weather, rain at times, and once we had thunder and lightning. April for the most part had fair pleasant spring weather, and a plentiful rain in the beginning and latter end of the month. The beginning of May was also pleasant weather; the 9th, 10th, and 13th a great deal of rain: the 18th a white frost: 24th and 25th cold weather; from thence to the end of the month very dry. The beginning of June the same; abundance of thunder and lightning at times during the whole month. In July also, though we had some showers in different places, yet in general it was a very dry season, and a great deal of thunder and lightning also this month; the three last days of it so violently hot, that there was no working or travelling by day, or sleeping by night: the beginning of August was also exceedingly hot, and in particular the first day at night, from the evening to midnight, we had a continued coruscation or lightning all round the horizon; the like scarce

ever remembered : it was truly terrible, though the thunder was not severe. Dry weather continued to the 10th, and then we had a plentiful rain all over the province, but our hot weather held on to the end of the month ; and till about the middle of September, we had very hot weather : so that, take it all together, I have never known so much hot weather in any one summer in my time. On the 16th of September, we had such a violent storm from the north-east, as was never remembered, for the fierceness and strength of the wind ; it blew down houses, barns, and an infinite number of trees in our orchards and woods ; a great deal of rain also then fell. In the month of October, preceding the earthquake, we had a pretty deal of cold weather ; on the 23d, a great deal of rain, with the south wind ; on the 25th at night, a hard frost ; on the 26th, winterish weather, and a little snow ; 28th, cold, the wind at north west : Lord's day, 29th, the wind at north west, though little of it, but cold ; in the evening, quite calm and a clear sky.

By this short journal of the weather, the learned will be able in some measure to say, how far our earth might be disposed to, or prepared for the earthquake that followed ; first, by a long continued drought and extreme heat, whereby the earth became more porous, and abounded with exhalations or vapours inflamed, and which afterwards being shut up by the succeeding great rains and frost, and thereby hindered from an ordinary and easy passage through the pores and common vents of the earth, worked so much more forcibly and terribly upon one another. But philosophers not being yet agreed on the nature or certain causes of earthquakes, I pass on to the second thing which I proposed to enquire into, viz. what kind or sort of earthquake ours was. *Gilbertus Jacchaeus*, in his *institutiones physicae, cap. Terrae Motus*, distinguishes earthquakes into four species ; wherein he agrees with Aristotle and Pliny, with whom the first species is a shake or trembling, and by them likened to the shaking fit of an ague. I cannot yet hear of any breach or opening of the earth, through the whole extent of our

earthquake. It has been said by some that were abroad, that the earth sensibly rose up, and so sank down again ; but I much question the truth of it ; for if there had been any such succussion to raise the earth to any considerable height, the houses would certainly have tumbled down, or the exhalation forced its way by some breach. Nor was our motion of the earth that which Aristotle and Pliny call a pulse, or an intermittent knocking, but one continued shake or trembling ; and therefore must be ranked under the first species, viz. a tremor or shake, without altering the position of the earth, and left all things in the same posture in which it found them, except the falling down of the tops of some chimnies, stone walls, &c. without doors ; dishes and some other things within doors ; which I shall observe when I come to speak of the degree of the shake.

That our earthquake was of the first species, is also proved from the sound that accompanied it, since tremulous and vibrating motions are proper to produce sounds ; which brings me to the third particular, viz. the noise or sound that accompanied or immediately preceded our earthquake. This indeed was very terrible and amazing ; though I am apt to think it was thought more considerable by those within doors, than such as were without in the air. Some of our people took this noise to be thunder ; others compared it to the rattling of coaches and carts upon pavements, or frozen ground. One of my neighbours likened it to the shooting out of a load of stones from a cart under his window. For my own part, being perfectly awake, though in bed, I thought at first my servants, who lodged in a garret over my chamber, were hauling along a trundle-bed : but, in truth, the noise that accompanies an earthquake seems to be *sonus sui generis*, and there is no describing it. This noise, as amazing as it was, in an instant of time, as one may say, was succeeded by a shake much more terrible. My house, which is large and well built, seemed to be squeezed or pressed up together, as though an hundred screws had been at work to throw it down ; and shook not only every thing in the house, particularly

the bed under me, but the building itself, and every part of it, so violently for the time, that I was truly in great fear it would have tumbled down, and my family have perished in the ruin: but through the great power and mercy of God, we received no harm. 'Tis impossible to describe the terror and amazement that an earthquake carries with it; and though I had never felt one before, yet I was thoroughly convinced what it was at the very time. (*To be continued.*)



ALBANY PLAN OF UNION. P. 287.

New settlements.

THAT they, [the president general and council,] make new settlements on such purchases [of lands from the Indians,] by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit rent to the crown, for the use of the general treasury*.

NOTE.

* It is supposed better that there should be one purchaser than many; and that the crown should be that purchaser, or the union, in the name of the crown. By this means, the bargains may be more easily made, the price not enhanced by numerous bidders, future disputes about private Indian purchases and monopolies of vast tracts to particular persons (which are prejudicial to the settlement and peopling of a country) prevented; and the land being again granted in small tracts to the settlers, the quit rents reserved may in time become a fund for support of government, for defence of the country, ease of taxes, &c.

Strong forts on the lakes, the Ohio, &c. may, at the same time they secure our present frontiers, serve to defend new colonies settled under their protection; and such colonies would also mutually defend and support such forts, and better secure the friendship of the far Indians.

A particular colony has scarce strength enough to extend itself by new settlements, at so great a distance from the old: but the joint force of the union might suddenly establish a new colony or two in those parts, or extend an old colony to particular passes, greatly to the security of our present frontiers, increase of trade and peo-

Laws to govern them.

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments†.

Raise soldiers, and equip vessels, &c.

That they raise and pay soldiers, build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature‡.

NOTES.

ple, breaking off the French communication between Canada and Louisiana, and speedy settlement of the intermediate lands.

The power of settling new colonies is therefore thought a valuable part of the plan; and what cannot be so well executed by two unions as by one.

† The making of laws suitable for the new colonies, it was thought would be properly vested in the president general and grand council; under whose protection they will at first necessarily be, and who would be well acquainted with their circumstances, as having settled them. When they are become sufficiently populous, they may, by the crown, be formed into complete and distinct governments.

The appointment of a subpresident by the crown, to take place in case of the death or absence of the president general, would perhaps be an improvement of the plan; and if all the governors of particular provinces were to be formed into a standing council of state, for the advice and assistance of the president general, it might be another considerable improvement.

‡ It was thought, that quotas of men, to be raised and paid by the several colonies, and joined for any public service, could not always be got together with the necessary expedition. For instance, suppose one thousand men should be wanted in New Hampshire on any emergency; to fetch them by fifties and hundreds out of every colony as far as South Carolina, would be inconvenient, the transportation chargeable, and the occasion, perhaps, passed before they could be assembled; and therefore that it would be best to raise them (by offering boun-

Power to make laws, lay duties, &c.

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burdens*.

NOTES.

ty money and pay) near the place where they would be wanted, to be discharged again, when the service should be over.

Particular colonies are at present backward to build forts at their own expense, which they say will be equally useful to their neighbouring colonies; who refuse to join, on a presumption that such forts will be built and kept up, though they contribute nothing. This unjust conduct weakens the whole; but the forts being for the good of the whole, it was thought best they should be built and maintained by the whole, out of the common treasury.

In the time of war, small vessels of force are sometimes necessary in the colonies, to scour the coast of small privateers. These being provided by the union, will be an advantage in turn to the colonies which are situated on the sea, and whose frontiers on the land side, being covered by other colonies, reap but little immediate benefit from the advanced forts.

* The laws which the president general and grand council are empowered to make, are such only as shall be necessary for the government of the settlements; the raising, regulating, and paying soldiers for the general service; the regulating of Indian trade; and laying and collecting the general duties and taxes. (They should also have a power of restraining the exportation of provisions to the enemy from any of the colonies, on particular occasions in time of war). But it is not intended that they may interfere with the constitution and government of the particular colonies; who are to be left to their own laws, and to lay, levy, and apply their own taxes as before.

General treasurer and particular treasurer.

That they may appoint a general treasurer and particular treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient†.

Money, how to issue.

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the president general and grand council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the president general is previously empowered by an act, to draw for such sums‡.

Accounts.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled, and reported to the several assemblies||.

Quorum.

That a quorum of the grand council empowered to act with the president general, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies§.

NOTES.

† The treasurers here meant are only for the general funds; and not for the particular funds of each colony, which remain in the hands of their own treasurers at their own disposal.

‡ To prevent misapplication of the money, or even application that might be dissatisfactory to the crown or the people, it was thought necessary to join the president general and grand council in all issues of money.

|| By communicating the account yearly to each assembly, they will be satisfied of the prudent and honest conduct of their representatives in the grand council.

§ The quorum seems large, but it was thought it would not be satisfactory to the colonies in general, to have matters of importance to the whole transacted by a smaller number, or even by this number of twenty-five unless there were among them one at least from a majority of the colonies because otherwise the whole quorum being made up of members from three or four colonies at one end of the union, something might be done that would not be equal with respect to the

Laws to be transmitted.

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council, for approbation as soon as may be after their passing; and, if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.*

Death of the president general.

That in case of the death of the president general, the speaker of the grand council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the king's pleasure be known.†

Officers, how appointed.

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president general; but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president general's approbation before they officiate.‡

NOTES.

rest, and thence dissatisfactions and discords might arise, to the prejudice of the whole.

* This was thought necessary for the satisfaction of the crown, to preserve the connexion of the parts of the British empire with the whole, of the members with the head, and to induce greater care and circumspection in making of the laws, that they be good in themselves, and for the general benefit.

† It might be better, perhaps, as was said before, if the crown appointed a vice president, to take place on the death or absence of the president general; for so we should be more sure of a suitable person at the head of the colonies. On the death or absence of both, the speaker to take place (or rather the eldest king's governor) till his majesty's pleasure be known.

‡ It was thought it might be very prejudicial to the service, to have officers appointed unknown to the people, or unacceptable; the generality of Americans serving willingly under officers they know, and not caring to en-

Vacancies, how supplied.

But in case of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint till the pleasure of the president general and grand council can be known.‡

Each colony may defend itself on emergency, &c.

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding;

NOTES.

gaged in the service under strangers, or such as are often appointed by governors through favour or interest. The service here meant, is not the stated settled service in standing troops; but any sudden and short service, either for defence of our own colonies, or invading the enemy's country; (such as the expedition to Cape Breton in the last war; in which many substantial farmers and tradesmen engaged as common soldiers under officers of their own country, for whom they had an esteem and affection; who would not have engaged in a standing army, or under officers from England). It was therefore thought best to give the council the power of approving the officers, which the people will look upon as a great security of their being good men. And without some such provision as this, it was thought the expense of engaging men in the service on any emergency would be much greater, and the number who could be induced to engage much less; and that therefore it would be most for the king's service and general benefit of the nation, the prerogative should relax a little in this particular throughout all the colonies in America; as it had already done much more in the charters of some particular colonies, viz. Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The civil officers will be chiefly treasurers and collectors of taxes; and the suitable persons are most likely to be known by the council.

‡ The vacancies were thought best supplied by the governors in each province, till a new appointment can be regularly made; otherwise the service might suffer before the meeting of the president general and grand council.

and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself and lay the accounts of expence thence arising before the president general and grand council, who may allow and order payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts reasonable*.

☞ On reflexion, it now seems probable, that if the foregoing plan, or something like it, had been adopted and carried into execution, the subsequent separation of the colonies from the mother country might not so soon have happened, nor the mischiefs suffered on both sides have occurred, perhaps, during another century. For the colonies, if so united, would have really been, as they then thought themselves, sufficient to their own defence; and, being trilled with it, as by the plan, an army from Britain, for that purpose, would have been unnecessary. The pretences for framing the stamp act would then not have existed, nor the other projects for drawing a revenue from America to Britain by acts of parliament, which were the cause of the breach, and attended with such terrible expence of blood and treasure; so that the different parts of the empire might still have remained in peace and union. But the fate of this plan was singular. After many days thorough discussion of all its parts, in congress, it was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be sent to the assembly of each province for concurrence, and one to the ministry in England for the approbation of the crown. The crown disapproved it, as having placed too much weight in the democratic part of the constitution; and every assembly, as having allowed too much to prerogative: so it was totally rejected.

Philadelphia, April 9, 1789.

NOTE.

* Otherwise the union of the whole would weaken the parts, contrary to the design of the union. The accounts are to be judged of by the president general and grand council, and allowed if found reasonable: this was thought necessary to encourage colonies to defend themselves, as the expence would be light when borne by the whole; and also to check imprudent and lavish expence in such defences.

Free thoughts upon the cause and cure of the pulmonary consumption.

From medical enquiries and observations; by dr. Rush. P. 249.

BUT how shall these remedies be applied in the time of peace, or in a country where the want of woods, and brooks without bridges, forbid the attainment of the laborious pleasures of the Indian mode of hunting; or where the universal extent of civilization does not admit of our advising the toils of a new settlement, and improvements upon bare creation? under these circumstances, I conceive substitutes may be obtained for each of them, nearly of equal efficacy, and attainable with much less trouble.

1. Doctor Sydenham pronounced riding on horseback, to be as certain a cure for consumptions as bark is for an intermitting fever. I have no more doubt of the truth of this assertion, than I have that inflammatory fevers are now less frequent in London, than they were in the time of doctor Sydenham. If riding on horseback in consumptions has ceased to be a remedy in Britain, the fault is in the patient, and not in the remedy. "It is a sign that the stomach requires milk," (says doctor Cadogan) "when it cannot bear it." In like manner, the inability of the patient to bear this manly and wholesome exercise, serves only to demonstrate the necessity and advantages of it. I suspect the same objections to this exercise which have been made in Britain, will not occur in the united states of America; for the Americans, with respect to the symptoms and degrees of epidemic and chronic diseases, appear to be nearly in the same state that the inhabitants of England were in the seventeenth century. I can easily conceive the vigour of the human constitution to have been such in doctor Sydenham's time, as that a defluxion or ulcer in the lungs should have had no more effect in increasing the action of the arterial system, than a moderate inflammation of the eyes has at present in exciting an inflammatory fever in a good constitution; hence the safety and advantage formerly of riding on horseback in pulmonary complaints. We find, in proportion to the decline of the vigour of the body, that many occasional

causes produce fever and inflammation, which would not have done it an hundred years ago.

2. The laborious employments of agriculture, if steadily pursued, and accompanied at the same time by the simple, but wholesome diet of a farmhouse, and a hard bed, would probably afford a good substitute for the toils of a savage or military life.

3. Such occupations or professions as require constant labour or exercise in the open air, in all kinds of weather, may easily be chosen for a young man who, either from hereditary predisposition, or an accidental affection of the lungs, is in danger of falling into a consumption. In this we should imitate the advice given by some wise men, always to prefer those professions for our sons which are the least favourable to the corrupt inclinations of their hearts. For example, where an undue passion for money, or a crafty disposition discover themselves in early life, we are directed to oppose them by the less profitable and more disinterested professions of divinity, or physic, rather than cherish them by trade, or the practice of the law*.

4. There is a case recorded by doctor Smollet, of the efficacy of the cold bath in a consumption; and I have heard of its being used with success on a negro man in one of the West-India islands. To render this remedy useful, or even safe, it will be necessary to join it with labour, or to use it in degrees that shall prevent the alternation of the system with vigour and debility: for I take the cure of consumption to depend upon the simple action of tonic, without the

least mixture of debilitating powers. Indeed, I conceive it to be easier to palliate the symptoms, and prolong life, by the use of the powers which are simply debilitating, than by a mixture of both of them. This is not a solitary fact in the human body. We often see a stiff neck and spasms, brought on by a person's being exposed, at the same time, to a stream of air from a door or window, and to the heat of a warm room, where neither would have been injurious, if it had acted singly upon the system. There are many extremes in physic, as in other things, which meet in a point. There is an inflammatory diathesis connected with debility, as certainly as with an excess of tone in the arterial system. And I think I have seen greater degrees of this inflammatory diathesis in the male inhabitants of cities, than of the country, and more in women, than in men. I have moreover seen the most acute inflammatory diseases where the system had been previously debilitated by a long continuance of warm weather, or of an obstinate intermitting fever, and in too many instances by the use of spirituous liquors. This species of inflammatory diathesis appears to arise, therefore, from what has been called, and perhaps not improperly, indirect debility. Is it the presence of this species of inflammatory diathesis which renders consumptions so much more difficult to cure than formerly? Is it this which often renders riding on horseback so ineffectual, or so injurious in this disorder? I suspect it is; and it is to be lamented that it often requires so much time, or such remedies to remove this species of inflammatory diathesis, as to reduce the patient too low to make use of those remedies afterwards which would effect a radical cure.

* It is very common for parents to prefer sedentary occupations for such of their children as are of delicate constitutions, and the more active occupations for those of them who are robust. The reverse of this practice should be followed. The weakly children should be trained to the laborious, and the robust to the sedentary occupations. From a neglect of this practice, many hundred apprentices to tailors, shoemakers, conveyancers, watchmakers, silversmiths, mantuan-makers, &c. &c. perish every year by consumptions.

If it were possible to graduate the tone of the system by means of a scale, I would add, that to cure consumptions, the system should be raised to the highest degree of this scale. Nothing short of an equilibrium of tone, or a free and vigorous action of every muscle and viscus in the body, will fully come up to a radical cure for consumptions.

In regulating the diet of consumptive patients, I conceive it to be as

necessary to feel the pulse, as it is in determining when and in what quantity to draw blood. Where indirect inflammatory diathesis prevails, a vegetable diet is certainly proper; but where the patient has escaped, or passed this stage of the disorder, I believe a vegetable diet alone to be injurious; and am sure a moderate quantity of animal food may be taken with advantage. In both cases, the diet should consist, as much as possible, of one kind of aliment.

The presence or absence of this inflammatory diathesis, furnishes the indications for administering or refraining from the use of bark and balsamic medicines. With all the testimonies of their having done mischief, many of which I could produce, I have known several cases in which they have been given with obvious advantage; but it was only when there was a total absence of inflammatory diathesis.

Perhaps the remedies I have recommended, and the opinions I have delivered, may derive some support from attending to the analogy of ulcers on the legs, and in other parts of the body. The first of these occur chiefly in habits debilitated by spiritous liquors; and the last frequently in habits debilitated by the scrophula. In curing these disorders, it is in vain to depend upon internal or external medicines. The whole system must be strengthened, or we do nothing; and this is to be effected only by exercise and a generous diet.

In relating the facts that are contained in this essay, I wish I could have avoided reasoning upon them; especially as I am confident of the certainty of the facts, and somewhat doubtful of the truth of my reasonings.

I shall only add, that if the cure of consumptions should at last be effected by remedies in every respect the opposites of those palliatives which are now fashionable and universal, no more will happen than what we have already seen in the tetanus, the small-pox, and in the management of fractured limbs.

Should this be the case, we shall not be surprised to hear of physicians, instead of prescribing any one, or all of the medicines formerly enumerated for consumptions, ordering their pati-

ents to exchange the amusements or indolence of a city, for the toils of a country life; of their advising farmers to exchange their plentiful tables, and comfortable fire-sides, for the scanty but solid subsistence, and midnight exposure of the herdsman; or of their recommending, not so much the exercise of a passive sea-voyage, as the active labours and dangers of a common sailor. Nor should it surprise us, after what we have seen, to hear patients relate the pleasant adventures of their excursions, or labours, in quest of their recovery from this disorder, any more than it does now to see a strong or well shaped limb that has been broken; or to hear a man talk of his studies, or pleasures, during the time of his being inoculated for the small-pox.

From a review of the facts and observations which have been mentioned, I cannot help thinking that the words of the philosopher, "*quod petis in te est*," apply not more to the means of obtaining happiness, than they do to the means of obtaining a radical cure for the consumption.

I will not venture to assert, that there does not exist a medicine, which shall supply, at least in some degree, the place of the labour or exercises, whose usefulness in consumptions has been established by the facts that have been mentioned. Many instances of the analogous effects of medicines and of exercise upon the human body, forbid the supposition. I shall only add, that if there does exist in nature such a medicine, I am disposed to believe it will be found in the class of tonics. If this should be the case, I conceive its strength, or its dose, must far exceed the present state of our knowledge or practice, with respect to the efficacy or dose of tonic medicines.

I except the disorder, which arises from recent abscesses in the lungs, from the general observation which has been made, respecting the inefficacy of the remedies that were formerly enumerated for the cure of consumptions without labour or exercise. These abscesses often occur without being accompanied by a consumptive diathesis, and are frequently cured by nature, or by very simple medicines.

The impartial chronicle, or the infallible intelligencer; upon the plan, and after the manner of the New-York Mercury. By his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of the state of New Jersey. Published in Philadelphia, February 18, 1777.—P. 298

London, October 13, 1776.

LAST Thursday arrived in town with a very splendid and pompous retinue, and yesterday morning had an audience with his majesty, his excellency Muli Mahomet, envoy extraordinary from the Ottoman court. After the ceremonies were over, he produced to his majesty the strongest assurances from the grand seignor, that he wished his majesty a complete victory over his revolted subjects; and after this life, the immortal joys of Paradise. He then represented, that his sublime and invincible master, the top of whose throne reaches to the heavens, would have offered his majesty an army of Mussulmen to scatter the rebels as the dust of the earth; but that the empire of the faithful having lately been considerably drained in the war with Russia, the sublime porte had devised another expedient to assist his majesty in triumphing over his clamorous slaves, and to compel them to lick up the dust at the footstool of his imperial throne. To repair the waste of his majesty's British subjects in this horrible rebellion, to which the common mode of procreation usually practised in England was by no means adequate, his august and victorious sovereign, at the listing of whose sabre the whole world trembles, had commissioned him to offer his majesty to present each member of the two houses of parliament, with five Circassian virgins of the most exquisite beauty, and his majesty himself with a score of the like amiable blooming breeders. It is generally believed that this delicious present, so far as it respects the lords and commons, will be gratefully accepted; but as to the latter part, it is whispered about that our most gracious queen cannot be fully convinced of the necessity of the measure.

List of the forces with which his majesty intends to open the next year's campaign in America.

British troops now in America	7000
Hellians	12000
Brandwickers	2000
Of Hamauld	1500
Waldeckers	3000
Axe-men	7000
Negroes	8,00
Tories	6470
Light horse	1500
<i>To be reinforced by foreign auxiliaries.</i>	
Laplanders	4000
Persian archers	3500
Japanese	12000
Moors	13000
Esquimaux	4700
Hussars	2000
Pandours	2000
Croats	1,500

Total 91670

With this terrific and tremendous armament, in conjunction with a most tremendous and irresistible fleet, his majesty is resolved to terminate this unnatural war the next summer, as it will be impossible for the rebels to bring an equal number into the field. His majesty has also the strongest assurances, that France will co-operate with him in humbling his seditious subjects; and as his admiral and general are still extending the arms of mercy for the gracious reception of those who will yet return to their duty and allegiance; for heaven's sake, ye poor deluded, misguided, bewildered, cajoled and bamboozled whigs! ye dumfounded, infatuated, backbitten, nose-led-about, priest-ridden, demagogue-beshackled, and congress-becrafsted independents, fly, fly, oh fly for protection to the royal standard, or ye will be swept from the face of the earth with the besom of destruction, and cannonaded in a moment, into nullities and non-entities, and no mortal can tell into what other kind of quiddities and quoddities.

From the London Gazette, Oct. 10.

RANAWAY from St. James's, an old servant, called common-sense and honesty, formerly belonging to his late majesty George II. and by him imported from Hanover. He served the old king faithfully, and was of great service in procuring him the esteem and affection of all his subjects. But being constantly made a laughing stock by the lords Bute and Mansfield since his majesty's de-

rise, he took the resolution, suddenly to absent himself from court. His present owner, it is said, is very indifferent whether he ever returns or not, having by the arts and misrepresentations of those noblemen, and others, taken a prejudice against him; but some of the people who knew the old king, and the regard he had for this useful servant, have authorised the printer to promise five thousand pounds reward, to any person who shall bring him back to the palace, and prevail upon him to continue only one month longer in his majesty's service.

New York, Feb. 12, 1777.

His majesty, ever studious of rewarding exemplary merit, and particularly of signalizing martial prowess with the most distinguishing marks of his royal approbation, has sent over the feather of a peacock's tail of singular length and lustre: which was last week affixed to the cap of one of the conquerors of America (an illustrious proof of his majesty's deep sense of that hero's unparalleled exploits against the rebels) with all the ceremony and splendor suitable to the pomposity of the occasion.

We hear from every part of the country, that the remarkable warm weather we have had during the present winter, the like of which was never known before, has caused the wool of all the American sheep to turn into hair as is usual with that animal in warm climates. A manifest judgment of providence to compel the rebels to return to their dependence upon Great Britain, or perish for the want of clothing!

It is generally supposed that if any thing besides the want of woollens, will oblige the Americans to sue for reconciliation with the mother country, it will be the interposition of the ladies, who have been so lavish in the monstrous size and longitude of their head-dresses, that the materials of which their caps are composed (which are all British) will soon be expended: and then bare heads or peace upon any terms.

Proclamation.

WHEREAS by our declarations of the 11th of July and the 19th of September last, in pursuance of his

majesty's most gracious intentions neither to rob, plunder, or destroy any person or persons whatsoever who should voluntarily, and of their own free will and accord, surrender their estates and effects into our hands, and their persons to eternal bondage, all such persons were promised a free and general pardon; and whereas, notwithstanding the said declarations, and the laudable example of many who were by that means induced to betray their native country, and have in consequence thereof already reaped the unspeakable benefit of living in New York upon salt provisions, or being despised at home by all the rest of their countrymen; several bodies of men are nevertheless determined to vindicate their natural and civil rights, by open arms, in manifest contravention of his majesty's most gracious purpose of reducing America to slavery, in the most peaceable and unexceptionable manner. Now, in order to the more effectual accomplishment of his majesty's said gracious intentions, and that his mild and unlimited dominion may be established without the further effusion of blood, or expenditure of English treasure; and duly considering the expediency of limiting the time in which such pardon as aforesaid shall be granted (least his majesty's troops should in the mean while be diminished by death and desertion, and the nation become bankrupt by an enormous protracted expense) and of specifying the terms upon which only the same may be obtained—We do, in his majesty's name, and by virtue of the powers committed to us as plenipotentiaries for abolishing the constitutional rights of America, and augmenting and accumulating all grievances heretofore complained of, hereby charge and command all persons whatsoever, who have taken up arms against the first and most honourable of all systems of government, arbitrary and despotic power, forthwith to abandon their country, to be pillaged by British forces and foreign mercenaries, and to be peaceable and quiet spectators of whatever desolation and slaughter we shall think proper to perpetrate. And we do also charge and command all persons who have been chosen by the people in the extremity of their dis-

treks (and after his majesty was most graciously pleased to reject their supplications and addresses) for the traitorous purpose of counselling them in their tribulation, and finally directing their operations for opposing the necessary hostilities of Great Britain, to desist from all such nefarious actions and doings, so that we may obtain the peaceable possession of the continent, without any more fighting or bloodshed; that the inhabitants may be delivered from the trouble of taking care of their own property—that a remission of the abominable sin of patriotism may restore to the guilty, peace and tranquility of conscience, and every person reap the benefit of laying out the one-half of his future earnings in the toyshops of London, and hold the residue during the will and pleasure of the crown and parliament. And we do hereby declare and make known to all men, that every person who, within sixty days of the date hereof, shall appear before proper authority, and shall claim the benefit of this pardon, and at the same time subscribe a declaration in the words following:

“I, A. B. do promise and declare, that I will remain quiet and stand motionless and unaffected as a statue while the Hessians destroy my property, and murder my sons in cold blood; and while the British officers ravish my wife and daughters before my face, and both co-operate by fire and sword in desolating my native country, and reducing millions of my fellow-citizens to ignominious and everlasting vassalage.” shall and may obtain a free and full pardon of all the treasons which he *never* committed, and a remission of the forfeiture of *all* his estate after he has *none* left.

Given at New-York, the 30th day of November, 1776.

QUOMODO.

W. QUOMODO.

We hear from Connecticut, that a pint of salt has been sold for three pounds lawful money, but it must be observed, that the consideration was paid in continental currency—An irrefragable proof, as well of the immense scarcity of salt, as of the incredible depreciation of the dirty trash that was bartered away for it.

VOL. V.

Three of his majesty's flat-bottomed boats, carrying two swivels apiece, and manned with ten hands, deservyng four of the American navy of sixteen guns each, near Block Island, immediately gave chase to the enemy; but the wind being fair, the rebel fleet out-sailed the partners; when, suddenly turning right a-head, and the royal boats having the advantage upon the wind, they soon overtook the rebels, and, after a smart engagement for three glasses, blew up one, sunk another, and after killing the captain, lieutenant, and nine-tenths of the crew of the other two, boarded them, and have brought them safe into this port.

It is now fully ascertained, that when the congress first heard of the British troops taking possession of Brunswick, they were thrown into such consternation in the receptacle of high treason and rebellion, where they were then assembled, that John Hancock dashed headforemost through the door before it could be opened, carrying with him above half a pannel; and Samuel Adams got out through the top of the chimney, and leapt down from the roof of the state-house; and the whole band of conspirators, without waiting for horses or carriages, ran off a foot to Baltimore, and there immediately embarked on board of a pilot boat, and have never been heard of since, though it is generally supposed they have sailed for France.

Wednesday last five of the light horse met forty-three of the Jersey militia between Brunswick and Millstone, with two brass field-pieces, when an engagement ensued, in which the light horse, without so much as receiving a wound, killed every one of the rebels upon the spot, and brought off the field-pieces to head quarters.

Lately invented, a curious hydrostatic instrument, which will make any pistole, guinea, or half-pee, weigh a twentieth part more, by clipping off a sixtieth part; by major general R.

Printed by H— C—, and given gratis, *The Mirror of Mercy*; or, *The Primrose of Favour and Clemency*; shewing how every American may preserve the free possession of his life and personal, by false

Z z

parliament to deprive him of nine-tenths of it; edited by his most gracious majesty's most gracious plenipotentiaries. Certainly, nothing can more fully demonstrate the insatiation of the rebels, and their woful seduction by a few artful and ambitious demagogues, than their not being universally convinced of their true interest by the unanswerable reasons contained in this precious, and inestimable publication; though to the honour of the wise and loyal, it must be acknowledged that thousands, being perfectly cured of their obduracy, by this mollifying cordial, daily flock to the royal standard, and pretend no other impediment against fighting for their sovereign, than their natural and incurable cowardice.

Compounded and to be sold by dr. M^K—, a medical preparation, that will enable an American prisoner to subsist comfortably, and grow fat, upon two and a half pounds of beef, and three pounds of bread per week.

The commander in chief having found from repeated experiment, that notwithstanding the known bravery of the British light horse, the immense woods and numerous defiles in this desert country, render it impracticable to prevent the ambuscades of the enemy, which have lately made our cavalry less formidable to the rebels than was expected, his excellency has made application to his majesty for two thousand Hussars, the same number of Pandours, and one thousand five hundred Croats; who are instantly to rush upon the enemy without knowing where they be, and cut them down with their sabres without seeing them.

We can now inform our readers with undoubted certainty, that after the defeat of the rebels at Princeton, mr. Washington rendezvoused the remains of his routed forces at Millstone, and parading them over the mouth of a subterraneous cavern, to which the loyalists in that neighbourhood had properly directed him, the surface suddenly gave way, and his whole army sinking into the bottom of the cavern, the earth closed over them as it did over Dathan, Korah and Abiram. A notable instance of the divine vengeance against such causeless treason and rebellion!

Advertisement.

AS his majesty's troops now in this city intend to reserve to themselves the pleasure of setting it on fire whenever mr. Washington shall compel them to evacuate it; the native inhabitants are strictly prohibited to make any premature conflagration of this metropolis; and the more effectually to prevent their depriving the army of that honour, all the citizens are strictly charged and commanded to go to bed in the dark, and to cook their victuals without fuel, or they may expect the same punishment that was inflicted on a former occasion (when the town took fire by accident) of being thrown alive into the flames.

R. City governor and absolute proprietary of New York.

Printed and sold by Hugo Lucre, under the inspection and by permission of martial authority, in New York, in Gasconade square, opposite to Rhodomontado alley, at the sign of the crown against the bible, where all persons may be supplied with false intelligence for hard money, and with truth upon no terms whatever.



The following queries on the present state of husbandry and agriculture in the united states of America, were proposed to the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, by the abbé Tessier, of the academy of sciences, and of the royal medical society of Paris, through the hands of monsieur de Marbois, vice-consul of France. The only answers to them which the society has yet been favoured with, are those subjoined, for which they are indebted to James Tilton, M. D. of the state of Delaware.

The comprehensive and satisfactory manner in which this paper is written, has encouraged the society to publish it, with the queries, in hopes that qualified persons will be found in every state who will undertake the task, and furnish them with similar answers; by which it is conceived that not only the wishes of our agricultural friends in France will be gratified, but the state of agriculture amongst ourselves may be greatly improved.

Papers on this subject, addressed to Dr. Samuel Powel Griffiths, Philadelphia, the secretary to the society, will be safely received and duly attended to.

Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1789.

QUESTIONS

On the present state of husbandry and agriculture in the state of Delaware.

QUESTION 1.

WHAT is the latitude of the country, the length of the winter, the mean and extreme degrees of cold and heat; and, in general, what is its temperature?

A. 1. The Delaware state lies between $38^{\circ} 30'$ and $39^{\circ} 47'$ north latitude, is about forty miles wide on the sea coast, and extending from Cape Henlopen up the bay of Delaware, about one hundred miles in length, terminates in a twelve-mile circle, eight miles above Wilmington—the mean distance across, about twenty-four miles. The length of the winter is about three months; the rivers generally freeze up before Christmas, and the trees begin to bud and blossom before April. The mercury has been known to descend below 0 ; but in ordinary, the extreme degrees of cold and heat are, about 5 in winter, and 96 in summer, by Fahrenheit's scale. The general temperature of the air is moderate, though liable to frequent and sudden changes.

Q. 2. What is the nature of the soil? Is the mould or vegetable earth very deep? Upon what kind of stratum does it lie? Is it upon clay, or what other earth? What is nearly the thickness of each layer?

A. 2. The nature of the soil is very fertile. The mould or vegetable earth may every where be made deep. There are few stones, except on the hills of Brandewine, in the upper extremity of the state. In the upper county of Newcastle, the soil consists of a strong clay; in the middle county of Kent, of a sandy loam; and in the lower county of Sussex, of a loamy sand. In digging deep into the earth, it is common to pass through various strata of different thicknesses, such as clay, sand, gravel, fuller's earth, mud, shells, &c.

Q. 3. Do the cultivated grounds produce a crop every year without rest, or every two years successively, or

every second year only; or is the same ground cultivated many years before it is permitted to rest?

A. 3. There are various methods of cultivation, and no settled standard; but the same ground is cultivated many years before it is permitted to rest.

Q. 4. Is manure much in use, and of what kind, new or rotten, cattle or fowls dung? Are horned cattle or sheep folded on the ground? When dung is employed, what quantity is used upon an acre, or any square of a determined measure? How long are cattle folded on the same place? How many head of cattle are folded in a place of a determined extent, and at what season is the ground manured?

A. 4. Hitherto we have depended chiefly on the freshness and richness of our soil; but manure is now more necessary and more used than formerly. All good farmers fold their horned cattle and sheep. The quantity of manure is varied according to the judgment of the farmer, and the use to which he intends to put the ground. From fifty to one hundred cattle may be folded on half an acre of ground, and it is customary to move their pens every ten days. Cattle are folded during the summer and autumn; stable manure and litter are carted out early in the spring.

Q. 5. Is marle in use? of what colour is it, or is it of two different colours? Which is the predominant one? In what quantity is it employed and what is the benefit of it? How long will it last? Is not the earth or mud dug out of rivers or rivulets, or even sand, according to the nature of the soil, or rotten sea-plants, or salts produced by the burning of those plants, or any other substances, preferable to marle?

A. 5. Marle is not at all in use, nor sea-plants; but ashes, made by culinary uses, are discovered by some few experiments to be a most advantageous manure. A less quantity serves than of any other, and is most conveniently distributed in hills, or dropped in small parcels, for any purpose whatsoever. Two table spoonfuls sprinkled on a hill of Indian corn, after it has sprouted above the earth, will be sufficient.

Q. 6. How many square fathoms

or feet are contained in an acre of land measure? What are the subdivisions of that measure?

A. 6. There are forty-three thousand five hundred and sixty square feet in an acre. The subdivisions are half acres, perches, and feet.

Q. 7. What plants are generally cultivated, first, for man's food, second, for cattle and fowls; third, for the arts? How long has the cultivation of those plants been introduced, and how far does that culture extend itself in the neighbourhood?

A. 7. For man's use are cultivated wheat, barley, Indian corn and buckwheat, besides potatoes, cabbage, various kinds of pulse and other garden truck. These all furnish provender for cattle: besides which, oats, and various kinds of grass, more especially timothy and clover, are cultivated for the use of cattle.

Q. 8. In what order are the different kinds of grain sown? For instance, does wheat precede barley or oats, or does buckwheat or hemp, &c. follow rye?

A. 8. It is most common to sow wheat and rye in fields that have been cleaned of weeds, by the previous culture of Indian corn. Many sow among the corn before it is gathered; but the more approved practice is to fallow up the ground the year following. It is found, that wheat will grow very well after barley; and our oats and flax are generally sowed in the spring, on a piece of ground which we mean to fallow for wheat in the fall. We raise little or no hemp in Delaware, although the soil is very capable of it; and buckwheat is only cultivated as a rarity, by a few farmers, and then it is sowed in a bye patch, or in some part of the corn field.

Q. 9. Are there different kinds of rye, wheat, barley, oats, flax, and what are their distinguishing marks? To which of these grains is the preference given, and which is the most productive?

A. 9. There are varieties in wheat, barley, oats, and flax, but I am not acquainted with any in our rye. The different kinds of wheat are distinguished various ways: sometimes by the chaff, according to the colour, either red or white; sometimes by the ear,

as it is either bearded or otherwise; and in selling, by the grain; the miller prefers the white grain to the red, and all smooth wheat to the bearded. Many farmers, however, cultivate the bearded wheat, from an opinion that it is the hardiest, and will stand the winter best, especially in low grounds. Spring and fall barley are distinctions that explain themselves. The only variety in our flax is that of long line, supposed to grow higher than any other.

Q. 10. What seed is generally used for sowing; is it of the growth of the country or procured from abroad? If the last, from whence is it procured, in how many years is it necessary to renew it?

A. 10. All seed, used for sowing, is of the growth of the country. The farmers sometimes exchange, with design to get clean seed or of another kind; but have no occasion to send out of the state, to renew their seed.

Q. 11. If, for instance, the culture is begun by wheat, how often is the ground ploughed? or, if it is cultivated by hand, what tools are made use of; the spade, the mattock, the pitchfork, or the hoe, or any other? how deep, and at what seasons is the ground tilled?

A. 11. In a field cleaned of grass, by the culture of Indian corn, the preceding year, the prevailing practice is to plough it once after harvest, and then harrow in the seed: but if the culture of wheat is begun upon a grassy ford, the field must be flushed in the winter, or early in the spring, and the ground ploughed again in the summer, before the grain is harrowed or ploughed in. The plough is the only instrument used for breaking up our farm lands. The spade is only used in gardens, and the mattock occasionally about stumps, where the plough does not succeed. Our wheat fields are generally tilled from four to six inches deep, and it is a growing opinion, that the deeper the better.

Q. 12. Are the furrows flat or high? or in other words, what sort of ploughs and harrows are made use of? are the furrows made by a single ploughing, or does the plough pass repeatedly along the same furrow? what is their height?

A. 12. The small single plough is

the only kind in use among us : this, however, admits of some modification, according as the soil is stiffer or lighter. In a grassy field, the sord is turned over flat : but in a fallow, previously prepared by the culture of Indian corn, it is easy to make the broken ground stand up on edge, which is esteemed the best fallow. Rake and flake harrows are used for different purposes : the former for pulverising and levelling the fallow fields, and harrowing in the seed : the latter for weeding between the rows of corn.

Q. 13. What is the season for sowing wheat or any other grain ? is any preparation used to the seed previous to its being sown ? if so, what is the preparation, why is it used, and what are its effects ?

A. 13. The best season for sowing wheat, barley, and rye, is during the month of September : oats and flax should be sowed the latter end of March, and beginning of April : Indian corn is planted from the beginning to the end of May. We have hitherto used no preparation of the seed, previous to sowing.

Q. 14. Are the seeds covered by the plough, the harrow, or the rake ; or how ?

A. 14. Wheat, barley, oats, and rye, may be covered with the plough or harrow indifferently : ploughing is esteemed best : harrowing the most expeditious and convenient method, consequently most practised. Flax is always harrowed in, and Indian corn planted with the hoe.

Q. 15. How much wheat, barley, hemp-seed, rape-seed, &c. is generally sown upon an acre ? is it sown by hand, or with any machine ? when the seeds are small, as rape-seed, is it usual to mix them with sand or ashes to facilitate the sowing ?

A. 15. From half a bushel to a bushel of wheat, and from a bushel to a bushel and a half of barley is sowed to the acre. From six to ten pounds of clover seed, and about two pounds of timothy seed are required to the acre. All these are usually sowed broad cast : and it is usual to mix ashes or fine dust with the small seeds to facilitate the sowing.

Q. 16. From the time the seed is put into the ground, till it is ripe, does it require any more care ? is it

necessary to roll it, to hoe, or to weed it ; and how is that operation performed, and with what instruments ?

A. 16. Our winter crops of wheat, barley, &c. also the oats, flax, and buckwheat, are so disposed of as to require no further care after the seeds are put into the ground. But Indian corn requires a laborious and constant tillage from the time of planting until the crop is nearly made. The instruments employed, are ploughs, harrows, and hoes.

Q. 17. To what height do wheat, rye, Indian corn, tobacco, &c. &c. grow ?

A. 17. Wheat and rye grow from three to six feet, barley and oats from two to four feet, and Indian corn from seven to fourteen feet high. Tobacco, when permitted to seed, will grow to the height of six feet ; but, when topped and cultivated for use, rarely exceeds three feet.

Q. 18. At what seasons do those plants blossom and ripen ? what precautions are necessary in gathering, carrying home, drying, securing and preserving them ?

A. 18. Barley, rye, wheat, oats, and flax, all blossom and ripen, in the order here mentioned, during the month of June ; and are gathered in, from the middle of June to the middle of July. As they are cut or pulled in the field, they are bound up in sheaves, and put into small shocks of about twelve sheaves each : after drying in this manner some days, they are carted together and flacked out of doors. Flax and oats require housing more than the rest.

Q. 19. What circumstances are most favourable to the productions of the country ? what are the most hurtful, either from the air, the rivers, animals, or destructive insects ? what are the means used to guard against these inconveniencies ?

A. 19. Our winter crops are most favoured by uniform cold weather, and snow sufficient to cover the ground. The summer crops are most favoured by a uniformity of warm weather, with frequent showers, rather than large gushes of rain. Frequent alternate thawing and freezing in winter, which our climate is too liable to, spews out the growing crop in such a manner, as in the spring to leave it but thin-

ly set upon the ground. I have known a cool spell of weather in August to stint the crops of corn very much. But droughts most frequently injure our summer crops. Worms sometimes do injury; but a destructive insect called the *fly*, has of late years done us more damage in our crops, than all other contingencies whatsoever. An ingenious friend of mine has made experiments, which prove satisfactorily, that no grain of wheat is ever injured by the fly, but such as have the embryo of the insect deposited in it while young and tender, in like manner as the insect is deposited in the garden pea. And upon this principle it is that our most effectual precautions are taken against these destructive creatures. Some thresh out their grain immediately after harvest, and sell or manufacture it before the insects have time to make any advance in their growth. Others thresh out their whole crop, and let the grain and chaff lie in bulk together, by which means the air is effectually excluded, and the insect smothered. And those who have incautiously cleaned their wheat, when infested with the fly, find by experience, it is best to let it lie in bulk undisturbed, whereby the surface soon becomes mouldered into a mealy, clammy incrustation, by which the air is excluded, and all within is preserved unhurt. The idea of kilns has occurred to some, but has not been practised for this purpose. The hard winter of 1779—80 so effectually destroyed these insects, that I have heard but little complaint of them since.

Q. 20. Are there any plants that are noxious to the useful ones and to the seed in the ground? what are their common as well as botanical names? how are they destroyed or prevented from having any effect?

A. 20. We have cockle and cheat that may be avoided by good farming; but the most noxious and injurious plant is wild garlic or allium. When this gets possession of ground, no effectual method has hitherto been discovered for rooting it out: it seeds about the same time with the wheat, and it is with great difficulty separated from the clean grain; manufactured with the wheat, it gives the flour a disagreeable taste of garlic, and injures

the sale of such wheat and other grain as abounds with it. This plant is most injurious in poor land; and the best guard to be taken against it, is to force the land with manure, by which means the grain rises thick and high above it, and stifling the garlic, prevents it from seeding. It is also found by experience, that sowing oats in the spring, or fallowing the ground without sowing it, has a like tendency to prevent the garlic from seeding.

Q. 21. Are the different kinds of grain subject to any diseases? how are these diseases indicated, and what means are used to preserve the grain from them?

A. 21. Our winter grains are frequently liable to a disease called the rust, occasioned by thick fogs a little before harvest. It is not every fog that rusts the grain; but they are sometimes endowed with so corrosive a quality as, in a few hours time, to strike all our wheat with the rust. In this disease the exterior cuticle of the straw is corroded or destroyed in such a manner as to let the juices or nourishment destined for the ear, weep out and dry upon the straw, in form of rust; by which means the grain is impoverished and diminished, and the wheat is injured in its quality, its weight and sale.

Another disease to which our grains are liable, is called the scab. Wheat is more especially apt to be scabbed. In this kind of blast, although the ears look fair and the calices or chaff are very complete, yet the grain will be wanting, sometimes in one half, but more frequently in spots on different parts of the ear. According to the sexual system of Linnæus, the flowers of vegetables have male and female parts, and the farina, or pollen of the male, analogous to the semen of animals, is necessary to the impregnation of the female, for the production of fruit. Hard and continued rains happening at the time when the wheat is in blossom, wash off and destroy the pollen of the males, in such a manner as to deprive the females of its fructifying influence. The consequence is, that in every flower thus injured, although the calix or chaff may grow complete, there will be no vestige of grain, at the ripening of the ear. As June is not our rainy

season, the long continued rains necessary to produce this disorder in our wheat, happen by a rare contingency only; the rust much more frequently. As to the black blatt, by which the ears of wheat and other grain are mouldered into a black finut—we have solitary examples of it in all our fields, but never to be regarded as of any consequence.

Q. 22. What is the common length of the ears of wheat, rye, barley, &c. the thickness of the stalk at the foot, and how many grains in one ear?

A. 22. The common length of the ears of wheat and barley is from three to five inches; of rye, from four to six inches: the thickness of the stalks at the foot, is from one-fourth to one-eighth of an inch: from thirty to eighty grains may be contained in an ear. The ears of the barley and rye, however, generally contain more grains than those of wheat.

Q. 23. Are artificial meadows in use? [if so] with what plants are they cropped? at what season and how often do they mow them?

A. 23. Artificial meadows abound in the two upper counties. They are cropped chiefly with timothy grass and red clover. The clover is cut the first time early in June, and twice or three times afterwards. Spear grass of every kind is cut but once, and that soon after harvest.

Q. 24. Where are the crops put; is it in barns or under sheds, or do they stack them without doors? How are those stacks made and secured against the injuries of the weather? Can grain and hay be well preserved in stacks? Is the grain threshed on the field, or in the barns? Is it threshed immediately after harvest, or in the course of the year?

A. 24. Our crops of hay are all stacked out of doors except clover, which requires housing. These stacks are commonly made round or square, and carried up in a bulbous form to a point at top. Sometimes, however, long ricks are made by those who have large crops. Grain is preserved in the same manner; oats, however, are more apt to spoil in stacks, and therefore more commonly housed than other grain.

Q. 25. How is the grain threshed; is it with a flail or with flicks,

or on a barrel, or by the trampling of animals? how is the flail or any other instrument for threshing made? What are the reasons for threshing immediately after harvest, or deferring that operation till a later period?

A. 25. Wheat, our principal crop, is generally trod out with horses, immediately after harvest. We tread out barley also, but not generally so soon, as wheat. Our smaller crops, such as rye, oats, buckwheat, &c. are generally threshed out, when not used for cattle in the straw. The flail is the only instrument used for threshing. This is made of two smooth tough pieces of wood, the shortest called the swingle, the longest, the handle of the flail, which are connected together by a swivel made of iron, wood, or the hides of animals: the two latter are esteemed the best, as it is not convenient, in striking with the flail, to have the weight preponderate at the swivel. The occasions of our farmers induce most of them to tread out their wheat and barley, presently after harvest; the millers also encourage the sale at this time, and sometimes the fly renders this measure indispensable. Wealthy men, however, often keep their grain in sack or in the granary, for the best market.

Q. 26. What is the common produce of a certain extent of ground in green or dry forage, in corn, grain, feeds, or any other production? What is the proportion of increase?

A. 26. An acre of ground will produce of timothy from one to two tons of dry forage—of red clover from two to three tons—of Indian corn, from fifteen to fifty bushels—of wheat from six to twenty bushels—of barley and rye, from ten to thirty-five bushels—of oats and buckwheat, from fifteen to thirty bushels—of Irish potatoes, from one hundred to three hundred bushels.

Q. 27. How many horses or oxen are used to a plough? How tall are those animals? How much ground do they till in one day, when the days are of a moderate length; and allowing the field to be ploughed at the distance of two miles from the farm house?

A. 27. Two or three horses are used to a plough, and four or six oxen.

Oxen are from twelve to fourteen hands high generally; we have but few cattle of the large breed. Our horses are from thirteen to sixteen hands high. A hand, or hand's breadth, is estimated at four inches. A single plough will turn from an acre to two acres of fallow in a day; but we have no such thing as a field two miles distant from the farm house.

Q. 28. Allowing the fields to be at the distance of two miles from the farm-house, how much ground can two oxen or horses harrow or roll in one day? How many cart loads of dung can they carry to the field, and what number of sheaves can they bring home?

Q. 29. What quantity of ground can a man sow or till in one day with the spade, the mattock, or the hoe? How much wheat is he able to cut with a sickle; and how much of any other plants can he mow?

A. 29. We only till our gardens with the spade; and hoe our corn only after the plough and harrow. A man can cut an acre of wheat with a sickle in a day; cradle four times as much oats or barley; and mow an acre of green grass with a naked scythe.

Q. 30. Are the farm rents paid in specie or in produce? Are the lands let out in halves? Do the cattle belong to the landlord or to the farmer, or is their increase divided between them?

A. 30. The farm rents used to be paid in money altogether. Since the revolution, the depreciation and fluctuation of our money has given occasion to our rents being often paid in produce, and the letting of lands sometimes, though rarely, on shares. The flock of cattle generally belongs to the tenant, and when rented of the landlord, it is for a pecuniary consideration, the increase being never divided.

Q. 31. What are the corn measures, their sub-divisions, and their names and the weight of each?

A. 31. For measuring Indian corn in the ear, we have a measure called a barrel, containing five bushels. By this it is customary to estimate the whole amount of the crop of corn, and to divide the shares between the landlord and his tenant or cropper.

For measuring shelled corn or grain of every kind, our measure is the bushel, the subdivisions of which are the half bushel and peck. The weight of a bushel of wheat is sixty pounds, varying a few pounds, over or under, according to the goodness of the wheat.

Q. 32. Are the seeds and plants gathered in Delaware of a good quality? Wherein do they differ from those of the neighbouring states? are they of a higher price and better sale?

A. 32. The wheat of the peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake, possesses a soft fine quality, favourable to the manufacture of superfine flour. It is said, the hard stinty wheat from the high lands of Pennsylvania and New-York, can hardly be manufactured into superfine, without a mixture of our wheat. This circumstance sometimes enhances its price.

Q. 33. Is any preparation made use of for grain, seed, or plants, after they are gathered, to fit them for the use of men or cattle, or to be employed in the arts?

A. 33. Grain and seeds are always ground or boiled for the use of men, and sometimes for the use of cattle also. Straw is sometimes cut fine for cattle; hay and other fodder require no preparation after they are gathered in.

Q. 34. Does the grain, when ground, yield much meal? and what quantity for a determined measure? Is the old or the economical mode of grinding in use?

A. 34. Three bushels of wheat yield a hundred weight of fine flour, besides ship stuff, shorts and bran. In Delaware, the manufacture of flour is supposed to be in the utmost perfection, and is much more than the produce of the state. Besides an abundance of mill seats improved all over the state, there are in one view on the Brandywine, ten mills, with not less than twenty pair of stones, capable of grinding two thousand bushels a day. These mills are generally constructed in such a manner, that one set of gears serves two pair of stones, not for both pair to run at once, but when one pair is up dressing or cooling, the other to run; and thus in active or busy times, the mill grinds perpetually day and night. It is surprising to tell how little manual labour is requir-

ed in these mills, the whole business being performed by means of machines, except the oversight of one man to each mill. Wheat and other grains are taken from the shallops or wagons and put into the granaries; from thence the grain is run through screws, and poured into the grinding hopper: after passing the stones, the flour is carried immediately from the trough, aloft to the cooling floor; there it is spread about to cool, and then collected together in the boulding hopper, from whence the flour passes through the boulding cloth, and is separated from the bran, shorts, &c. and all this is performed by machines, that move by the force of the same water that turns the mill. Oliver Evans, an ingenious countryman, has lately invented sundry of these machines, among which is one for separating effectually the wild garlic from the wheat. As a reward for his ingenuity, he has obtained, by an act of the legislature, an exclusive right and privilege of making and vending the same. It is a prevailing opinion in Delaware, that we have the largest and most perfect manufacture of flour, within a like space of ground, known in the world; and that this observation applies equally to the state at large, as to the particular district on the Brandewine.

Q. 35. Are the flax, hemp, pulse, &c. better than in other countries?

A. 35. Our flax is of a luxuriant growth and superior quality.

Q. 36. In a district of a given extent, how many acres are supposed to be cultivated in wheat, rye, hemp, madder, or coleseed?

A. 36. We have no established mode of farming or order in the arrangement of our crops. The most approved method is to lay out the farm into six fields; to sow one field in wheat, one in barley, and plant one in Indian corn, every year: or two in wheat and one in corn. The smaller crops, such as oats, rye, buckwheat, &c. are generally made in byatches or some part of the wheat field.

Q. 37. Does the country produce more or less grain than is necessary for its own consumption? If less, whence is the deficiency supplied? If more, how is it disposed of?

A. 37. Delaware produces many

times over more grain than its own consumption. A great deal of our flour, Indian meal and corn is exported from the port of Wilmington to the West Indies, and even to Europe; but much more from Philadelphia: sometimes, though rarely, small trading vessels go from Delaware to New York, New England, and the southern states.

Q. 38. Are there any manufactures that employ plants, used in arts, which grow in that country?

A. 38. Flax is spun in almost every private family; but there are no manufactures upon the large scale, in which this or any other plants is used. Except flax, I recollect no other plants used in the arts, which are cultivated in this state.

Q. 39. Does the country abound with wood, or is it covered with heath or fern? Which are the most common trees in the woods? Are the forest trees of a fine growth?

A. 39. This state abounds with wood the most lofty and fine. We have no such thing as barren hills or plains. The most common trees are oaks, hickory, poplar, walnut, maple, ash, &c. In the lower and more sandy parts of Suffex county, there are immense cedar swamps of great value. In this district also the pines on the high ground grow very lofty, and are admirably fitted, both in size and quality, to saw into plank and scantling.

Q. 40. Are there breeds of cattle, and of what kinds? Are there pastures to feed, and grass to fatten them? Are the cattle stall-fed, and with what food? How do they feed them the whole year round?

A. 40. Some few farmers have the large English breed of cattle: but the most prevailing are of the smaller kind. These are bred in the greatest number on the marshes and forests of the two lower counties; from whence they are driven in large droves to the county of Newcastle, where the most cultivated meadows abound, and they are grazed and stall-fed for the markets of Wilmington and Philadelphia. Fattening cattle, during the warm weather, run at large in grazing grounds, changing them occasionally, from field to field; in the winter, such as are stall-fed are put each

into a separate stall and fed with the most luxuriant hay. There is a prevailing opinion, that beef is firmer and in all respects better, when fattened upon grass than upon grain.

Q. 41. Do they breed horses and mules? We wish the persons to whom these queries may be presented, to give some details relative to the studs, the stallions, the decrease of horses and mules; and the reasons of such decrease.

A. 41. Very few mules have ever been bred in Delaware. We breed horses for the road and other services; but are not so ambitious of race horses, as the people of Virginia and North Carolina. Our laws discourage racing. I am far from thinking that either horses or mules decrease or degenerate in size or otherwise, by breeding them in this country.

Q. 42. We wish them also to be so kind as to give some details relative to the height and weight of the sheep; to the quality, price and weight of their wool, either washed or not; and to the mode of managing and nourishing them the whole year.

A. 42. We have different kinds of sheep, some imported, but chiefly of the small breed, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and weighing, when dressed by the butcher, about twenty pounds per quarter. The quality of their wool is esteemed good, and sells at two shillings per pound. The weight of a fleece is from three to nine pounds. Sheep are most easily and cheaply provided for of any cattle. The shortest pastures serve them in summer and the refuse fodder in winter. Some cut salt grass from the marshes and stack it upon poles laid horizontally, about four feet from the ground; in winter the sheep go under this shelter and eat the hay from between the poles. This is found to be more salutary for sheep, than housing them in a more confined manner. There is great variety in mutton as an article of food; that raised in Delaware, is of the best quality.

Q. 43. At what age do they sell their sheep or horned cattle, horses, or mules, for whatever use they may be intended? What is the common price of those animals in good condition?

A. 43. Excepting lambs and calves, neither sheep nor horned cattle are

customarily sold, under four years old. They are not sooner mature or fit to be killed. Horses and mules are sold at any age; they are generally broke at three years old, and at four are esteemed fit for any use. The common price of sheep is from a dollar to fifteen shillings—Horses, from fifteen pounds to forty pounds, and other cattle from three pounds to ten pounds.

Q. 44. What is the ordinary food for men the whole year round? How do they prepare it? Are the inhabitants vigorous or weak, active or slow?

A. 44. The inhabitants of Delaware use a great proportion of animal food. Few men breakfast without a portion of meat; and it is an universal practice to dine in the middle of the day, upon a full meal of meat, with bread and vegetables. The meanest slaves have this indulgence. Supper is usually our lightest meal. There is also an excessive use of tea and coffee in this state. Every housekeeper that can afford it, breakfasts upon one or the other; and the genteel people generally indulge in the parade of tea, in the afternoon. Butter is much used, especially at breakfast; cheese but little. Salted pork and bacon are the meats most used in winter and spring; fresh killed mutton, and other cattle, with poultry, fish, &c. in the summer and fall of the year. Salted meats of every kind are boiled. Fresh meats are oftener roasted than boiled. Soups are not much in use. We abound in vegetables of various kinds, adapted as sauces to the various preparations of our meats. The more wealthy inhabitants make their bread of wheat flour; the poorer sort generally of Indian meal. The inhabitants of this state are generally tall, muscular, active and remarkably enterprising. The Delaware regiment was notoriously one of the finest and most efficient in the continental army. Although it may be said that many of the privates were foreigners, the officers, with very few exceptions, and those not the shortest men, were natives born: and I am persuaded there was not a corps of officers belonging to any regiment in our army, that surpassed those of the Delaware regiment, for bodily strength and activity.

From the Federal Gazette.

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New York, Virginia, South and North Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland: by the rev. dr. Collin, D. D. and M. A. P. S.—P. 282.

NUMBER VI.

WE proceed to consider the amendments that regard the military power of the federal government. It is pleasing to find that the states of Massachusetts and South-Carolina, are entirely silent on this important subject—they having wisely reflected, that although a friend may possibly point that weapon to my breast, which I gave him to defend me against an assassin, yet it would be absurd either to tie his right arm, or to give him only half a sword; especially when I am well armed myself. The conventions of Virginia, New-York, and North Carolina, request, by the 9th, 7th, and 9th amendment, respectively, “that no standing army or regular troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two thirds of the members present in both houses.” The convention of New Hampshire requires the “consent of three quarters of the members of each branch of congress,” am. 10. The minority of Pennsylvania declare in the 7th part, that “as standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up;” that of Maryland will allow it on the same condition with the three first mentioned conventions, 4th am.

The expression ‘time of peace,’ is very equivocal: does it mean any time previous to a declaration of war? that whatever hostile intentions any powers may betray, or whatever formidable preparations they may carry on by sea and land, congress must not raise a single battalion, until the enemy falls like a thunder-storm on some part of the union? It would be an unpardonable affront to suppose any American of common sense capable of such irrational language; to make him say it is time enough to raise troops, when Philadelphia, New York, or Charleston, is taken—when two or three thousand of the militia, who

made head against a superior force, are cut to pieces—when the enemy has laid the country under contribution, and committed ravages far and near—when my father or brother is killed or taken. I repeat again, it would be the grossest insult to deem any federal citizen capable of such sentiments. The restriction, then, only means that when there is no danger of war, no regular troops shall be kept up. But who shall be a judge of this? what symptoms of danger shall be prescribed? is it expected that any foreign powers will give us notice, that next year, or in six months, they intend to come with fifty thousand men to cut our throats, and waste our country with fire and sword? so much politeness is not yet fashionable. It is rather esteemed very clever to dart upon you like a tyger, when you least expect it; and ten to one but you receive extraordinary caresses, assurances of eternal friendship, &c. &c. just before your property and blood are demanded. If you complain of unfair dealing, they will laugh in your face, and call you a fool for not knowing mankind better. You think I speak of the savages? no; I mean all your good brethren of Adam’s race, including the most polite nations of Europe. As for those blood-hounds of the wilderness, that have scalped and burnt so many families, I hope there is none among us so base and cruel as hereafter to grudge the defenceless women and children a protection from the horrid tomahawk and the lingering fire.

The words army or regular troops being applicable to small numbers, extend the restriction even to the necessary garrisons, and to any military corps which may be wanted on the frontiers.

As America is happily situated so far from Europe, and well, it is to be hoped, be wise enough not to involve herself in the vortex of European politics, she cannot often have occasion for a great body of regular troops, provided the militia is under good regulations; at the same time, as the congress may be under necessity of making considerable preparations of defence some time before an inimical power has taken off the mask, and unsheathed the sword, a restriction, when

or in what degree to arm, would be pernicious. The constitution has already enacted, that no appropriation of money for the raising and supporting of an army, shall be for a longer time than two years, 1st. art. 8th sec. 12, a limitation, in fact, very strict, because, if ever a formidable enemy should invade the united states, he may not be expelled in that time; especially as the federal army must be supported some time before it can begin to act.

On every important affair, the national council ought to be nearly unanimous, because the want of wisdom or virtue is unpardonable; a minority of one-fourth itself should not exist. But how far something more than a bare majority may be constitutionally required, is a delicate question. In all cases, when precipitancy is more dangerous than delay, it is prudent to fix a surplus of majority according to circumstances. The present case I apprehend is quite the reverse—If the country is not in a proper state of defence, it will the sooner invite an enemy, open its bosom to him, and may receive a dangerous wound before the arms can ward off the stroke; but all the disadvantage of collecting an army of perhaps ten or fifteen thousand men without eminent necessity, is to impose some new taxes, which can never be oppressive, as the greatest part of the money is directly laid out in the country. As to any danger to liberty from such an army, it is altogether visionary; and it is needless to repeat what has been so often said on that subject. While the people have property, arms in their hands, and only a spark of a noble spirit, the most corrupt congress must be made to form any project of tyranny.

This fair statement of the matter might dispense me from answering the question, why should not two-thirds of the congress agree in raising regular troops, if it is really necessary? Why do you surmise that a bare majority of congress would form the wicked, absurd scheme of enslaving the country? Is not this much more improbable? But as the subject will bear a full examination, I shall take it up with a candid freedom. Two-thirds of both houses may not agree in timely measures of defence, for these reasons,

First, the natural indolence of individuals and public bodies is averse from any troublesome enterprise while it possibly can be avoided. The national character of America is also rather too easy than rash, and besides, much influenced by the peaceable spirit of a republic, intent on agriculture and trade. The apparent security of local situation, the plausible reasonings of the minority, and the fear of displeasing a part of the people by a demand of supplies, will co-operate with this indolence in many well-disposed minds. Secondly. As property and pecuniary interest are rather overvalued by too many, perhaps even some delegates in congress may not consider, that gold must be defended by steel; that honour and humanity forbid a true American to expose his country to disgrace, and his fellow-citizens to danger; that a single drop of patriotic blood should not be sold to keep a dollar more in all the pockets through the united states. Thirdly. A numerous, and in many respects estimable denomination is religiously prejudiced against even defensive war; some of these may be members of congress, or influence its decisions in critical times. Fourthly. If corruption should ever taint any members of the federal council, it will be most dangerous under the venerable form of public spirit. The man, who in flaming colours paints a small American army as the execrable tools of traitorous tyrants, may be the very person who lets loose an host of enemies on the vitals of his native land. A time may come when some hostile power will pay a vote against raising an army with ten thousand pounds. Fifthly. As by the advantage of local situation and domestic resources, some of the states may suffer less from the eventual calamities of war, they may be less affected by the real magnitude of danger. Such a selfish disposition of only one or two may prevent the consent of two-thirds in both houses, and is more probable than treason in more than one half of congress.

NUMBER VII.

THE convention of New York propose, "that the congress shall not declare war without the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators and representatives present in each house."

This restriction might be applicable to offensive war, but certainly is not to defensive, for the reasons given in the last number. It must also be observed, that a war, in reality just and necessary sometimes may appear offensive. It is just to compel another nation to compliance with an important treaty to the delivery of a frontier place, or to the forbearance of many indirect injuries, which may be in their effects equal to pointed violence. It is also a self defence to prevent an enemy, when he manifestly intends to attack us, as we snatch a pistol from a robber before he can fire it. Without a detail of circumstances very prolix, and yet incompetent to every emergency, the supreme power cannot be limited on this matter; and must therefore be left to its own wisdom, public virtue, and humanity.

The convention of North Carolina think proper to move a question, which we hope may never be wanted: they request "That the congress shall not declare any state to be in rebellion, without the consent of at least two-thirds of all the members present of both houses," 12 am. The constitution does not explicitly treat of such a case; but is content with defining in 3d sect. of 3d art. that "treason against the united states shall consist only in levying war against them, or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort;" and stipulating in 4th sect. of 4th art. "that the united states shall protect each state in the union against domestic violence, on application of the legislature, or of the executive council, when the legislature cannot be convened." In this, as in other things, the new government will, by a direct operation on individuals, preserve national safety, and prevent dreadful calamities. If the states were only connected by a simple reciprocal contract, the violation of it by any state could not otherwise be remedied than by the united force of all the rest. Here is then an appeal to arms, and a civil war in the first instance! It was thus the anarchy of the old constitution became so alarming, that a dissolution of the union, or a union by force, was the dreadful alternative. But in the new confederacy, the necessity of declaring any state to be in rebellion, can

hardly ever exist, because traitors are disarmed before they can raise any dangerous insurrections; and if such should happen in any state, they will be quelled by federal arms, on the request of the legislature or executive of that state.

While the federal government is just and mild, yet firm and vigilant, it is hardly possible that disaffection should be so general and violent in any state, as to fill both the legislative and executive departments with traitors. But suppose this extraordinary event to happen, from some rapid epidemic phrenzy, the minority will then be considered as true members of the union, and the majority as a faction that must be suppressed, and the leaders of which have incurred the punishment of treason. Even in this case, there is no necessity of declaring the state to be in rebellion. During the tumult, some general regulations must be made, by which the people at large must necessarily suffer; but no punishment can be inflicted upon the state, without depriving it of those rights and benefits which are common to all the states of the union, and consequently changing the federal constitution itself. Yet without such declaration, a speedy and powerful remedy must be applied in the alarming crisis, when a strong faction has seized upon the government and resources of a state, to levy war against the federal head: the federal arm should certainly in time crush those double traitors, who, by a cruel separation, would maim the body and mortify the limb. During a slow deliberation, the fire may spread with such a rage, as not to be quenched without torrents of federal blood. It is true, that a unanimous vote would be desirable in this case; but we must allow a proportion to selfish, timid, and erroneous opinions. Perhaps it will be difficult to get a bare majority in a very enlightened and upright congress, from an indulgence to revolution principles carried to extremes by many well disposed minds, and from the natural reluctance against violent means, while there is any hope in gentle proceedings.

The same convention also request, "that congress shall not introduce foreign troops into the united states,

without the consent of two-thirds of the members present of both houses," 26th am. America, well united, has nothing to fear from any power that will probably ever attack her, while she acts towards other nations with integrity and wisdom. At the same time, as she may in some emergency act in concert with an ally, his troops may with propriety be admitted. If this caution implies a suspicion of congress, is it not more reasonable to surmise, that one or two states may be inveigled by a foreign power, and supported by a formidable army? In such a woful situation, an ally may be very acceptable, nor should it be in the power of the disaffected in congress to refuse him admittance.

Though I cannot see the propriety of requiring the consent of two-thirds of congress on the matters now discussed; yet I must observe, that if the word present implies a fear of absentees, I heartily agree to the necessity of very full houses when such capital resolves are to be made. A legislator who is then kept away by gain, pleasure or idleness, is, with all his abilities or domestic virtues, a mean wretch, who ought to be severely punished for being such a slovenly, faithless guardian of his country's dearest interests. This remark is the more essential, as a traitor may, by an insidious absence, injure his country both by carrying and losing an important motion.

The conventions of Virginia and North Carolina, in the 10th am. and the minority of Maryland desire, "that no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war." This amendment is superfluous, because money for the support of troops is appropriated only for two years: if a new appropriation is made, troops can be kept; if not, they must be disbanded.

The above minority, and the convention of New Hampshire, 10th am. request, "that soldiers in time of peace may not be quartered upon private houses without the consent of the owners." If barracks and public houses can be had, this inconvenience will certainly be avoided; but otherwise, if regular troops are requisite,

they must be provided with necessaries. Suppose a regiment on their march in the dead of winter; must the brave fellows lie in the field, because churlish people will not let them sleep on their floors? Federal soldiers deserve the affection of their country as well as the militia, being its defenders and not oppressors; unreasonable prejudices against them are illiberal, and inconsistent with federal sentiments. To render those troops more agreeable to the people, and more useful to the united states, they should be chosen with discretion; a man of principle will die for his country; a villain will stab it for good pay.



Address of the republican society of Philadelphia, to the citizens of Pennsylvania.

Friends and fellow citizens,

THE members of the republican society beg leave to address you on a subject of the utmost importance to you, and to posterity; and at a time when this important subject demands your most serious and attentive consideration.

But who are the members of this republican society? Our names are subscribed to this address. We have, and can have no common interest with one another, but that which we have also with you. We are of different occupations; of different sects of religion; and have different views in life. No faction or private system can comprehend us all; but one powerful source of attraction unites us—the liberty and happiness of Pennsylvania. To accomplish and secure these great ends, we embarked in opposition to the power and tyranny of Great Britain; and, in the several stations and characters in which it has been our lot to act, have continued uniform and steady in that opposition, through every hardship and risque which attended it. It is our fixed determination to persevere in the same line of conduct. But while we oppose tyranny from a foreign power, we should think ourselves lost to every sense of duty and of shame, were we tamely to acquiesce in a system of government, which, in our opinion, will introduce the same monster, so destructive of humanity, among our-

selves. Such a system we conceive the constitution formed by the late convention to be. We mean not that, in all its parts, it is repugnant to the principles of liberty: though, while some articles remain, we are convinced, upon the most impartial examination, that its general tendency and operation will be to join the qualities of the different extremes of bad government. It will produce general weakness, inactivity, and confusion, intermixed with sudden and violent fits of despotism, injustice, and cruelty. Cannot a discrimination be made between its salutary and its pernicious properties? We have the instruction of ancient and modern times for our guides: we have the conduct of the other states in the union for our example. The wisdom and patriotism of Pennsylvania are not inferior to the wisdom and patriotism of other commonwealths. Shall it be said, to our disgrace, that we enjoy an inferior portion of their genuine effects? The supposition is too degrading. An opportunity is now presented to you, to shew that it is false. You are called upon by your representatives in assembly to testify your sentiments, on the first Tuesday of April next, whether you will choose to labour under the burdensome and disadvantageous parts of the constitution; or will substitute in their place such establishments, as will insure to you the blessings of freedom, happiness, and independence. Let not such a glorious occasion be lost. Perhaps it may never return. Rivetted oppression, rendered doubly insupportable by unavailing repentance and regret, may be the only portion left you. The distant probability that this may be your case and ours, fills us with the most anxious concern; and induces us to communicate to you a number of particulars, which are either unknown or misrepresented. Our honest freedom, we are well assured, you will take in good part. Our situation in the capital gives us an opportunity of being thoroughly acquainted with facts, and characters, and schemes, which are not seen, or are seen through a disguise, in the more distant places of the state. We should be inexcusable, if, in a matter so momentous and interesting to us all,

we omitted to act that part towards you, which, in similar circumstances, we would wish you to act towards us. You cannot be happy, if we are miserable: we cannot be miserable, if you are happy. Embarked thus on the same bottom, let us join in every thing for procuring a prosperous voyage, and for avoiding shipwreck on the rocks and quicksands that lie in our course.

You have been told (for the infamous report has been circulated industriously) that the opposition to the constitution is supported and conducted only by tories, and persons disaffected to the liberties and independence of the united states. We know, and we feel the representation to be false. Some of us have been honoured with seats in your councils, and in the councils of the continent; and in the darkest seasons, have neither betrayed nor deserted our trusts, when we sat with halters around our necks. Others of us have fought at your head and by your side in the field; and have braved, in conjunction with you, the utmost terrors of the foe. In our several stations and situations in life, all of us have acted against the common enemy, and in support of the common cause; and all of us have given unequivocal proofs of our attachment to the principles of freedom. What we say of ourselves, we know to be true of others in the same opposition. We call upon the most audacious of those who calumniate us, to disprove what we now assert to you and to the public. By the uniform tenor of our conduct we are willing to stand or fall.

Ambition, the love of power and of office, have been assigned as the motives of our opposition to the constitution. How injuriously this charge has been made against us, you may easily determine, when we inform you (what our enemies themselves cannot deny) that the first offices in government have been offered to members of this society, and have been rejected by them: not that such members are more insensible to honour and profit than others; but because views of honour and profit could operate no change upon their principles and conduct. This cannot be said of all who are now in office.

We wish you to embrace every occasion of enquiring into these matters, and of forming your judgments of men and characters, not from the vehemence of their expressions, when there is no danger in uttering them with vehemence, but from the calm and undaunted firmness, with which they speak and act in trying circumstances, when dangers and difficulties surround and threaten to overwhelm them.

Permit us now to state, with the openness and candour which should be always observed among fellow-citizens, our objections to some of the articles (and those some of the most important ones too) in the constitution; together with the amendments we wish to see made, and those mischiefs and calamities which are likely to happen, if no alteration shall take place.

Our first and principal objection to the constitution formed by the late convention, is—that it vests the whole legislative authority in a single body, without any controul. Many arguments might be offered against this. Let us introduce one by the declaration of an admired judge, whose manly candour must charm every generous mind. “It is the glory and happiness of our excellent constitution, that, to prevent any injustice, no man is to be concluded by the first judgment: but that, if he apprehends himself to be aggrieved, he has another court to which he may resort for relief. For my own part, I can say it is a consideration of great comfort to me, that if I do err, my judgment is not conclusive to the party; but my mistake will be rectified, and so no injustice be done.” Is less skill required—should less caution be observed, in framing laws, than in explaining them? are mistakes less likely to be made—are they less dangerous—is it less necessary to prevent or rectify them in the former case, than in the latter? which is of the most importance—to preserve the fountain, or to preserve the streams from becoming turbid?

But there is a still greater danger, than that arising from mistakes and inaccuracies, to be apprehended from a single body possessed of the supreme legislative power. We should be supported by high authority were we to say, “it is no better than a tyranny.”

Its natural tendency towards despotism is too apparent to be proved, or to be denied. It is admitted by the strongest implication in many parts of the constitution. Whence, upon any other supposition, the numerous checks (as they have been called, though in truth they are no checks) upon the assembly? whence so much jealousy? those who discovered it, well knew that they were instituting a dangerous power.

It is said that to introduce a legislative council is to introduce a house of lords. The insects of faction have been busy in buzzing this about your ears. No calumny was ever more gross or more futile. Trace it; and you will find it altogether founded in deception and falsehood. Ask those deceivers to shew you any reason, why a legislative council, chosen by the people, is any more a house of lords, than an assembly chosen by the people. You see them bewildered, and unable to give a reasonable answer. For surely an assembly and a council, mutually controuled by each other, are less dangerous, and have less resemblance to a despotic aristocracy, than a single assembly, without any constitutional controul. The checks mentioned in the constitution are really no controul; for if the assembly choose to disregard them, to whom shall we apply for relief? to the assembly. Shall the lamb, upon whom the devouring jaws of the wolf are opened, apply to the wolf for protection? with equal propriety might an injured people apply to the oppressors for redress. No. They may go on violating the constitution step by step, till nothing but a revolution can put a stop to their career.

There is not, in the whole science of politics, a more solid or a more important maxim than this, “that of all governments, those are the best, which, by the natural effect of their original constitutions, are frequently renewed or drawn back to their first principles.” If the assembly departed from the principles of the constitution, it would be drawn back by a legislative council. If the council should depart from them, it would be drawn back by the assembly. But when a single legislature is disposed to depart from them, there is no power that

can confine it within its proper bounds.

It is objected, that disputes and contentions would naturally arise between the two houses; and would stop or retard the public business. Perfection is in vain sought for in the works of man. Every inconvenience cannot be avoided: a lesser should be submitted to, in order to prevent a greater. The danger of dissensions is not to be compared to the danger of tyranny. But the truth is, that there is little to be apprehended upon that head. The council and assembly would both draw their power from the same source—from the people, the fountain of all authority. They could not have opposite interests, which are the causes of frequent contests. As both would be dependent upon the people, both would be cautious not to neglect or oppose the public welfare. If any divisions should take place, they could not be lasting; because the people would have it in their power, at the next election, to remove the offenders.

It is not proposed that there should be, as there were in Rome, and as there are in Venice and other aristocratic states, two distinct orders of men, one of them possessing peculiar powers and privileges, not depending upon the authority of the people—Such an establishment would be equally disagreeable and equally pernicious to us and to you. We disavow the injurious imputation: it is replete with malice and slander. May merit and the unbiassed voice of the people be the only titles to distinction ever known in Pennsylvania.

In all the most celebrated free governments of antiquity, the legislatures were composed of different branches. In all the other American states, excepting Georgia, the legislatures consist of distinct bodies of men. Whence then the clamour of novelty, which has been raised and propagated with so much ignorance, or so much dishonesty? A single legislature is the novelty: and the example of Pennsylvania will serve as a beacon, rather than a precedent. For while the other states enjoy happiness and tranquility under their governments, Pennsylvania exhibits mournful scenes of weakness and distraction.

VOL. V.

The mode in which the courts of justice are established, is another part of the constitution to which we have weighty objections. The judges hold their offices, and enjoy their salaries upon too precarious a footing. That judges were not appointed during good behaviour, has been long the subject of well grounded complaint, not only in Pennsylvania, but in every other part of America. It is truly astonishing that the foundation of this complaint was not removed, when we had such a favourable opportunity of removing it. No state can enjoy internal peace and security, unless the administration of justice is able and impartial, and unless the judges are placed in a situation to maintain dignified and independent characters. But how can we expect dignity and independence in judges, who are liable to be tossed about by every veering gale of politics, and who can be saved from destruction only by swimming along with every successive torrent of party? The decisions of courts will cease to be the voice of law and justice, and will become the echo of faction and violence. This is a subject which most nearly concerns every one who sets the least value upon his own safety, or that of his posterity. Your fortunes, and lives, and liberties, are all liable to be affected by the judgments of the courts. How distressing and melancholy must the reflexion be, that, while judges have their salaries only at pleasure, and their commissions only for the term of a few years, your liberties, fortunes, and lives, may be sacrificed to a party, though you have done nothing to forfeit them to the law?

What shall we say of the council of censors? Here indeed is a novelty, and a novelty of the most dangerous and alarming kind. Our constitution-makers, not satisfied with the habitual despotism of a single and uncontrolled legislature, have appointed stated seasons for extraordinary efforts of lawless power. They have instituted a jubilee of tyranny to be celebrated at the end of every seven years. Glorious period! When the foundations of government shall be torn up! When anarchy, and licentiousness, and force, shall roam unawed and unrestrained! When there shall be no fixed laws, to which you can appeal for

the justification of your conduct! When there shall be no courts to which you can have recourse for protection! When trials by jury, those odious obstructions that lie in the way of tyrants, shall be happily removed! Are you pleased with the prospect? If you wish not to feel it realized by direful experience, lay hold eagerly upon the present opportunity which is offered you, of preventing it, by voting for a new convention to abolish this part of the constitution.

After what we have already mentioned with regard to the foregoing parts of the constitution, you will be at no loss to discover our sentiments concerning that part of it, which requires from every one, in any office, an oath "not to do or say any thing, directly or indirectly, that shall be prejudicial or injurious to the constitution as established by the convention." This we consider as a most daring invasion upon the inherent, the unalienable, and the indefeasible right of every freeman to judge and act for himself. This oath is not only required of all officers, by the constitution, but, by a separate ordinance, which the convention had no authority to make, it was extorted from all the citizens of Pennsylvania, before they could exercise the first right of freemen—that of choosing their legislators. A set of men, chosen by not a tenth part of the inhabitants of the state, met at Philadelphia, and called themselves representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania. Conscious that they did not stand upon the broad and firm basis of the affections of the people, but determined to continue their ill founded power as long as possible, they and their successors have pursued, and still pursue, every measure calculated to weaken and divide the whig interest of the state. Their emissaries are busy through the country, representing every one in opposition to their government, as opposed to the welfare of the public, and attached either to the cause of Great Britain, or that of the proprietary family. The authors of those calumnies know them to be false; but they serve a temporary purpose. They deceive and mislead those, who are not acquainted with the true state of things, or the real characters of men. Judge impartially of men and things;

and then your own good sense will tell you what part to take. Placemen will talk to you loudly and warmly against a convention. The charms of power may bewitch them; but they ought not to blind you. The sweets of office produce surprising effects upon some minds. Many officers under the government once thought with us; and some of them were as vehement, both in public and private, as those who now address you. What change, and whether any, may have been wrought upon them by the high places of trust to which they have since been raised, let their own conduct determine. We doubt not but each of you, in your neighbourhood, can point to men, who, some time ago, were zealous and active against the constitution, but have lately been softened, by the insinuating operations of places and salaries and perquisites, into tameness and acquiescence and even approbation. What dependence can be put in the characters and principles of such men, we leave you to judge.

Some of them, perhaps, will not be so barefaced as to deny, in direct terms, what they have formerly asserted: but they will endeavour to accomplish the same purpose by indirect and more artful methods. They will not tell you, that there should be no alterations made in the constitution; but they will say, that this is not the proper time for making them. So placemen, and the minions of placemen, talked at the beginning of the present controversy with Great Britain. They did not pretend to say, that the claims and conduct of the British parliament were not unjust and oppressive; but they insinuated, that it was improper, at that time, to contend against them. Others will allege, that you have not felt oppression yet; and it is soon enough to guard against it, when it comes to your door. Those who wished to prevent the union of America, told you, in the same manner, when the port of Boston was shut, and the charter of Massachusetts-Bay violated, wait till your ports are shut up, and your charter broken, and then indeed it will be time to bestir yourselves. Had you listened to the insidious advice, what would have become of the liberties of

America? experiment of slavery are dangerous: they are such as freemen will be ever ready to make.

A third class will apparently admit the justice of the measure: but will find fault with the manner of carrying it on. When the assembly seem disposed to promote it, they will say that it should originate by petitions from the people. When petitions are handed about among the people, they will say, you should wait till your representatives in assembly signify their sense upon the subject.

Every expedient will be used to turn your eyes from the great object, on which they ought to be fixed. But be not deceived. The important question, now in agitation, involves in it your nearest and dearest interests. Now is the time to consider it with all the anxious attention that it deserves. You have an opportunity now before you, of avoiding those dangers with which you are threatened. If you do not embrace it, the blame will be upon yourselves; but the consequences will reach and affect us all. We repeat, what we have already mentioned, that those who subscribe this address have no common interest with one another, but that which they have also with you. Insinuations and sly whispers, that we wish to establish an interest separate from that of the state, are futile and groundless. Read over the list of the subscribers; enquire into our occupations and professions, and different walks of life, and you will be convinced that the imputation contains in it the greatest absurdity. Are we all desirous of becoming lords? But let us tell you one thing; and remember that we now tell it to you, If there are any among us, in whose breasts the seeds of an ambition to tyrannize over their fellow-citizens lie latent, they will be cherished and cultivated by continuing the present constitution. We have already seen how easy the task is for any character to rise into power and consequence under it. And there are some of us, who think not so meanly of ourselves, as to dread any rivalry from those who are now in office. Trust not us—trust no man—trust no body of men with uncontrolled power. If any of those, who address you, should

become, at some future period, debauched by power under the present constitution, and use it for their own aggrandisement, instead of the public good, you will then recollect, but the recollection may be then too late, that we have now given you an honest, and a most solemn warning against them. R. BACIE, chairman.

<i>S. Morris, jun.</i>	<i>James White,</i>
<i>Samuel Meredith.</i>	<i>J. Humphreys, jun.</i>
<i>Tho. Fitzsimons,</i>	<i>Benjamin Rush,</i>
<i>John Wilcocks,</i>	<i>Jacob Rush,</i>
<i>J. Cadwalader,</i>	<i>F. Leaning, jun.</i>
<i>George Clymer,</i>	<i>Thomas Franklyn,</i>
<i>John Nixon,</i>	<i>John Mease,</i>
<i>J. Comperthwait,</i>	<i>Peter Scull,</i>
<i>Ben. G. Eyre.</i>	<i>Robert Morris,</i>
<i>James Caldwell,</i>	<i>Thomas Messia,</i>
<i>George Ross.</i>	<i>Isaac McKee,</i>
<i>James Wilson,</i>	<i>Jona. Mifflin, jun.</i>
<i>John Murray,</i>	<i>Peter Z. Lloyd,</i>
<i>William Allbone,</i>	<i>William Gray,</i>
<i>Thomas Peters,</i>	<i>John Chaloner,</i>
<i>Joseph Moulder,</i>	<i>J. Hiltzheimer,</i>
<i>W. Humphreys,</i>	<i>John Benezet,</i>
<i>Jacob Shattas,</i>	<i>J. M. Nesbitt,</i>
<i>E. Biddle.</i>	<i>Henry Hull,</i>
<i>Sharp Delany,</i>	<i>Sam. Howell, jun.</i>
<i>George Meade,</i>	<i>Lewis Weiss,</i>
<i>F. C. Haffenclever,</i>	<i>George Woods,</i>
<i>James Mease,</i>	<i>John Colthorn,</i>
<i>Natha. Falconer.</i>	<i>B. Dougherty,</i>
<i>William V. Phul,</i>	<i>Philip Wager,</i>
<i>Peter Baynton,</i>	<i>Lambert Cadwalader.</i>
<i>Mark Bird,</i>	<i>George Campbell,</i>
<i>Thomas Smith,</i>	<i>James Crawford,</i>
<i>William Atricks,</i>	<i>Samuel Caldwell,</i>
<i>Ste. Chambers,</i>	<i>James Read,</i>
<i>Alex. Nesbitt,</i>	<i>John Brown,</i>
<i>G. Noarth,</i>	<i>John Baker,</i>
<i>John Patton,</i>	<i>Alexander Foster,</i>
<i>John Shee,</i>	<i>John White,</i>
<i>Samuel Nicholas,</i>	<i>Thomas Forest,</i>
<i>Andrew Bunner,</i>	<i>F. Hopkinson,</i>
<i>John Donaldson,</i>	<i>James Craig, jun.</i>
<i>John Lairdner,</i>	<i>John Parke,</i>
<i>Robert Roberts,</i>	<i>Samuel Miles,</i>
<i>C. Thompson,</i>	<i>Ephraim Blaine,</i>
<i>William Govett,</i>	

Philadelphia, March 1779.

An address from the subscribers, members of the legislature of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to their constituents, and the other freemen thereof.

Friends and fellow-citizens,
WHEN we were honoured by your free suffrages, with a seat

in the legislature of Pennsylvania, we undertook the delicate and arduous office, with a due sense of the importance of our stations, and the extensive influence that our conduct might have upon your liberties, and the liberties of your descendants. We were elected for the express purpose of legislation, under the present constitution, and considered ourselves as the guardians of those invaluable rights and privileges secured to you by it, and as being prohibited in the strongest manner, by every possible moral and political obligation, from doing any act or thing, directly or indirectly injurious to the constitution as established by the convention. Every member of the legislature of this commonwealth, has actually taken the following oaths or affirmations, viz. "I do swear (or affirm) that I will be true and faithful to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and that I will not directly or indirectly do any act or thing prejudicial or injurious to the constitution or government thereof, as established by the convention. And also, I do swear (or affirm) that as a member of this assembly, I will not propose or assent to any bill, vote, or resolution, which shall appear to me injurious to the people, nor do or consent to any act or thing whatsoever, that shall have a tendency to lessen or abridge their rights and privileges, as declared in the constitution of this state, but will in all things conduct myself as a faithful honest representative, and guardian of the people, according to the best of my judgment and abilities."

Under the influence of such solemn obligations, we would esteem ourselves unfaithful guardians of those liberties you have committed to our charge, and unworthy of the trust you have reposed in us, if we failed to give you notice of any attempts to invade or abridge them; that you might, by a manly and resolute exertion, at this critical conjuncture, assert and vindicate that free and equal constitution, which an overborne minority in your assembly is no longer able to preserve.

You will be justly astonished, when we assure you, that notwithstanding such solemn obligations, a majority of your present legislature have entered into a number of resolutions, calculated to induce you to call a conven-

tion for the purpose of altering the constitution of this commonwealth, and thereby entrap you to give the finishing stroke to your expiring liberties with your own hands. After having opposed these destructive resolutions during their progress through the house, with all the arguments that could be suggested, from the solemnity of our oaths, the importance of our trust, the destructive tendency of the resolutions themselves, and unseasonableness of the measure, we had nothing remaining but to enter our solemn but unavailing protest upon the minutes of the house.

Having done so much in the character of guardians of the rights and liberties of our fellow-citizens, we do not think we have done all our duty, until we have warned you, with all that solicitude which the sacred trust you have reposed in us demands, of the extreme danger that will attend your complying with the recommendation of the majority of your assembly to call a convention to alter our constitution. You can easily remember that this is the fourth attempt of the same aristocratic party, to betray you into a voluntary surrender of your liberties by the alteration of your frame of government, but every attempt they have hitherto made has been treated with an indignation becoming free citizens, and the authors thereof have been covered with disgrace and confusion. But heretofore, when they were taking measures to destroy your constitution, they were so imprudent as to publish what they wished you to adopt in its stead, and the bare inspection of it, procured that rejection which it deserved from a free and enlightened people. This was particularly the case with the plan of government this party prepared for you in 1784, which breathed nothing but the spirit of despotism, and whose every feature was distorted with their insatiable lust of power, and we have no reason to believe their principles are changed for the better since that memorable period. You then thought your liberties were safer in the hands of plain honest citizens, who had not yet learned to trifle with the solemnity of an oath, who had not gotten the better of the virtuous principles of their education; and who, having no hopes of di-

viding among themselves the emoluments of lucrative offices, would be obliged to submit to the same plan of government with yourselves. And we trust the same spirit of liberty is still alive in the state of Pennsylvania, and will now be aroused to assert your privileges. Why should the liberties of Pennsylvania be constantly in danger from this restless spirit of despotism or from the open or more concealed attempts of the very men who are honoured by her confidence and supported in their power by her treasures? Their principles are not changed, their views are the same, and all their measures are evidently calculated to accomplish the same object; unless you will call this a change of principle, that some of these men, who could not, in the year 1778, take the preceding oaths, without an express reservation to themselves of a liberty to attempt an alteration in the constitution, when they should judge it prudent and practicable, have now been able to take the oaths which they imagined at that time abridged them of this liberty, without any qualifying reservations, whatsoever, and yet have concurred with their party in this direct attempt to procure an alteration of the constitution. Whether this change of principle bears a favourable aspect on your liberties we leave you to determine.

There is reason to believe, that they have covered their real designs with these specious, but fallacious pretences, viz. "That the burden and expenses of the present form of government are with difficulty borne. And that various instances occur, wherein this form is contradictory to the constitution of the united states, which every member of the legislature, and all the executive and judicial officers are bound by oath or affirmation to support." These are the only reasons they have given for so dangerous and precipitate a measure; and in order to induce you to call a convention, they have confidently asserted, "that these are circumstances which will not admit of the delay of the method prescribed by the constitution." They flattered themselves, that the expenses of the support of government, would be a popular argument with you, who must pay them with your taxes, to

adopt any other form that would promise a diminution of them, while the same privileges are preserved to you. But, unhappily for them, the argument is neither true in fact, nor can we think they believe it themselves, at the same time that they wish you to be influenced by the delusive prospect. We shall endeavour to state this matter in the plainest light.

In this let us take to our assistance the wisdom and economy of the two largest states in the union, Virginia and Massachusetts, which agree nearly with Pennsylvania in extent of territory, number of inhabitants, resources, and representation in congress. The annual expenses of Massachusetts appear by their own public accounts to be thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds Pennsylvania currency, and of Virginia fifty thousand pounds of the same currency, whilst those of Pennsylvania amount to no more than twenty-eight thousand pounds per annum, by the statement of the comptroller general (including incidental expenses) and even this will be lessened for the time to come. So that the form of government of Pennsylvania appears from this comparison to be the most friendly to economy. If the projectors of this measure, really believed the expenses were too great, why have they not lessened them for these three years past, during which time they have had an uncontrolled majority in the legislature; they had the power to do it, and if the business was practicable and expedient, it was certainly their duty, and not the business of a convention; nay why have they on the contrary been employed in creating new and needless offices for the support of their needy friends and dependents, and in splitting up counties, and thereby increasing the number of counsellors, which they profess to assert are too numerous already? besides all this, you can all see that the establishment of a second house of legislature, in which the better born may be separated from the common countrymen in their deliberations, which is the avowed object of the opposers of your simple constitution, will be so far from lessening, that it will greatly increase the expenses and burdens of your government. Judge then,

whether they really mean to lessen your taxes by the proposed measure, or whether they only mean to provide for themselves and their dependents at your expense. Judge of their feeling the burden of your taxes, when in this very session, in which they pretend to complain that it was too great for you to bear, they have created a new officer, never before heard of in this state, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, with an allowance for as many clerks as may be deemed necessary, in addition to all you have hitherto paid, for the support of one of their zealous partizans, and at the same time for the eventual removal of one of the most industrious and independent officers of the government, who could have done all the business of the new-erected officer, with the assistance of another clerk, which they refused to allow; and so solicitous were they to provide for their friend at your expense, that they would not trust the supreme executive council with the nomination of the officer, whose business it was by your constitution, but inserted his name in the bill, which was brought in and read for the first time in the forenoon, called up and read a second time by special order immediately afterwards, and debated by paragraphs, ordered to be printed for consideration in the same forenoon; the bill was brought in wet from the hands of the workmen, and was read a third time the same day in which it originated, was ordered to be engrossed, and was passed into a law the next morning, in open defiance of your constitution, which prescribes that bills shall lie over, printed for consideration, from one session to another, before they are finally passed into laws, excepting in cases of necessity. An instance of precipitancy this, which was never known before in Pennsylvania, not even when the enemy were in possession of your capital.

As to their second reason, for your calling a convention to alter your form of government, viz. "That it is in many cases contradictory to the federal constitution of the united states:" it is equally frivolous, unfounded, and delusory with the other. Because, a convention of this state, with equal authority to that of the convention

who framed your constitution, has already adopted the federal constitution, and thereby has repealed every article of your plan of government, which was contradictory to it. For they have, without reservation or condition, adopted this clause, in the sixth article of the federal government, among others, viz. "that the constitution and the laws of the united states, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the united states, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." After adopting this article by the state of Pennsylvania, what article of your constitution remains to clash with the federal government, or withstand the irresistible force of a law of congress? How idle and fallacious then is the argument for a change in your plan of government, to make it conformable to that of the united states; when these very men know, that you have already, by the highest authority in the state, made the constitution and the laws of congress paramount to all your laws, and your constitution into the bargain? Do not the constitutions of all the different states in the union equally clash with the constitution of the united states, and have you heard of any of them calling a convention to alter their constitution, and shall Pennsylvania be the first to run into so foolish and expensive a measure, to repeat what they have already done by the highest authority they possess? Besides, as far as the argument they have made use of, has any operation, it operates directly against the measure proposed, and shews the impropriety of taking up the business at this time. It is by no means improbable, that the federal government may yet receive very material alterations and amendments. Under the old confederation the union consisted of thirteen states, seven of which have disapproved of the new constitution in its present form. Two, viz. North Carolina and Rhode Island have refused to ratify it unless amended, and five states (amongst which are the important states of Virginia, Massachu-

setts, and New-York) have ratified it, on condition that it should be a standing instruction to their representatives to take measures to procure certain amendments; therefore thirty-two members of the house of representatives, which is a majority, come from those five states—to that if alterations are at all proper to be made in our form of government, on this account, it would certainly be prudent to wait the deliberations of the new congress, and the applications from the different states for amendments, lest we should be under the necessity of calling a convention a second time.

If our constitution needs any amendments, it must be, to erect firmer barriers, than oaths of office, to restrain the guardians of your liberties from trampling upon them at their pleasure, and to confine them to the business for which alone you have honoured them with your confidence. But if any of our fellow citizens should be of opinion, that it could receive an improvement in any other respect, the convention who framed it at first, has prudently provided for this in the appointment of a council of censors, who are to meet, by the constitution, in one year after the proposed time of calling the new convention, and possibly before we can know the final result of the deliberations of congress on the subject of amendments to the federal constitution. We are aware that our opponents object to the mode pointed out by the constitution, of altering it by means of a council of censors, which they say is an unequal representation of the people, the smallest county sending as many members as the largest, and the consent of two thirds of the censors being necessary to the calling of a convention; but we believe it will be allowed on all hands, that some check is necessary to prevent a continual fluctuation in the principles of government. If the first principles of society can be superseded by an act of the house, which are only entrusted with the ordinary business of legislation, it will be as easy to change the constitution as to enact a law. Besides, if the council of censors are an unequal representation, 'tis owing to the inequality of the counties, the erection of which depends on the legislature. Some of them it is true are

pitifully small. But the same difficulty occurs in altering every other form of government, particularly that of the united states, which has been so highly extolled as being perfect. It cannot be altered even after a recommendation of congress for the purpose, without the consent of two-thirds of the states, and the trailing states of Delaware, Rhode-Island and Georgia, have the same vote as the important ones of Virginia Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts; and the senate of the united states is also formed on the same principle, every state in the union sending an equal number of senators—On the whole we think experience has shewn our constitution to be equal to any in the union. There is certainly no necessity for altering it at present—it secures more liberty in the hands of the people than any other form of government can boast. It has had no fair chance from the beginning, but has been constantly opposed by the same set of men who now attempt to destroy it. Mischiefs have been created by them which they have charged to the constitution. Pennsylvania under her present constitution has supported her internal credit, by discharging her engagements to her citizens, and complying with the demands of the united states, in an equal degree with any state in the union.

But they say that the expensiveness of our plan of government, and its being contradictory to the federal constitution in some instances, are "circumstances which will not admit of the delay of the method prescribed by the constitution," and hence they advise you to recur to first principles, and call a convention to alter your constitution, without any regard to the mode which it prescribes. You have already seen how unfounded in fact, and frivolous, these pretended circumstances are, which they say cannot admit of the delay of a single year. We now request your serious attention to the dangerous consequences of complying with their advice.

When you amend your constitution in the mode which it prescribes, it continues in force until it is amended, and all the operations of government proceed in their usual course, without interruption or confusion. But when you recur to your original and im-

rent right to alter or amend your government, without any regard to the prescription of your present constitution, you immediately unhinge all government, displace every officer in the state, shut up the courts of justice, and throw the whole commonwealth into anarchy and confusion, until a new government be provided. And are these pretended circumstances of so much weight in themselves, as to make it prudent for you to endanger the peace, prosperity, and protection of your fellow citizens, to expose the community to the alarming hazard of anarchy and confusion, and of all the train of evils that would result from dissolving the bands of government, together with the heats, animosities and tumults, that would probably arise from such a measure, in preference to waiting for so short a time as a single year, when every alteration that may be necessary, can be made in a calm and dispassionate manner, by the intervention and advice of the council of censors, without any of these alarming consequences? Should this destructive measure that is now recommended to you by the majority of your assembly, receive your sanction and approbation, there is nothing in the privileges of government which the people can afterwards call their own. Every succeeding assembly may as easily step out of the ordinary business of legislation, which alone is entrusted to their management, and under the influence of the prevailing party of the day, blow the trumpet of discord, and pretend a necessity of change after change, until uncertainty, confusion, and contradictory systems of government, shall involve the whole state in anarchy and uproar, until it be finally settled by the introduction of a military force, the usual expedient of tyrants, to support the despotism and ambition of a prevailing faction.

These avowed enemies of your equal constitution have invited you to petition them to make provision for the meeting of the wished for convention, not doubting but that a sufficient number of signers may be procured by a little industry and influence, when they have seen in their last session upwards of ten thousand petitioners procured on the business of opening the theatre, in the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, when the city of Phila-

delphia does not contain five thousand taxables.

We on the contrary beseech you to turn your attention to this important business at a crisis so alarming to your liberties, and with the steadiness and resolution of men that are yet free, remonstrate against their attempts upon your constitution; and we doubt not but that the sleeping spirit of liberty will be roused upon this occasion, as it has been before on similar attempts, and cover its enemies with that disgrace and confusion they deserve.

We are happy to inform you that the honourable the supreme executive council were so fully sensible of the impropriety of the conduct of the house at this time, that though a majority of the members of council now present are unfriendly to our constitution, yet they conceived that they could not, consistent with their duty as counsellors, or the oaths they have taken, promulgate the recommendation of the house, as they were requested to do, and accordingly rejected it, as will appear by the following extract from their minutes:—

“In council, March 28, 1789.

“Upon consideration of a resolution of the general assembly of the 24th instant, requesting council to promulgate the proceedings of the house of that day, containing a recommendation to the good people of this state on the subject of alterations and amendments of the constitution of this state:—

“Resolved that this board cannot comply with the said request of the legislature.”

We shall make no remarks on the other proceedings of the legislature during the late session, but conclude by requesting our constituents and the rest of the citizens of Pennsylvania to turn their earnest attention to this very important business, “and may he who alone has dominion over the passions and understandings of men enlighten, and direct you aright, that posterity may bless God for the wisdom of their ancestors.”

*Thomas Kennedy, James M' Lene,
Thomas Beale, James Johnston,
David Mitchell, Alex. Wright,
John Ludwig, John Gilchreest,
John Piper, Theophilus Philips
James Barr, Adam Orth,
James Allison, Jacob Miley.
Philadelphia, April 3, 1789.*

ADDRESS to the PEOPLE of IRELAND,

From the delegates appointed by the united colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in general congress, at Philadelphia, the 10th of May 1775.

Friends and fellow-subjects,

AS the important contest into which we have been driven, is now become interesting to every European state, and particularly affects the members of the British empire, we think it our duty to address you on the subject. We are desirous, as is natural to injured innocence, of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with a true state of our motives and objects, the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy, and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision.

However incredible it may appear, that, at this enlightened period, the leaders of a nation, which in every age has sacrificed hecatombs of her bravest patriots on the altar of liberty, should presume gravely to assert, and by force of arms, attempt to establish an arbitrary sway over the lives, liberties, and property of their fellow-subjects in America: it is nevertheless a most deplorable and indisputable truth.

These colonies have, from the time of their first settlement, for near two centuries, peaceably enjoyed those every rights, of which the ministry have, for ten years past, endeavoured by fraud and by violence to deprive them. At the conclusion of the last war, the genius of England, and the spirit of wisdom, as if offended at the ungrateful treatment of their sons, withdrew from the British councils, and left that nation a prey to a race of ministers, with whom ancient English honesty and benevolence disdained to dwell. From that period, jealousy, discontent, oppression, and discord, have raged among all his majesty's subjects, and filled every part of his dominions with distress and complaint.

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Not content with our purchasing of Britain at her own price, clothing, and a thousand other articles used by near three millions of people on this vast continent—not satisfied with the amazing profits arising from the monopoly of our trade, without giving us either time to breathe after a long though glorious war, or the least credit for the blood and treasure we have expended in it—notwithstanding the zeal we had manifested for the service of our sovereign, and the warmest attachment to the constitution of Great Britain and the people of England, a black and horrid design was formed, to convert us from freemen into slaves, from subjects into vassals, and from friends into enemies.

Taxes, for the first time since we landed on the American shores, were, without our consent, imposed upon us; an unconstitutional edict to compel us to furnish necessaries for a standing army, that we wished to see disbanded, was issued; and the legislature of New York suspended for refusing to comply with it. Our ancient and inestimable right of trial by jury, was, in many instances, abolished; and the common law of the land made to give place to admiralty jurisdictions. Judges were rendered, by the tenure of their commissions, entirely dependent on the will of a minister. New crimes were arbitrarily created; and new courts, unknown to the constitution, instituted. Wicked and insidious governors have been set over us; and dutiful petitions for the removal of even the notoriously infamous governor Hutchinson, were branded with the opprobrious appellation of scandalous and defamatory. Hardy attempts have been made, under colour of parliamentary authority, to seize Americans and carry them to Great Britain, to be tried for offences committed in the colonies. Ancient charters have no longer remained sacred; that of the Massachusetts Bay was violated; and the form of government essentially mutilated and transformed. On pretence of punishing a violation of some private property, committed by a few dissipated individuals, the populous and flourishing town of Boston was surrounded by fleets and armies; its trade destroyed; its port blocked

up; and thirty thousand citizens subjected to all the miseries attending to sudden a convulsion in their commercial metropolis; and, to remove every obstacle to the rigorous execution of this system of oppression, an act of parliament was passed, evidently calculated to indemnify those, who might in the prosecution of it, even embrue their hands in the blood of the inhabitants.

Though pressed by such an accumulation of undeserved injuries, America still remembered her duty to her sovereign. A congress, consisting of deputies from twelve united colonies, assembled: they in the most respectful terms laid their grievances at the foot of the throne; and implored his majesty's interposition in their behalf. They also agreed to suspend all trade with Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies; hoping by this peaceable mode of opposition to obtain that justice from the British ministry, which had been so long solicited in vain. And here permit us to assure you, that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves, to cease our commercial connexion with your island. Your parliament has done us no wrong—you had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge, with pleasure and gratitude, that your nation has produced patriots, who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand, we were not ignorant that the labour and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk worm, were of little moment to herself; but served only to give luxury to those who neither toil nor spin. We perceived, that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement, not to import from Britain, would be fruitless, and were therefore compelled to adopt a measure, to which nothing but absolute necessity could have reconciled us: it gave us, however, some consolation to reflect, that should it occasion much distress, the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe asylum from poverty, and in time, from oppression also—an asylum, in which many thousands of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace, and assistance, and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity,

mutual interest, and affection—nor did congress stop here. Flattered by a pleasing expectation, that the justice and humanity, which had so long characterized the English nation, would, on proper application, afford us relief; they represented their grievances in an affectionate address to their brethren in Britain, and intreated their aid and interposition in behalf of these colonies.

The more fully to evince their respect for their sovereign, the unhappy people of Boston were requested by the congress to submit with patience to their fate; and all America united in a resolution to abstain from every species of violence. During this period, that devoted town suffered unspeakably. Its inhabitants were insulted, and their property violated. Still relying on the clemency and justice of his majesty and the nation, the permitted a few regiments to take possession of their town; to surround it with fortifications; to cut off all intercourse between them and their friends in the country.

With anxious expectation did all America wait the event of their petition. All America laments its fate. Their prince was deaf to their complaints; and vain were all attempts to impress him with a sense of the sufferings of his American subjects of the cruelty of their task masters; and of the many plagues which impended over his dominions. Instead of directions for a candid enquiry into our grievances, insult was added to oppression, and our long forbearance rewarded with the imputation of cowardice. Our trade with foreign states was prohibited; and an act of parliament passed to prevent even our fishing on our own coasts. Our peaceable assemblies for the purpose of consulting the common safety, were declared seditious; and our asserting the very rights which placed the crown of Great Britain on the heads of the three successive princes of the house of Hanover, filed rebellion. Orders were given to reinforce the troops in America. The wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited, by gifts, to take up the hatchet against us; and infligated to deluge our settlements with the blood of innocent and defenceless women and

children. The whole country was moreover alarmed with the expected horrors of domestic insurrections. Refinements in parental cruelty, at which the genius of Britain must blush! Refinements which admit not of being recited without horror, or practised without infamy! We should be happy, were these dark machinations the mere suggestions of suspicion. We are sorry to declare, that we are possessed of the most authentic and indubitable evidence of their reality.

The ministry, bent on pulling down the pillars of the constitution, endeavoured to erect the standard of despotism in America; and if successful, Britain and Ireland may shudder at the consequences!

Three of their most experienced generals are sent to wage war with their fellow subjects, and America is amazed to find the name of Howe in the catalogue of her enemies. She loved his brother.

Despairing of driving the colonists to resistance by any other means, than actual hostility, a detachment of the army at Boston marched into the country in all the array of war; and, unprovoked, fired upon, and killed several of the inhabitants. The neighbouring farmers suddenly assembled, and repelled the attack. From this, all communication between the town and country was intercepted. The citizens petitioned the general for permission to leave the town, and he promised on surrendering their arms, to permit them to depart with their other effects. They accordingly surrendered their arms, and the general violated his faith. Under various pretences, passports were delayed and denied; and many thousands of the inhabitants are at this day confined in the town in the utmost wretchedness and want. The lame, the blind and the sick, have indeed been turned out into the neighbouring fields; and some, eluding the vigilance of the centries, have escaped from the town, by swimming to the adjacent shores.

The war having thus began on the part of general Gage's troops, the country armed and embodied. The re-inforcements from Ireland soon after arrived; a vigorous attack was then made upon the provincials. In their march, the troops surrounded

the town of Charlestown, consisting of about four hundred houses, then recently abandoned, to escape the fury of a relentless soldiery. Having plundered the houses, they set fire to the town, and reduced it to ashes. To this wanton waste of property, unknown to civilized nations, they were prompted, the better to conceal their approach under cover of the smoke. A shocking mixture of cowardice and cruelty, which then first tarnished the lustre of the British arms, when aimed at a brother's breast!—But blessed be God, they were restrained from committing farther ravages, by the loss of a very considerable part of their army, including many of their most experienced officers. The loss of the inhabitants was inconsiderable.

Compelled, therefore, to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous and unmerited misery!—when we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state—when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity—who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of desolation? Who can censure our repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? Who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self preservation?

Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men. Though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation. Though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws. And though charged with rebellion, will cheerfully bleed in the defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause. What more can we say, what more can we offer?

But we forbear to trouble you with a tedious detail of the various and fruitless offers and applications we have repeatedly made, not for pensions, for wealth, or for honours, but for the humble boon of being permitted to possess the fruits of honest industry, and to enjoy that degree of liberty, to which God and the constitution have given us an undoubted right.

Blessed with an indissoluble union,

with a variety of internal resources, and with a firm reliance on the justice of the supreme Disposer of all human events, we have no doubt of rising superior to all the machinations of evil and abandoned ministers. We already anticipate the golden period, when liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, shall establish her mild dominion in this western world; and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs, who shall have fought, and bled, and suffered in her cause.

Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shewn towards us. We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathise with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us, has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland, some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you. In the rich pastures of Ireland, many hungry paricides have fed, and grown strong to labour in its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten: and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating liberty from the British empire may be soon defeated. But we should be wanting to ourselves—we should be perfidious to posterity—we should be unworthy that ancestry from which we derive our descent, should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredation, to gratify the lordly ambition, or sate the avarice of a British ministry. In defence of our persons and properties, under actual violation, we have taken up arms. When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also. For the achievement of this happy event, we confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly disposition we do not yet despond: aware as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy, than the humble favour of being last devoured.

By order of the congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, president.
attested. C. THOMSON, sec.

Philadelphia, July 28th, 1775.

Account of the battle of Long Island.

In a letter from an American officer, dated August 28, 1776.

YESTERDAY's occurrences, no doubt, will be described to you various ways: I embrace this leisure moment, to give as satisfactory an account as I am able. A large body of the enemy, that landed some time since on Long Island, at the end of a beautiful plain, had extended their troops about six miles from the place of their first landing. There were, at this time, eleven regiments of our troops posted in different parts of the woods, between our lines and the enemy, through which they must pass, if they attempted any thing against us. Early in the morning, our scouting parties discovered a large body of the enemy, both horse and foot, advancing on the Jamaica road towards us: I was dispatched to general Putnam, to inform him of it. On my way back, I discovered, as I thought, our battalion on a hill coming in, dressed in hunting shirts, and was going to join them, but was stopped by a number of our soldiers, who told me they were the enemy in our dress,—on this I prevailed on a sergeant and two men to halt, and fire on them, which produced a shower of bullets, and we were obliged to retire.

In the mean time, the enemy, with a large body, penetrated through the woods on our right and centre or front; and about nine o'clock, landed another body on our right, the whole stretching across the field and woods, between our works and our troops, and sending out parties, accompanied with light horse, which harassed or surrounded and surprised our new troops, who, however, sold their lives dear. Our forces then made towards our lines, but the enemy had taken possession of the ground before them by stolen marches. Our men broke through parties after parties, but still found the enemy's thousands before them. Colonel Smallwood's, Atlee's, and Hazlet's battalions, with general Sterling at their head, had collected on an eminence and made a good stand; but the enemy fired a field piece on them, and, being greatly superior in number, obliged them to retreat into a marsh; finding it out of their power to with-

stand about six thousand men, they waded through the mud and water to a mill opposite them; their retreat was covered by the second battalion, which had reached our lines. Colonel Lutz's and the New England regiments after this made some resistance in the woods, but were obliged by superior numbers to retire.

Colonel Miles's and Brodhead's battalions, finding themselves surrounded, determined to fight and run; they did so, and broke through English and Hessians, dispersed the horse, and at last came in with considerable loss. Colonel Parry was, early in the day, shot through the head, encouraging his men. Eighty of our battalion came in this morning, having forced their way through the enemy's rear, and come round by the way of Hell Gate; we expect more, who are missing, will come in the same way.



General Howe's account of the action on Long Island, in a letter to lord George Germaine, dated, camp at Newtown, Long Island, September 3, 1776.

My lord,

ON the 22d of last month, in the morning, the British, with colonel Donop's corps of chaffeurs and Hessian grenadiers, disembarked near Utrecht, on Long Island, without opposition, the whole being landed, with forty pieces of cannon, in two hours and a half, under the direction of commodore Hotham; lieutenant-general Clinton commanding the first division of the troops.

The enemy had only small parties on the coast, who, upon the approach of the boats, retired to the woody heights, commanding a principal pass on the road from Flatbush, to their works at Brooklyn. Lord Cornwallis was immediately detached to Flatbush, with the reserve, two battalions of light infantry, and colonel Donop's corps, with six field-pieces, having orders not to risk an attack upon the pass, if he should find it occupied; which proving to be the case, his lordship took post in the village, and the army extended from the ferry at the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to the village of Flatland.

On the 25th, lieutenant-general de

Heister, with two brigades of Hessians from Staten Island, joined the army, leaving one brigade of his troops, a detachment of the 14th regiment from Virginia, some convalescents and recruits, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple, for the security of that island.

On the 26th, lieutenant-general de Heister took post at Flatbush, and in the evening, lord Cornwallis with the British, drew off to Flatland. About nine o'clock the same night, the van of the army, commanded by lieutenant-general Clinton, consisting of the light dragoons and brigade of light infantry, the reserve, under the command of lord Cornwallis, excepting the 42d regiment, which was posted on the left of the Hessians, the first brigade, and the 71st regiment, with fourteen field-pieces, began to move from Flatland, across the country through the New Lots, to seize a pass in the heights, extending from east to west, along the middle of the island, and about three miles from Bedford, on the road to Jamaica, in order to turn the enemy's left, posted at Flatbush.

August 27th. General Clinton being arrived within half a mile of the pass, about two hours before day-break, halted and sentied his disposition for the attack. One of his patrols, falling in with a patrol of the enemy's officers, took them; and the general learning from their information that the rebels had not occupied the pass, detached a battalion of light infantry to secure it, and advancing with his corps upon the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the heights, with such a disposition as must have insured success, had he found the enemy in force to oppose him.

The main body of the army, consisting of the guards, 2d, 3d, and 5th brigades, with ten field-pieces, led by lord Percy, marched soon after general Clinton, and halted an hour before day in his rear. This column (the country not admitting of two columns of a march) was followed by the 49th regiment, with four medium twelve-pounders, and the baggage closed the rear with separate guard.

As soon as these corps had passed the heights, they halted for the fol-

diers to take a little refreshment, after which the march was continued, and about half an hour past eight o'clock, having got to Bedford, in the rear of the enemy's left, the attack was commenced by the light infantry and light dragoons upon large bodies of the rebels, having cannon, who were quitting the woody heights beforementioned, to return to their lines, upon discovering the march of the army; instead of which they were drove back, and the army still moving on to gain the enemy's rear, the grenadiers and 33d regiment being in front of the column, soon approached within musket shot of the enemy's lines at Brooklyn, from whence these battalions, without regarding the fire of cannon and small arms upon them, pursued numbers of the rebels that were retiring from the heights, so close to their principal redoubt, and with such eagerness to attack it by storm, that it required repeated orders to prevail on them to desist from the attempt. Had they been permitted to go on, it is my opinion they would have carried the redoubt; but as it was apparent the lines must have been ours at a very cheap rate by regular approaches, I would not risque the loss that might have been sustained in the assault, and ordered them back to a hollow way, in the front of the works, out of the reach of musquetry.

Lieutenant-general de Heister began soon after day-break to cannonade the enemy in the front, and upon the approach of our right, ordered colonel Donop's corps to advance to the attack of the hill, following himself at the head of the brigades. The light infantry about that time having been reinforced by the light company, and two other companies of the guards, who joined them with the greatest activity and spirit, had taken three pieces of cannon, and were warmly engaged with very superior numbers in the woods, when, on the Hessians advancing, the enemy gave way, and were entirely routed in that quarter.

On the left, major-general Grant having the fourth and sixth brigades, the 42d regiment, and two companies of New-York provincials, raised by governor Tryon in the spring, advanced along the coast, with ten pieces of cannon, to divert the enemy's at-

tention from their left. About midnight he fell in with their advanced parties, and at day-break, with a large corps, having cannon, and advantageously posted, with whom there was a skirmishing and a cannonade for some hours, until by the firing at Brooklyn, the rebels suspecting their retreat would be cut off, made a movement to the right in order to secure it across a swamp and creek, that covered the right of their works, but being met in their way by a part of the 2d grenadiers, who were soon after supported by the 71st regiment, and general Grant's left coming up, they suffered considerably: numbers of them, however, did get into the morass, where many were suffocated or drowned.

The force of the enemy, detached from the lines where general Putnam commanded, was not less, from the best accounts I have had, than ten thousand men, who were under the orders of major-general Sullivan, brigadier-general lord Sterling and Udell. Their loss is computed to be about three thousand three hundred killed, wounded, prisoners, and drowned, with five field-pieces and one howitzer taken. A return of the prisoner is enclosed.

On the part of the king's troops five officers, and sixty-six noncommissioned officers and rank and file killed; twelve officers, and two hundred and forty-five noncommissioned officers and rank and file wounded; one officer, and twenty grenadiers of the marines taken, by mistaking the enemy for the Hessians.

The Hessians had two privates killed; three officers, and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The wound are in general very slight. Lieutenant colonel Monckton is shot through the body, but there are the greatest hopes of his recovery.

The behaviour of both officers and soldiers, British and Hessians, was highly to their honour. More determined courage and steadiness in troops have never been experienced, or greater ardour to distinguish themselves, as all those who have had a opportunity, have amply evinced by their actions.

In the evening of the 27th, the army encamped in front of the enemy

works. On the 28th, at night, broke ground six hundred yards distant from a redoubt upon their left; and on the 29th, at night, the rebels evacuated their entrenchments, and Redhook, with the utmost silence, and quitted Governor's Island the following evening, leaving their cannon, and a quantity of stores in all their works. At day-break, on the 30th, their flight was discovered, the picquets of the line took possession; and those most advanced reached the shore opposite to New York, as their rear guard was going over, and fired some shot among them.

The enemy is still in possession of the town and island of New York, in force, and making demonstration of opposing us in their works on both sides of King's Bridge.

The inhabitants of this island, many of whom had been forced into rebellion, have all submitted, and are ready to take the oaths of allegiance.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by major Cuyler, my first aid de camp, who, I trust, will be able to give you such further information as may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

William Howe.

P. S. I have omitted to take notice in its proper place, of a movement made by the king's ships, towards the town, on the 27th, at day-break, with a view of drawing off the attention of the enemy from our real design, which, I believe, effectually answered the intended purpose.

Return of the prisoners taken on Long Island, the 27th of August, 1776.

Generals.

Major-general Sullivan,	}	3
Brigadier-general lord Sterling,		
Brigadier-general Udell,		
Colonels,		3
Lieutenant-colonels,		4
Majors,		3
Captains,		18
Lieutenants,		43
Ensigns,		11
Adjutant,		1
Surgeons,		3
Volunteers,		2
Privates,		1006

1097

Return of brass and iron ordnance taken from the enemy, in the engagement on the 27th of August, 1776, and found in their different redoubts on Long Island and Governor's Island.

Camp at Newtown, Sept. 3, 1776.

Brass ordnance taken in the engagement 27th August, 1776.

1 five and half inch howitzer; four six-pounders; 1 three-pounder. Total of brass ordnance, 6.

Iron ordnance found in the different forts on Long Island and Governor's Island.

6 thirty-two pounders; 1 twenty-four pounder; 4 eighteen pounders; 2 twelve pounders; 2 nine-pounders; 3 six-pounders; 3 three-pounders. Total of iron ordnance, 26.

A quantity of shot, shells, ammunition, entrenching tools, small arms, a number of long pikes, ammunition carts, and many other articles not at present ascertained.

W. Howe, commander in chief.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the British army, Aug. 27, 1776.

1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 53 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 11 serjeants, 3 drummers, 231 rank and file wounded; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 29 rank and file wounded.

William Howe.



General Washington's account of the battle of Trenton. Dated Headquarters, Newtown, December 26, 1776.

Sir,

I HAVE the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprize, which I had formed against a detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday morning. The evening of the 25th, I ordered the troops, intended for this purpose, to parade back of M'Kenny's ferry, that they might begin to pass as soon as it grew dark; imagining that we should be able to throw them all over, with the necessary artillery, by twelve o'clock, that we might easily arrive in Trenton by five o'clock in the morning, the distance being about nine miles; but the

quantity of ice made that night, impeded the passage of the boats so much, that it was three o'clock before the artillery could be got over, and near four when the troops took up the line of march. I formed my detachment into two divisions, one to march up the lower, or river road, the other by the upper, or Pennington road. As the divisions had nearly the same distance to march, I ordered each of them, immediately upon forcing the out-guards, to push directly into the town, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. The upper division arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock, and in three minutes after, I found from the fire in the lower road, that the other division had also got up. The out-guards made but a small opposition, though for their numbers they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire behind houses. We presently saw their main body formed, but from their motions they seemed undetermined how to act, being hard pressed by our troops, who had already got possession of half their artillery; they attempted to file off by a road on the right, leading to Princeton; but, perceiving their intention, I threw a body of troops in their way, which immediately checked them.

Finding from our disposition, that they were surrounded, and must inevitably be cut to pieces, if they made any further resistance, they agreed to lay down their arms. The number that submitted in this manner were twenty-three officers, and eight hundred and eighty-six men. Colonel Rohl, the commanding officer, and seven others, were found wounded in the town. I do not exactly know how many were killed, but I fancy about twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular stand. Our loss was very trifling indeed, only four officers and one or two privates wounded. I find the detachment of the enemy consisted of three regiments of Hessians, Andspach, Kniphausen, and Rohl, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light horse. Immediately upon the beginning of the attack, all those who were not killed, or taken, pushed directly down the road towards Borden-

ton. These would likewise have fallen into our hands, could my plan immediately have been carried into execution. General Erwine was to have crossed before day at Trenton Ferry, and taken possession of a bridge leading out of town; but the quantity of ice was so great, that though he did every thing in his power to effect it, he could not get over; and finding it impossible to embark his artillery, he was obliged to desist. I am fully confident, that could the troops under generals Erwine and Cadwalader have passed the river, I should have been able, with their assistance, to have driven the enemy from all their posts below Trenton; but the number I had with me, being inferior to those below me, and a strong battalion of light infantry being at Princeton above me. I thought it most prudent to return the same evening with the prisoners, and the artillery we had taken. We found no stores of any consequence in the town.

In justice to the officers and men, I must add, that their behaviour on this occasion reflects the highest honour upon them. The difficulty of passing the river in a very severe night, and their march through a violent storm of snow and hail, did not in the least abate their ardour; but when they came to charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pushing forward; and were I to give a preference to any particular corps, I should do injustice to the other. Capt. Baylor, my first aid de camp, will have the honour to deliver this to you; and from him you may be made acquainted with many other particulars. His spirited behaviour upon every occasion requires me to recommend him to your particular notice. I have the honour to be, with great respect, sir, your's, &c. &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

Charles Thompson, esq.



Account of the battle of Trenton. published by congress, as received from an officer of distinction in the army. Dated Head Quarters, New-town, Bucks county, Dec. 27, 1776.

IT was determined some days ago, that our army should pass over to Jersey at three different places, and at

tack the enemy; accordingly, about two thousand five hundred men, and twenty brass field pieces, with his excellency general Washington at their head, and major general Sullivan and general Green in command of two divisions, passed over on the night of Christmas, and about three o'clock A. M. were on their march by two routes towards Trenton. The night was sleety and cold, and the road slippery; so that it was day break when we were two miles from Trenton, but happily the enemy were not apprised of our design, and our advanced party were on their guards at half a mile from town, where general Sullivan and general Green's division soon came into the same road.

Their guard gave our advanced party several smart fires as we drove them, but we soon got two field pieces at play, and several others in a small time, and one of our columns pushed down on the right, while the other advanced on the left into the town. The enemy, consisting of about fifteen hundred Hessians under colonel Rohl, formed and made some smart fires from their musquetry and six field pieces, but our people pressing from every quarter, drove them from their cannon. They retired towards a field behind a piece of woods up the creek from Trenton, and formed in two bodies, which I expected would have brought on a smart action from our troops, who had formed very near them; but at that instant, as I came in full view of them from the back of the woods with his excellency general Washington, an officer informed him that one party had grounded their arms and surrendered prisoners. The other soon followed their example, except a part which had got off in the hazy weather towards Princeton; their light-horse made off on our first approach. Too much praise cannot be given to the officers and men of every regiment, who seemed to vie with each other, and by their active, spirited behaviour, they soon put an honourable issue to this glorious day.

You may rejoice and be exceedingly glad at this intelligence of our success, which I hope and believe will prevent the enemy from passing the river.

We took three standards, six fine brass cannon, and near one thousand

stand of arms. They must have had about twenty or thirty killed.

I was immediately sent off with the prisoners to M^cCankey's ferry, and have got about seven hundred and fifty safe in town and a few miles from hence on this side the ferry, viz. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants and 8 ensigns. We lost colonel Rohl, the commandant, wounded, on his parole, and several other officers and wounded men at Trenton. We lost but two of our men that I can hear of, a few wounded, and one brave officer, captain Washington, who assisted in securing their artillery, shot in both hands. Indeed every officer and private behaved well, and it was a fortunate day to our arms, which I the more rejoice at, having had an active part in it. The success of this day will greatly animate our friends, and add fresh courage to our new army, which, when formed, will be sufficient to secure us from the depredations or insults of our enemy.

General Ewing's division could not pass at Trenton for the ice, which also impeded general Cadwallader passing over with all his cannon and the militia, though part of his troops were over, and if the whole could have passed, we should have swept the coast of Philadelphia.

Published by order of the congress,

Charles Thomson, secretary.

Return of prisoners taken at Trenton the 26th of December, 1776. by the army under the command of his excellency general Washington.

1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 2 surgeons, 92 serjeants, 20 drummers, 9 musicians, 25 officers' servants, 740 rank and file. 918 prisoners.



General Howe's account of the battle of Trenton, in a letter to lord George Germaine, dated New York, December 29, 1776.

ON the 25th instant, in the evening, a party of the enemy attacked an out guard from the post of Trenton, where col. Rohl commanded with three battalions of Hessians, fifty chasseurs, and twenty light dragoons, having with them six field pieces;

which party was beaten back. On the succeeding morning at six o'clock, the rebels appeared in force with cannon, evidently intending to attack the post. Colonel Rohl, having received intelligence of their design, had the troops under arms, and detached his own regiment to support an advanced picket: this picket being forced, and falling back upon the regiment, threw it into some disorder, which occasioned them to retire upon the other battalions; no advantage being taken of this, they recovered themselves, and the whole formed in front of the village.

The rebels, without advancing, cannonaded them in this situation, and colonel Rohl moved forward to attack them, with the regiments of

Lofsberg and Rohl; in which attack colonel Rohl was wounded, and the regiments were made prisoners. The rebels then advanced to the regiment of Knyphausen, and also made that corps prisoners.

Some few officers, and about two hundred men of the brigade, with the chasseurs, and a party of dragoons, retreated to colonel Donop's corps at Bordenton, six miles distant. Several officers were wounded, and about forty men killed and wounded.

This misfortune seems to have proceeded from col. Rohl's quitting his post, and advancing to the attack, instead of defending the village.

The rebels recrossed the river Delaware immediately, with the prisoners and cannon they had taken.

MR. CAREY,

FROM your laudable exertions to promote virtue, patriotism, and literary merit, I am induced to crave your acceptance of the following elegant ODE to EDUCATION, written by mr. Samuel Knox, in seven stanzas, and spoken by an equal number of boys, alternately, on the conclusion of the elocutionary exercises of Bladenburgh grammar-school, under his judicious care, at an exhibition held the 18th and 19th of December, 1788. To your approbation and well-known impartiality I trust for an early admission of it in your excellent museum.

Bladenburg, February, 1789.

RICHARD PONSONBY.

I.

Spoken by master Thomas Dick.

— *ego nec studium sine divite vena
Nec rude quid prodest video ingenium.* HOR.

AS nations rise, or infant-empires grow,
And heav'nly virtue guides their glorious course,
What blessings great from various channels flow!
Of ev'ry useful art the certain source,
Fair freedom now in shining vestments pure
Dispels the gloom, where GENIUS bury'd lay—
Through azure skies, which no dark clouds obscure
She leads the soul her own celestial way.
Sweet SCIENCE, too, now smiles with grace sublime
On each blest'd youth who shall her paths pursue;
Foster'd in this our transatlantic clime
New prospects ope to her expanding view.
Too long enslav'd by some oppressive sway,
The mind, now hopeful, hails a happier day,
And bids fair EDUCATION's lucid train
O'er all the land with bright'ning influence reign.

II.

Spoken by master O. H. Williams, nephew to gen. Williams.

Ye happy states! who for your freedom fought,
In arms renown'd, let arts be now your care;
Enjoy the privilege your bravely bought,
And raise to learned fame, a temple fair.

Let Maryland be foremost in the train
 To hail the muses to her happy shore—
 Let seats of science rise from ev'ry plain,
 And like the sun, her central radiance pour.
 To thee, great WASHINGTON! thy country's boast—
 To thee, whose soul, unshaken, bravely dar'd
 To banish curst oppression from our coast,
 Each grateful muse shall pay her best reward.
 The tender orphan, tutor'd by thy care,
 In academic shades* to thee shall rear
 A monument as lasting as thy fame—
 As dear to mem'ry, as thy deathless name.

III.

By master William Steuart.

O! be it thine, COLUMBIA FAIR, to shield
 And guard by wholesome laws, and dauntless breast,
 Whatever peace, or arts, or science yield,
 To render human life completely blest.
 Each virtue trace, each patriotic deed,
 That shone in Sparta, or in Athens flam'd;
 Mark, how Demosthenes could speak, or Agis bleed,
 Or learn great SOLON's laws, for wisdom fam'd.
 Let all thy youth their studious hours engage
 To weigh their justice, government, and laws;
 Reap morals from old PLATO's flow'ry page,
 And plead, with Attic grace, their country's cause.
 Read ancient Rome; and all the lore of Greece—
 From when old Jason stole the golden fleece,
 'Till when the Macedonian madman dies,
 See how their states could sink, or bravely rise.

IV.

By master John Hewitt.

Let Xerxes' fate, and Cæsar's bloody death,
 Crush vile ambition's arbitrary sway;
 Observe, the Godlike CATO's steady path
 To glory leads a more illustrious way;
 Whose noble soul, unshaken, bravely dar'd
 Alone to stem corruption's pow'rful tide,
 Each threaten'd danger with his country shar'd,
 And with expiring freedom boldly died.
 Let his example fire each glowing breast
 In virtue's sternest course to persevere;
 The soul of each enslaving view divest
 And all thy rigid rules, fair Allræa! revere.
 To this great end allure the guiltless young
 With all the flow'rs that flow'd from Tully's tongue;
 Let worth like this, their tender minds inspire
 And ev'ry age its Catos may admire.

V.

By mr. Thomas Contee Bowie.

Ye gen'rous youth! who scan sweet Maro's verse,
 Beneath each academic grove retir'd;
 Or HOMER's lofty images rehearse,
 With his enthusiastic flame inspir'd—

NOTE.

* Alluding to his excellency's bounteous annuity for the education of poor children in the Alexandria academy.

Your raptur'd minds, bold as the poet's eye,
 Shall nature view with an extatic gaze,
 And through the universal system fly,
 Where planets roll, or constellations blaze.
 With epic grandeur ev'ry line replete,
 The soul with his fine phrenzy shall surprize—
 While vivid fancy with her pow'rs elate,
 In diction, stile, and sentiment shall rise.
 Say, with what transport must your bosoms glow
 As their bold, nervous numbers smoothly flow
 In all the elegance of classic song,
 Sublimely great, majestically long.

VI.

By master George Ponsonby.

Should avarice invade, or cares corrode,
 Harmonious Horace shall their pow'r destroy,
 His honest satire and his friendly ode
 Elate the heart with philosophic joy.
 And should the heart for loss of friends repine,
 Or for some peerless object sigh in vain—
 Tibullus read, thy weeping woes resign;
 Or soothe thy soul with Sappho's soft'ning strain.
 Form'd by such elegance, the youthful mind
 No more on wanton joys it's hours shall waste;
 But scientific stores of pleasure find,
 And think, and speak, and write with classic taste.
 As rip'ning years the genius shall expand,
 Severer studies must your care demand—
 The vast extent of NEWTON'S system weigh,
 And all a BACON'S boundless sense survey.

VII.

By master Allen Bowie Duckett.

Let learned LOCKE instruct the human mind
 Through each ideal labyrinth to steer,
 With pious WATT, to virtue be inclin'd
 Enslav'd by no enthusiastic fear.
 Ne'er let the ranting bigot's frantic strain
 Blind or bewilder reason's radiant ray—
 The freeborn soul rejects with just disdain
 Old cloyster'd superstition's stupid sway.
 Yet if affliction's wounded heart thou'dst heal
 Regard religion with a christian care,
 And more revere an honest HERVEY'S zeal,
 Than all the wit of infidel VOLTAIRE.
 Ne'er warp'd in metaphysic maze, presume
 On sceptic principles with haughty Flume;
 But with a BEATTIE'S zeal, defend the truth—
 This comforts age—restrains licentious youth—
 Inspires the soul, when worldly joys decay.
 With hopes of heav'n to close life's final day—
 Exalts her pow'rs, transporting thought! to gaze
 Where knowledge shines in one eternal blaze.



A song: written in 1771. By the rev. dr. Dwight.

LOOK, lovely maid, on yonder flow'r,
 And see that busy fly,
 Made for th' enjoyment of an hour,
 And only born to die.

See, round the rose he lightly moves,
 And wantons in the sun,
 His little life in joy improves,
 And lives, before 'tis gone.

From this instinctive wisdom, learn
 The present hour to prize;
 Nor leave to-day's supreme concern,
 'Till morrow's morn arise.

Say, loveliest fair, canst thou divine
 That morrow's hidden doom?
 Know'st thou, if cloudless skies will shine,
 Or heaven be wrapp'd in gloom.

Fond man, the trifle of a day,
 Enjoys the morning light,
 Nor knows, his momentary play
 Must end, before 'tis night.

The present joys are all we claim,
 The past are in the tomb;
 And, like the poet's dream of fame,
 The future never come.

No longer then, fair maid, delay
 The promis'd scenes of bliss;
 Nor idly give another day,
 The joys assign'd to this.

If then my breast can soothe thy care,
 'Twill now that care allay;
 If joy this hand can yield, my fair,
 'Twill yield that joy to day.

Quit then, oh quit! thou lovely maid,
 Thy bashful, virgin pride;
 To-day, the happy plot be laid,
 The bands, to-morrow, tied!

The purest joys shall be our own,
 That e'er to man were giv'n;
 And those bright scenes, on earth begun,
 Shall brighter shine in heav'n.



*An address to his excellency George Washington, esq. on the anniversary of
 his birth-day, anno 1788.*

RETURN'D from conquest and from glorious toils,
 From armies captur'd, and unnumber'd spoils;
 From the blest task—to point our way to fame—
 And 'midst the nations raise our drooping name:
 These jarring states to bind in union's band;
 And fix fair freedom in our favour'd land;
 To bid our ships new seas and climes explore,
 And meet a welcome from each distant shore—
 And form a system, which at once imparts
 Joy to the merchants' and the farmers' hearts,

Illustrious hero, may you live to see,
This new republic long continue free;
Union and peace o'er this great empire spread,
And baleful discord veil her ghastly head.

COLUMBUS.



Foreign intelligence.

Constantinople, Oct. 29.

A CERTAIN number of christians' heads and ears, mostly those of Austrians, are exposed at the gates of the seraglio daily. The prisoners are treated rigorously, and most of them sent up the country into slavery. To judge of this treatment one need only read the following extract from a letter of lieutenant Geitz, who is prisoner at Constantinople, dated the 25th of June last.

"They transported me in ten days from the Confines of Sinai (near the defile of Temesch) to Constantinople. We went with incredible swiftness, and my horse fell twice; but I could not fall off myself, as we were placed on large pack-saddles, with our hands tied behind us, and our feet fastened under our horses' bellies. They likewise treated us every where we came, in the most cruel manner, and we every moment found we were in the hands of barbarians. On the 12th of April we arrived at Constantinople. They tied twelve christians' heads round my neck, and in that manner made me pass through the city, amidst the shouting and insults of the populace, the women even spitting in our faces. GEITZ."

On the 29th there arrived here one hundred and fifty Austrian prisoners, a number of colours, and thirty wag-gons filled with sabres, cuirasses, fusils, &c. These Austrian spoils were taken in the action which preceded the capture of the city of Mehadia. The Ottomans likewise took ten pieces of cannon, which they have kept in the camp.

Warsaw, Dec. 21.

A report is circulated since morning, that the emperor had accepted of the mediation of the court of Berlin towards bringing about a peace; nevertheless we learn, that the greatest preparations are making at Constantinople for another campaign, and

that the porte insists upon the repossession of the Crimea, at least that it shall be under the independent government of a prince of the Mahometan religion.

Verfailles, January 6.

The king having heard the report made to his council by the ministers of his finances, relative to the next convocation of the *etats generaux*, his majesty has adopted the principles and views thereof, and has ordered as follows:

1st. That the deputies of the next *etats generaux*, shall be at least in number one thousand.

2d. That this number shall be formed, as nearly as possible, in proportion to the population and taxes of each bailiage.

3d. That the number of deputies of the *tiers etat* shall be equal to those of the other two orders united; and that this proportion shall be ordained by the letters of convocation.

4th. That these preliminary decisions shall serve as a basis to the necessary labours, for preparing, without delay, the letters of convocation, as well as the other dispositions, which are to accompany them.

Lastly. That the report made to his majesty shall be printed at the foot of the present result.

Done at Versailles, the king being in his council, the 27th day of December, 1788.

London, January 1.

A letter from Venice, dated Dec. 18, says "A Spahi, arrived in a French frigate from Constantinople, with dispatches from the Ottoman Divan to the doge and senate, has had audience twice; and we now hear, that the differences with the Porte will be entirely made up; in consequence of which, our Squadron will be recalled from the Archipelago. It is said the grand seignior purchases this, by the distribution of a few purses among some members of the government."

Jan. 3. We are given to under-

stand from the most respectable authority, that the present administration will resign their places, as soon as the regency bill, and that for the guardianship of the king's person, have passed both houses of parliament. A new administration will then be immediately formed.

Jan. 11. A letter from Berlin says, "the convention with the court of London, which had for its object the restoring of peace in the north, is wholly at a stand, from the deranged state of the British government. Our letters from the envoy in England, are dated the 2d instant, at which time affairs were not in a condition to come to a speedy conclusion; every day more welcome accounts are expected."

Jan. 16. In a publication, which has lately made its appearance in Germany, and which has strong marks of authenticity, the loss of the imperialists during the last campaign is rated at ninety-five thousand men.

The obsequies of the late Spanish monarch, Charles the third, as celebrated in the Spanish ambassador's chapel, in York-street, St. James's, on Wednesday last, exhibited the most awful and striking scene of serious solemnity we can recollect. The walls, from the ceiling to the ground, the pillars and ballustrade of the galleries, were hung with black. In the middle of the chapel was erected a pompous canopy of state, under which lay a bier, covered with black velvet. A crown, made after the form of that worn by the Spanish monarchs, was placed at the foot of the bier; and at its head a large achievement or escutcheon, on which were painted the arms of Spain. A numerous variety of smaller escutcheons were hung around the chapel, blazoned with the arms of the different kingdoms and provinces of which Spain has laid claim since the foundation of that monarchy, and adorned with emblems allusive to the evolutions it underwent, from its conquest by the Goths, down to our days. The glittering escutcheons, interchangeably mixed with blazing wax tapers, darting their light on the sable hangings, in a place from which, in open day, the rays of the sun were excluded, gave the chapel the appearance of a sumptuous mausoleum, where burning lamps surround the

tombs of breathless monarchs, or rather of a starry firmament on a dark and serene night.

Jan. 23. A letter from Brussels says, "Measures of a very important nature are preparing in Hainault and Brabant. The emperor is determined to bring the inhabitants under subjection. The old form of government is to be suspended, and military law to be proclaimed throughout both countries on the 26th instant."

The troubles in Brittany increase. The clergy, and with them the noblesse, have sworn not to innovate their laws—of course, not to admit the tiers etat into the assembly of the states.

A letter from Paris, dated Jan. 6, says, "The revolution is almost completed. Mr. Neckar's report, tho' contrary to the majority of the notables, has been unanimously adopted by the king and his council. The states general will meet the 27th of April. They are to be composed of about one thousand deputies, five hundred of which will be commoners. Every district is to have an equal representation, fairly elected by the inhabitants. Our great patriotic parliaments keep themselves snug at home; they dare not hold up their heads. The people, and every man of sense and justice are with the king. May he live to reap the fruits of his victory."

"We are now to expect a general consolidation of the kingdom, an equal and easy land tax, the uniformity of custom-houses, and liberty of conscience. We shall try to render these new dishes palatable to our good friends, the parliaments."

Jan. 31. The emperor's war with the Turks, that unnecessary war, demands supplies.

The hope of those supplies was in Flanders; but between any hope and its accomplishment, the interval is vast. The Flemings, very properly, will not furnish a half schelling.

The emperor, therefore, has gone all lengths. He has demanded additional subsidies;—he has revoked the indemnity granted last year; he has reinforced Brussels, and other garrisons; and threatens to levy by force.

The spirit of party is again raising its head in Utrecht. The states have represented to their high mightinesses

that they cannot any longer pay their quota towards maintaining the Mecklenburg companies—but they have been answered, that if they persist in such resolution, they will have some troops sent among them; and the stadtholder has been requested to second this representation, and to use his good offices that the lords of Utrecht may settle the matter.

It is a fact, that American wheat is at this time selling in the Spanish markets at the high rate of eight shillings sterling the bushel. This is very extraordinary, as this grain will grow in almost any part of the world; it grows well not only in temperate climates, but in hot and cold ones; both Chili and Peru produce as large crops as any part of the world.

Jan. 31. The court of Lisbon have at length concluded their long depending treaty of commerce with the American states, by virtue of which the Portuguese are to take corn, &c. from the American vessels, for which the Americans are to receive the produce of Portugal in exchange; the Portuguese having restricted, by a particular article of the treaty, the American vessels from carrying any of the gold or silver current coin out of the kingdom of Portugal, as gold and silver in bars, or in any other shape than that of plate, in services, utensils, wearables and jewelry, &c. on pain of confiscation of the ships, cargo, &c. where such gold and silver may be discovered; as also the master and officers of the ships to be imprisoned in such cases, to answer before a tribunal at Lisbon or Oporto, the charges for any such breach of the treaty. Thus America is placed under greater restrictions than any other nations. A plain proof of the Portuguese jealousy.

Feb. 1. The number of ships arrived at Lisbon, in the course of 1788, is as follows:

Portuguese	283	Ragusers	6
English	351	Hamburghers	5
French	174	Imperial	3
Hollanders	89	Bremeners	3
Danish	57	Prussian	1
Swedes	34	Russian	1
Spanish	31	Danzicker	1
American	59		—
Venetian	11	Total	1109

Feb. 3. The states of Dauphiny (one of those provinces which acced-

ed to the government of France, on condition of preserving all their ancient laws, customs, and privileges) have agreed to renounce those rights, subject to the general administration of the kingdom, and send members to the states general, provided, however,

That the deputies of the third estate shall deliberate in one common chamber with the nobles and clergy; and not in a separate class.

That their speaker shall be admitted to deliver their opinions standing, and not as in the ancient assemblies, on his knees.

That the states general shall meet at stated periods, every two or three years, and that no tax shall be granted for any longer term than until the next meeting of the states.

That the liberty of the subject shall be secured against the abuses of the lettres de cachet.

That the press shall be free.

That a reform shall be made in the courts of justice, and the execution of the laws, in all matters either civil or criminal.

These conditions seem to meet the ideas of the nation in general, and it is expected the other privileged provinces will adopt them, and the states will be assembled as speedily as possible. At all events, the clerks are now employed in preparing the letters of convocation, and they will be dispatched to the different counties, towns, &c. in a few days.

A letter from Lemberg, dated December 27, says, The cold is so severe, that thirty seven persons have been frozen to death in our environs within three days.

Feb. 4. The corporation of the city of London will again move an address to the prince of Wales, not to change the faithful, able, and successful servants of the public, some time in the beginning of next week; and, if it be considered, that thirty-four of those who opposed the last motion, did so solely on the ground of its being premature, no one can doubt of the address being carried with what is called a high hand.

It is with the highest pleasure we assure the public, that his majesty has been for the last two days in a more composed state, and for a longer con-

tinuance than since the commencement of his malady. These symptoms have afforded the greatest consolation to the royal family. During the long interview with the queen on Saturday last, his majesty behaved with the greatest propriety and calmness, and the meeting appeared to have every desired effect.

Feb. 7. The following ships of the line are ordered to be built in his majesty's dock yards, the keels of which will be laid early in the spring, viz.

Ville de Paris,	110 guns,	Chatham,
Dreadnought,	98	Portsmouth,
Foudroyant,	80	Plymouth,
Centaar,	74	Woolwich,
Mars,	74	Deptford,
Fairy sloop,	16	Portsmouth,
Rattlesnake,	16	Chatham,
Martin,	16	Woolwich,
Porcupine,	16	Plymouth,
Serpent,	16	ditto.

The new king of Spain is making a thorough reform in his household, and likewise in all his expenses. Eighteen places have been suppressed in the kitchen, and a number of others in several departments. They call these people at Madrid, state rats, and say with some degree of naivete, that England is the proper place for them to flourish in.

It is the opinion of the attending faculty, and others about the royal person, that the signs of returning health grow daily more strong.

The czarina has written with her own hand a letter of four pages to the emperor, in which she communicates to him all the particulars of the capture of Oczakow. She has ordered a hundred thousand roubles to be distributed among the troops, who were concerned in taking that fortress, and has presented prince Potemkin with a sword set with brilliants, and with the insignia of the first order of St. George.

A very extraordinary contract is now going on with the board of admiralty. A mr. Robertson, at Greenock, in Scotland, who has a large house at Halifax, in America, has offered singly to supply with timber the whole navy of Great Britain.

A letter from Naples, dated December 30, says, "The Algerines still infest our seas, and have lately made some valuable captures, amongst which

we are informed is a French corvette from Marseilles to a market, three hundred quintals burden, with a rich cargo, likewise two ships loaded with corn, dried fish and oil, bound to Civita Vecchia; the two latter were taken by a corsair of thirty-six guns, in sight of one of the pope's men of war, and what is more remarkable, the infidels had the insolence to hoist a flag of defiance daring her to combat."

A letter from Cadiz, dated January 3, says, "The last accounts from Barbary mention, that the dey of Algiers has declared war against Denmark; they likewise mention that the quarrel between the emperor of Morocco and the dey is made up; it seems the emperor was obliged to pay a large sum of money down, besides all the expenses the dey was put to on account of the rupture."

The king of France has given up, in favour of liberty, two of the most dangerous prerogatives of the crown, namely, *lettres de cachet*, and the power of raising a revenue without the consent of the states. No *lettres de cachet* (or general warrant) are in future to be issued without special reasons, and these reasons are to be set forth in the warrant, and the legality to be ascertained and tried by the judges.

Feb. 16. Circular letters have been sent from the secretaries of state, to the different establishments, to announce the promising hopes of the king's recovery.

Feb. 17. Saturday arrived the mail from Flanders, but it brings no confirmation, nor even an account of the re-capture of Oczakow. The report was founded on an extract of a letter from Bareith, January 6, which states that the Russians, having left a very small garrison to protect Oczakow, (their principal force having retired to Elizabeth Gorod) the inhabitants and prisoners rose, and retook the place, after cutting the Russians to pieces.

A skirmish has happened at Rennes in Briannv, between the noblesse and the burghers, in which much blood was spilt, and three persons of distinction were killed on the spot. This skirmish was occasioned by some members of the two first orders dis-

resting the *marechausse* to disperse the populace, who were waiting to see them come out of the court house.

The siege of Oczakow produced one of the severest engagements that modern history can record; and though the Russians were successful, it may be said in the words of Shakspeare, to have been among those victories,

“For which the conquerors mourn’d
so many fell.”

The Russian troops consisted of twenty-five thousand, of which nearly fourteen thousand were destroyed.

The besieged most obstinately disputed the attack, and of the fourteen thousand in the town, ten thousand were slain.

It is impossible to describe the horror and agony that prevailed on both sides, the next morning, when the numbers of the dead were seen.

Feb. 18. The proceedings of yesterday in the house of lords fully demonstrate the authenticity of all our communications respecting his majesty’s progressive recovery, and it is from the same unquestionable authority we now pronounce, that in a few days, a public proclamation will announce the restoration of the royal capacity for the executive government.

This morning early, a messenger was sent off from the secretary of state’s office, to the marquis of Buckingham, lord lieutenant of Ireland, with instructions for immediately conveying to the parliament of that kingdom the happy event that has taken place in the restoration of his majesty’s health.

Feb. 26. Since the king’s happy recovery, business of all kinds in the several departments of office goes on with more spirit, from the best of all possible reasons, because with more certainty of the persons employed in business continuing in office. Hence the documents relative to the slave trade, the sale of the crown lands, &c. &c. are in a fair train of conclusion.

There appears to be this morning an entire cessation of his majesty’s illness.

Feb. 27. His majesty continues free from complaint.

Feb. 28. By his majesty’s command the physicians’ report is to be discontinued from this day.

American intelligence.

Kingston, March 7, 1789.

By a letter from St. Kitt’s, dated the 13th ult. information is received that the present year’s harvest of sugar, in that island, which was some time ago expected to yield about sixteen thousand hogheads, will not produce above one fourth part of that quantity, owing to the dismal ravages made among the canes by a most pernicious insect, called the borer.

Antigua, and most of the windward islands, have suffered materially, by the ravages of the borer; the former, it is thought, will not make more than twelve thousand hogheads of sugar. This fatal insect perforates the cane and, by working downwards, destroys the root. It is by no means a stranger to the windward islands; having for many years past proved exceedingly detrimental to the industrious planter. It most commonly appears in dry weather, and will desolate a considerable tract of cane-land, in the course of a few days.

Boston, March 25.

Wednesday last the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, was celebrated in the Roman catholic church, upon which occasion a great concourse of people assembled, and at which time the burial performance on the death of miss Mary Lob, age nine years, who departed this life last Sunday, was performed, after solemn vespers, a discourse and songs of litanies, and the benediction of the holy host; the functions of the burial were commenced with the usual prayers, psalms, &c. for a young person that had not lost her innocence. The coffin was painted white, and crowned with flowers and scented herbs; the chapel was beautifully illuminated round the corpse; after which the corpse was carried to the north burying ground, accompanied by the relations, the abbe, and the clergy of the catholic church.

Apr. 1. We have the pleasure to inform the public, from the authority of the comptroller-general’s books, that the increase of trade, throughout the commonwealth, for the three last years has been in a ratio beyond the expectations of the most sanguine, antecedent to this period.—The aggregate ex-

ports of the state in the year 1787, were nearly seven hundred thousand pounds currency, which was almost as much as they were in any year before the revolution—A complete account of our exports of '88, is not yet collected—we are induced to believe, however, that they are far greater than they were in the preceding year—in this town, the augmentation is very great, though we have reason to suppose, that it by no means exceeds the proportion of other seaports in the commonwealth—In 1787, our total exports from the port of Boston, were computed to be about three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, our imports about three hundred and ninety thousand pounds. The balance against the town twenty thousand pounds. In 1788, our exports were about four hundred and sixty thousand pounds, our imports about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Balance in our favour ten thousand pounds. The increase of trade, therefore, has been nearly a quarter, and the balance upon the whole in favour of the town; we presume that it will appear much more so in favour of the commonwealth, when the necessary accounts are collected, and the proper calculations made—If this has been the case, under all the disadvantages resulting from a want of power in the federal head, to regulate our commercial transactions, what may we not expect from a wise administration of a government, invested not only with the powers necessary for these important purposes, but for the peace, union, and safety, of the whole continent?

April 9. Monday last, agreeably to notification, the inhabitants of this town assembled at Faneuil-Hall, for the purpose of giving in their votes for governor and lieutenant governor, for the ensuing year. On closing the poll, it appeared that the numbers of votes given in, were as follow:

For governor.

His excell. J. Hancock, esq. 1265

Hon. James Bowdoin, esq. 569

For lieutenant governor.

Hon. Samuel Adams, esq. 1219

His honour general Lincoln, 617

Salem, April 7.

A letter from Marietta says, "the treaty is ended to the entire satisfac-

tion of all concerned. On this occasion, an elegant entertainment was provided. The Indian chiefs behaved with the greatest decorum throughout the day. After dinner, we were served with good wine; and Cornplanter, one of the first chiefs of the Five Nations, and a very great warrior, took up his glass, and said, "I thank the Great Spirit for this opportunity of smoking the pipe of friendship and love. May we plant our own vines—be the fathers of our own children—and maintain them."

"The Indians continue to declare that they have no objection to our settlement, and that we are a people much more acceptable to them, than any settlers with whom they have ever before been acquainted. I believe they feel strongly attached to us, and see it to be for their interest to cultivate our friendship."

"The progress of the settlement is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are slower than we can possibly provide convenient coverings. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles, as any I have ever seen in the old states. I mention this, to shew the progress of society in this new world, where I believe we shall vie with, if not excel, the old states, in every accomplishment, necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

April 14. It is an agreeable circumstance, that at the court of general sessions of the peace held at Ipswich on Tuesday last, no bill was found by the grand jury against any person, and no criminal case came before the court.

New York, March 26.

Advices from the Spanish colony of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, inform us, that governor Don Mero has granted permission to the inhabitants of the western counties of North Carolina, that border on that river, to trade thereon, even down to New Orleans.

April 5. A letter from Edenton, (N. C.) dated Feb. 17, says, "Scarcely a person within an hundred miles of the sea is opposed to the new federal government. The oppo-

sition arises entirely from the people in the back settlements. The governor is a staunch federalist, and has the success of the new government much at heart. I suppose you need not be reminded—that, at the last session of the assembly, a resolution passed for the election of members to meet in convention at Fayetteville, next November, for the purpose of again deliberating on the federal government. The inhabitants are apprehensive that the proceedings of the new congress will militate against the interests of this state, except it joins the union, which apprehensions, I doubt not, will have a happy tendency to promote an union with the other states.”

April 25. On Thursday about two o'clock, arrived in town, the most illustrious George Washington, president of the united states. His excellency slept at Woodbridge on Wednesday night, and on Thursday morning arrived at mr. Boudinot's, where he breakfasted, along with the gentlemen composing the committee, appointed by congress, &c. &c. About twelve o'clock he was conducted on board of the barge prepared for his reception, the beauty of which met with his highest approbation; he was rowed across the bay by thirteen skilful pilots, Thomas Randall, esq. acting as cockswain. His excellency's barge was accompanied by a barge containing the heads of the great departments of the united states, viz. the honourable board of treasury, the minister for foreign affairs, and the secretary at war.

There never, perhaps, was a scene in which more universal pleasure appeared than on his approaching the battery and Murray's wharf. The Spanish packet, which lay with her colours only displayed to salute him as he passed, on firing of a gun, displayed, in a moment, every flag known in foreign nations. The ship *North Carolina*, belonging to Arnold H. Dohrman, esq. was decorated in like manner, and all the vessels in the harbour had their flags flying. On the barge's passing the packet, she fired a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by the same number from the battery. After which she advanced to the stairs erected and decorated at the bottom of Wall-street, for his

excellency's reception. His landing, without doubt, was beyond description; universal joy diffused itself through every order of the beholders; there was no contest in rank—the only thing in which they tried to succeed, was, who could appear the most pleased. It was remarked of a venerable old gentleman nigh the place of landing, that, on the approach of the barge, he expressed himself nearly as follows: “I beheld him when he commanded the American army; I saw him at the conclusion of the peace, retiring to his primeval habitation; and now I behold him returning to take the chair of presidency. I have now no other wish, but that he may die as he lived, *the beloved of his country.*”

Charleston (S. C.) March 27.

The foreign debt of this state amounts to nearly one hundred thousand pounds, which, it is calculated, may be entirely extinguished in ten years, from the productive funds now appropriated by law, for that purpose. Only one gentleman, now in this city, attorney for two foreign creditors, whose demands are about fifteen thousand pounds, has agreed to wait ten years, but as this state pays a very high interest for money, and a certain transfer can be made of the principal, the securities will, without doubt, find a ready sale at the exchange of Amsterdam, whenever the instrument for paying principal and interest is known there.

Richmond, April 8.

A letter from Danville, dated March 9, 1789, says, “you are doubtless informed of a treaty having taken place between the commissioners from congress and the several northern tribes of Indians. We have, notwithstanding, experienced no good effects from it; they have made several incursions on our frontiers since the treaty, and stolen a number of horses; a few days past, a party was followed by colonel Johnson, who, after a pursuit of above forty miles, overtook them, and killed one of the Indians, wounded several, and regained near thirty horses; by the dress, &c. they appeared to be some of those who were in friendship with the late settlers on the northwest side of the Ohio.

"The Indians have committed several murders at the settlement of Cumberland lately, and the inhabitants there seem fearful of the hostile intention of the southern nations."

George town, April 16.

A letter from New Orleans, dated Feb. 16, 1789, says, "an unfortunate event has lately taken place in this part of the world, which probably may break the late established harmony between the Spaniards and our states. You have, no doubt, been informed of the port of New Orleans being opened to our countrymen settled on the western waters; in consequence of which, the Mississippi has been covered with fleets of boats from Cumberland, Kentucke, &c. floating down great quantities of provision, flour, plank, &c. which, on account of the distressed situation the inhabitants were reduced to, by the late fire, have been disposed of to great advantage.

"The last transport (as we are informed here) arrived from Cumberland settlements, at the Natches*, about six weeks ago, owned by colonel Armstrong, consisting of six large boats, manned by thirty hands. The garrison standing in need of provisions, though not willing to pay the price which was demanded, the commandant refused to grant them the necessary passport† to proceed to New-Orleans; our people, however, disposed of their cargoes to some Americans settled at the Natches, and were on their return home, when the commandant of the fort sent an officer with fifty Spanish soldiers after them, to arrest colonel Armstrong, and bring him to the fort: the colonel refused to obey the order of the Spanish commandant: told the officer, that, as an American, and within the lines of the territory of the united states, he was subject to no controul of any power on the face of the earth, except that of the laws of

his country; he begged the officer to desist from any act of violence, as such would be accompanied with the most serious and fatal consequences.

"The officer still persisting to execute his orders, and one of the Spanish soldiers imprudently presenting his musket at the colonel's breast, the Americans took to their rifles, the Spaniards firing first. An engagement followed; and the twenty-four Cumberlanders made the Spaniards take to their heels, leaving five killed and twelve wounded on the field of battle; the officer being amongst the dead.

"This affair has made a great noise in this place, and exposes those few of our countrymen now residing here, to the malice of the Spaniards; they have given our countrymen the name of Blanco Savage‡, owing to some of colonel Armstrong's men handling the tomahawk pretty freely in the late engagement."

Baltimore, April 21.

The president of the united states arrived in this place on his way to congress, on Friday afternoon, the 17th instant, with Charles Thomson, esq. and colonel Humphries. This great man was met some miles from town, by a large body of respectable citizens on horseback, and conducted under a discharge of cannon, to mr. Grant's tavern, through crowds of admiring spectators. At six o'clock, a committee, chosen in consequence of a late notification, to adjust the preliminaries for his reception, waited upon him with an address. A great number of the citizens were presented to him, and very graciously received. Having arrived too late for a public dinner, he accepted an invitation to supper, from which he retired a little after ten o'clock. The next morning he was in his carriage at half past five o'clock, when he left town, under a discharge of cannon, and attended as on his entrance, by a body of the citizens on horseback. These gentlemen accompanied him seven miles, when, alighting from his carriage, he would not permit them to proceed any further; but took leave of them, after thank-

NOTES.

* A fort still in possession of the Spaniards on the Mississippi, within the limits of Georgia.

† No American boat is permitted to go to New-Orleans, without entering at the fort, and producing a passport.

NOTE.

‡ White savage.

ing them in an affectionate obliging manner for their politeness. We shall only add on this occasion, that those who had often seen him before, and those who never had, were equally anxious to see him. Such is the rare impression excited by his uncommon character and virtues.



Brief sketch of the most interesting of the proceedings of congress.

Monday, April 6, 1789.

A QUORUM of both houses met, and on counting the votes for president and vice president, they appeared to be

For president :

His excell. gen. Washington 69

For vice president :

Hon. John Adams 34

John Jay 9

R. R. Hanson 6

John Rutledge 6

John Hancock 4

George Clinton 3

Samuel Huntington 2

John Milton 2

James Armstrong 1

Edward Telfair 1

Benjamin Lincoln 1

Upon which his excellency George Washington, esq. was announced president, and the honourable John Adams, esq. vice president of the united states. This important business being completed, the legislature of the united states, is thus arranged, viz.

George Washington, president.

John Adams, vice president.

Senators.

New Hampshire. John Langdon and Pa'ne Wingate.

Massachusetts. Caleb Strong and Tristram Dalton.

Connecticut. William S. Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth.

New Jersey. William Paterson and John Elmer.

Pennsylvania. Robert Morris and William Maclay.

Delaware. George Reed and Richard Bassett.

Maryland. Charles Carroll and John Henry.

Virginia. Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson.

South Carolina. Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard.

Georgia. William Few and — Gun.

Representatives.

New Hampshire. Benjamin West, S. Livermore, and Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts. Fisher Ames, Geo. Partridge, George Thacher, George Leonard, Elbridge Gerry, Benjamin Goodhue, Jonathan Groat.

Connecticut. Jonathan Sturges, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Huntington, Jonathan Trumbull, Jeremiah Wadsworth.

New York. John Lawrence, Egbert Benson, William Floyd, John Hathorn, Peter Sylvester, Jeremiah Van Renselaer.

New Jersey. Elias Boudinot, James Schureman, Thomas Sinnickson, Lambert Cadwallader.

Pennsylvania. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Henry Wynkoop, Thomas Hartley, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Peter Muhlenberg, Daniel Heister, Thomas Scott.

Delaware. John Vining.

Maryland. Joshua Seney, Daniel Carroll, Benj. Contee, George Gale, William Smith, Michael J. Stone.

Virginia. James Madison, Josiah Parker, Richard B. Lee, Theodorick Bland, Isaac Coles, Alex. White, John Page, Andrew Moore, Samuel Griffin.

South Carolina. General Sumpter, Edanus Burke, Thomas T. Tucker, D. Huger, William Smith.

Georgia. Abraham Baldwin, James Jackson, George Matthews.

April 8.

HOUSE in COMMITTEE on the state of the UNION.

Mr. Madison, after a few introductory observations on the great subjects of finance, and the deficiencies of the federal treasury, suggested the necessity of immediately adopting some measures upon the subject of national revenue. With this object in view, he produced a resolve, specifying certain articles upon which an impost was proposed to be laid. The plan was similar to that recommended by congress in 1783—

The articles enumerated in this resolve were spiritous liquors—wines—teas—pepper—sugars—cocoa—and coffee. A tonnage duty was also proposed in it. Adjourned.

April 9.

HOUSE in COMMITTEE on the state of the UNION.

Mr. Lawrence observed, that the immediate necessity of a public revenue, to answer the exigencies of the union, was universally acknowledged, and the mode of raising it by impost was generally supposed to be the best; but as the resolve, at present proposed, was designed as a temporary measure, and, as it was requisite that some system should be speedily adopted, so as to embrace the advantages that would result from dutying the spring importations, it appeared to him the most eligible plan to adopt a general idea with respect to impost, and lay a *procentum, ad valorem*, on articles indiscriminately, in preference to specifying particulars at various rates.

Mr. Fitzsimons differed widely from the honourable gentleman from New York, respecting the mode of obtaining revenue. He conceived that if every particular article was enumerated and charged, the amount could be more certainly relied on, the collection insured, and the less left to the discretion of the officers employed in the business. He had also in contemplation to encourage domestic manufactures by protecting duties—wherefore he should move to amend the proposition made by Mr. Madison yesterday, by adding an additional number of articles, *viz.*

Beer, porter, beef, pork, butter, candles of tallow, wax, and spermaceti, cheese, soap, cyder, boots, unwrought steel, cables, tarred cordage, and untarred do. twine, malt, nails, spikes, salt, manufactured tobacco, snuff, blank books, writing, printing, and wrapping paper, pasteboard, cabinet ware, leather, hats, millenary, callings of iron or steel, roll and plate iron, leather tanned, and all manufactured do. shoes, slippers, and galloshoes, coaches, chariots, chaises, sofas, and all four and two wheel carriages, nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, raisins, figs, currants, and almonds.

Col. White was of opinion, that enumerating these articles would make the system too complex, and occasion so much delay, that more revenue might be lost by procrastination, than could be gained by additional duties, as the spring importation was daily escaping them.

Mr. Tucker wished the subject to be delayed, until a fuller representa-

tion took place in congress, because it was of great importance to have the thing well done—he enforced the necessity of due deliberation, by a variety of arguments, especially by stating the several interests of the eastern, middle, and southern states, in the article of tonnage—he concluded by declaring, he should call for a division of the house, if the gentleman persisted in pressing the measure forward at this time.

Mr. Hartley replied to Mr. Tucker, and expressed a strong desire to preserve unanimity; he stated that the committee could not conceive themselves bound to support the amendment, by voting for it on this occasion. No, it was only intended to give gentlemen an opportunity of considering the subject more maturely: the business would present itself in several shapes before them, before it was finally settled upon, and might until then be open for discussion.

Mr. Madison said that with respect to the resolve before the committee, his design was to have proposed a temporary system; he however perceived gentlemen were much divided—he conceived that very powerful motives existed, to induce the adoption of a plan that should come into immediate operation, and agreed with Mr. Fitzsimons, that to lay specific duties, on particular articles, was the most eligible mode of raising an impost. He remarked that some of the articles proposed, had reference to the encouragement of our own manufactures. How far the committee was prepared to determine upon this part of the business, he could not say, but he considered it as a business that ought to be deferred for the present.

Mr. Boudinot asked why the article of glass was not included, as there are several manufactories of that article already established in this country?

Adjourned.

Friday, April 10.

The house met and adjourned without doing business.

Saturday, April 11.

A petition from the tradesmen, manufacturers, and others, of the town of Baltimore, was presented by Mr. Smith, and referred to the committee of the whole house.

The house in committee on the state of the union.

Mr. Goodhue moved, that an addition to the list of articles already enumerated in the resolve, might be made by the following, viz. anchors, wool-cards, wrought tin-ware, limes, and lemons—which was done.

Colonel Bland moved, that the sense of the committee should be taken whether the system should be temporary or permanent.

Mr. Thatcher observed, that it was impossible to determine with accuracy, as to the duration of a system, before it was formed—when once completed, the house could give as long or as short a period for operation, as should appear most eligible. Should the system appear to be good, no person would wish it a temporary existence: should it not prove salutary, no assigned date for its termination would warrant its being continued beyond experience of its beneficial effects. He was therefore for leaving the period to an after consideration.

Mr. Boudinot was in favour of a temporary system; as otherwise the bill to be framed must go to making provision for the collection of the duties, as also to a continental judicial system, an object of such magnitude as would preclude any decisive measures till such time as will entirely disappoint all our expectations of the immediate advantages that would result from a temporary system, which, he observed, might be matured in two or three days.

Mr. Madison, Mr. Lee, and other gentlemen, spoke upon the motion, which was finally withdrawn.

Mr. Madison then brought forward a motion to this effect—that it is the opinion of this committee, that a committee of the house ought to be appointed to prepare a draught of a bill to regulate the collection of duties on imposts and tonnage within the united states. This motion was adopted, and the committee appointed, consisting of a member from each state.

MONDAY, April 13, 1789.

Mr. Burke presented a petition from the shipwrights of South Carolina, praying the attention of congress to their situation, and that a navigation act might be passed in favour

of American vessels—this was referred to a committee of the whole.

TUESDAY, April 14, 1789.

THE house in committee on the state of the union.

Mr. Bland, after adverting to a temporary system, as the most eligible, enforced the idea upon the impropriety of taxing several articles in the resolve which were absolutely essential to the tools made use of by our manufacturers; and in order that congress might have time, properly to discriminate between the articles, and form a complete and permanent system, he introduced a motion to this effect, that congress pass a law; authorizing and establishing the collection of impost through the states, agreeably to the revenue laws extant in the several governments, and that the officers be subject to the same regulations and penalties.

Mr. Boudinot seconded the motion of Mr. Bland.

Mr. Madison objected to its introduction, as not being in order.

Colonel Bland observed, that the present object of the committee, a permanent system, would, in all probability, subject the states to the loss of two or three hundred thousand pounds.

The chairman observing that he considered the motion as not in order, it was withdrawn by Mr. Bland.

Mr. Lawrence, upon the subject of filling up the blanks, proposed twelve cents to fill that annexed to distilled spirits, Jamaica proof: he observed, that low duties would be more certainly collected, as experience had verified, that high duties held out powerful temptations to smuggling—rendered a more vigorous mode of collection necessary, which again was proportionably expensive, and eventually diminished the produce of the revenue.

Mr. Fitzsimons was in favour of 15 cents.

Mr. Madison proposed 10 cents.

Mr. Boudinot 15, which was finally voted, and 12 cents per gallon on all other spirits.

Upon the article of melasses, Mr. Lawrence proposed two cents per gallon.

Mr. Maddison eight cents per gallon.

Mr. Lawrence observed, that two cents were, in his opinion, quite high enough, considering the prime cost of that article, and its being a raw material, the basis of an extensive manufacture.

Mr. Madison continued, however, in favour of eight cents, and made some allusions to the pernicious effects resulting from the use of spiritous liquors: he reprobated the idea of a draw-back, as opening a door to various species of fraud.

Mr. Fitzsimons was also in favour of eight cents—upon similar principles.

Mr. Goodhue was totally opposed to so high a duty, which amounted to nearly fifty *per cent.*—He observed, that the importation of melasses was an important branch of commerce, and principally to the eastern states; that independent of its being a great article of manufacture, it was used by many persons as a necessary of life, being a substitute for sugar, and mixed with water, for beer: that so high a duty would operate injuriously towards a very numerous class of people; besides being attended with the most pernicious consequences to the navigation and fishery of the eastern states.

Mr. Madison observed, that if the duty was to be complained of, where melasses was used in lieu of sugar, the duty on sugar would be a counterbalance to it.

Mr. Clymer, in support of an high duty, insisted on the good policy of discouraging the use of spiritous and encouraging that of malt liquors.

Mr. Ames combated the laying so high a duty, as it was beyond the ratio that gentlemen could possibly think eligible as a general idea—as it operated as a tax upon a raw material, which proved to some of the states a very important branch of manufactures—as it would strike a mortal blow to this manufacture, prove highly injurious to the eastern fisheries and to their navigation, which was very extensively employed by this business: melasses was a mere refuse article in the islands, though valuable to us; the refuse of our fish and lumber were the great remittances for it; when imported and manufactured, from the cheapness at which it could be afforded, it forced a sale even in the Bri-

tish islands. It was the ostensible design of gentlemen to raise a revenue—this excessive duty would annihilate an extensive source of revenue: it would prove suddenly destructive to great property appropriated to that business, and effectually destroy a very important manufacture; for these reasons, and many others, he was decidedly opposed to so high a duty.

Mr. Madison proposed to amend his motion by making the duty seven cents.

Mr. Partridge, mr. Bondinot, and mr. Fitzsimons severally spoke upon the subject—when the vote being called for, the duty on melasses was laid at six cents *per gallon.*

On Madeira wine, thirty-three cents and one-third *per gallon.*

On all other wines, twenty cents *per gallon.*

On brown sugar, one cent *per lb.*

On loaf sugar, three cents *per lb.*

On all other sugars, one cent and one-half *per lb.*

On coffee, two cents and one-half *per lb.*

The committee then rose, the speaker resumed the chair, and the house adjourned.

Wednesday. April 15.

Mr. Tucker presented a petition from dr. Ramsey, requesting the house to secure to him a copy-right for his publication of the history of the revolution of South Carolina. A committee was appointed to report a bill on general principles.

Mr. Sherman presented a petition from John Churchman, on the subject of longitude; which was referred to the committee just appointed on dr. Ramsey's petition.

Mr. Tucker presented a memorial from dr. Ramsey, against the honourable mr. Smith, whom he attempts therein to prove unqualified for a seat in the house of representatives, inasmuch as he resided from the time he was twelve years of age, until he was twenty-six, in Europe, and did not return to South Carolina, till 1783. From which he infers, that the honourable mr. Smith has not been seven years a citizen of the united states; without which qualification, he cannot be a member of the lower house of congress.

Ordered, that this memorial be re-

ferred to the committee on elections.

The house in committee on the state of the union.

They agreed to an impost

On cocoa, of	1 cent. per lb.
On beer, ale & porter, imported in casks,	8 cents per gal.
On ditto, in bottles,	24 cents per doz.
On tallow candles,	2 cents per lb.
On wax ditto,	6 ditto ditto.
On cheese,	4 ditto ditto.
On soap,	2 ditto ditto.
On boots,	50 dit. per pair.
On shoes, slippers and galloshoes,	10 ditto ditto.
On unwrought steel,	56 cents per 112 lb.

This article caused a lengthy and interesting debate, it being contended on the one hand, proper to encourage the growing manufacture of that article, and opposed on the other, as a tax on agriculture and all mechanic arts, in which steel tools, &c. were necessary.

On nails,	50 cents per 112 lb.
On tarred cordage,	50 cents per ditto.
On untarred ditto,	60 cents per ditto.
On twine and pack- thread,	1 dollar per ditto.

And after this was it agreed to add an additional impost on hemp; but some gentlemen wished to proceed no further, until they made up their minds as to the quantum; whereupon the committee rose and reported.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY April 16, 1789.

THE house in a committee on the state of the union.

The committee resumed the consideration of the resolve, for laying an impost.

Mr. Gilman moved, to have the article of hemp struck out of the enumeration.

Mr. Hartley observed, that there appeared to him an inconsistency in the proceedings on this business. The committee had just resolved, that a duty should be laid on cables and cordage, and it was now proposed to tax the principal material of that manufacture. If the object was to protect the manufactures of this country, it was absurd to discourage the importation of raw materials essential to those manufactures. It was, indeed, of importance to encourage American productions, but was it of higher

importance than ship-building? It was the opinion of many, that there would be a great demand for shipping in the states. It was the policy of all manufacturing countries to encourage the importation of raw materials. To lay a duty on hemp would be giving a fatal blow to the manufacture of cordage. He was of opinion, for these reasons, that it ought only to suffer a duty of five per cent. with the mass of articles not enumerated.

Mr. Moore thought it incumbent on the committee to encourage manufactures to a certain degree, but he had no idea of sacrificing the agricultural interest. It would be difficult to persuade a farmer, that the manufacture of every particular article, should be promoted, while he could obtain them cheaper from a foreign country. He thought, that forcing manufactures was injuring the agricultural interest. He conceived it not only the interest of the state he represented, but of every part of America, to encourage the raising of hemp. At this time, when the great staple of the southern states had fallen in value, and the planter was at a loss what course to pursue, if he were advised that the general government would encourage the raising of hemp, he would engage in it with vigour, and render essential service to the country. But if he was not encouraged, he would apply himself to some other branch, by no means so profitable. It appeared to him, that the system before the committee had it too much in view to promote certain manufactures, to the neglect of agriculture. He concluded with hoping that the article would not be struck out.

Mr. Heister observed, that the hemp of this season was already sown, so that the farmer would not profit by any encouragement this year. He did not, therefore, wish to render the duty heavy at present; it might be proper in a year or two to increase it.

Mr. White opposed the motion for striking out the article, and was rather for filling it up with a large sum. Agriculture ought, he said, to be the principal object in this country. To this point the attention of government should be directed; and as hemp was a plant congenial with the nature of our soil, and might be raised abundantly

dantly in the interior country, it deserved encouragement. He moved that the blank be filled up with seventy-five cents.

Mr. Partridge on the other hand contended, that a tax on hemp would operate against ship-building, and consequently be detrimental to the fisheries.

Mr. Lawrence imagined that the article of hemp was not raised at present in sufficient quantities to warrant any extraordinary duties, which might in the end operate as a prohibition. If he was justly informed, cordage could now be imported, nearly as cheap as hemp. If the duty on hemp was higher than that on cordage, it would be the interest of merchants to import the latter, to the discouragement of its manufacture here.

Mr. Scott observed, that commerce and agriculture were inseparably connected, and that nothing commercial ought to be adopted which would injure agriculture, on which it so essentially depended. He disapproved of the immoderate zeal in favour of manufactures.

Mr. Boudinot moved for fifty cents.

The question on fifty cents, being put, was carried. The committee then resolved to impose ten cents per bushel on malt, six cents per bushel on barley, one dollar per hoghead on lime, and one cent per pound on nails and spikes.

The article of salt was next considered.

Mr. Burke moved to strike it out. It was a necessary of life, and a tax on it in any state, was ever considered as oppressive; but particularly in the southern states, it would be insupportable. In those states, the raising of stock was a capital object, and great importation of salt was necessary. The people in the interior parts, were obliged to transport their salt by land, three or four hundred miles, and it was there sold for seven or eight shillings per bushel.

Mr. Lawrence was of a different opinion. He thought it no argument that a duty should not be laid on salt, because it bore a high price in some particular parts of the union. He moved to fill up the blank with six cents.

Mr. Tucker said, a duty on salt

was the most oppressive tax that could be imposed. Salt being a necessary of life, its consumption was indispensable both by the rich and the poor. It operated more odiously than a poll-tax, for it fell heavier on the poor than on the rich.

Mr. Scott was for striking out the article. He was sensible it would be productive, but he considered the tax to be unjust. He feared, that if it were once imposed, it would be generally odious, and would have a tendency to shake the foundation of the people's confidence in the new government, which he believed to be the anchor of our political salvation.

Mr. Moore and Mr. Smith opposed the duty, and thought it would make a dangerous impression upon the people.

The further consideration of this article was postponed till to-morrow.

The committee rose, and the house adjourned.

FRIDAY, April 17, 1789.

THE house in a committee on the state of the union.

The article of salt recurring for consideration, Mr. Lawrence supported the propriety of laying a duty on this article by its equality, being an object of universal consumption, and from the certainty there was of its collection.

Mr. Moore was opposed to it, because he thought it unequal. He was of opinion, that the interior parts, where cattle were raised in greater abundance, paid proportionably more than the inhabitants of the sea coasts, whose productions were of another nature.

Mr. Madison observed, that if the fact, which his colleague assumed, was admitted, yet the tax did not operate unequally, because it was to be considered as only part of a system, the whole of which was intended to bear equally upon all. If the inhabitants of the interior country paid a greater proportion of the duty on salt, than those on the coast of the Atlantic; yet they paid less on every other article on which impost was laid; they consumed less wine, coffee, tea and sugar; hence, though an inequality appeared by viewing this article alone, yet it was fully equalized by the operation of the whole system.

Mr. Scott and Mr. White hoped the article would be struck out, as they looked upon it to be an odious tax, partaking too much of the nature of a capitation tax.

Mr. Fitzsimons thought with Mr. Madison, that it was an equal tax, when considered as only part of a system, and he went to shew that it could not be oppressive, for, on an average, no family consumed more than five bushels, which, at six cents, would be less than one-third of a dollar.

The question was at length put on striking out salt, and lost, being ayes nineteen, noes twenty-one.

After this, the blank for the duty was filled up with six cents per bushel.

Manufactured tobacco, six cents per lb.

Snuff ten cents per lb.

Window-glass, and all other glass, ten *per cent. ad valorem*.

Upon all blank books, writing, printing and wrapping paper, paste-board, cabinet ware, buttons of metal, saddles, gloves of leather, hats of beaver, fur, wool, or mixture of either, military, castings of iron, slit or rolled iron; leather, tanned or tawed, &c. manufactures of leather, (except such as are otherwise rated herein) seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

Upon every coach, chariot, and other four wheel carriage, chair, solo, or other two wheel carriage, fifteen *per cent.* on the value.

Several other articles were proposed, of which the following were accepted; ready made clothes, gold, silver, and plated wares, jewellery and paste wares, which were charged seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

The committee rose, and reported, and then the house adjourned till tomorrow.

SATURDAY, April 18, 1789.

Mr. Lawrence introduced a petition from the mechanics, and manufacturers of the city of New York, praying the attention of congress to their interests—referred to a committee of the whole.

THE house in committee on the state of the union.

An impost was voted upon the following articles, viz.

On anchors, seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

Wool cards, fifty cents *pr. dozen*.
Wrought tin ware, seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

Coal, three cents, *pr. bushel*.

Every barrel salmon, seventy-five cents, do. mackarel, do. shad, quintal fish, fifty cents.

Teas imported directly from India or China, in American ships.

Bohea tea, six cents *pr. lb.*

Souchong and black do. ten cents.

Superior green do. twenty cents.

All other green do. twelve cents.

Teas imported from any other country, or in foreign ships from India or China.

Bohea tea, *pr. lb.* eight cents.

Souchong and black do. fifteen cents.

Superior green do. thirty cents.

All other green do. eight cents.

Some of the above articles, it was proposed by particular members, should be struck out, for reasons which had been assigned to have other articles expunged. Wool cards were objected to—but the members from the eastward satisfied the committee, that the American manufacture of that article was carried to great perfection, and there was no doubt but such a supply could be obtained, of every species of cards, made in a superior manner, as was more than adequate to the consumption of the states.

One gentleman observed, that he supposed the preference given to teas imported in American vessels, was to encourage our shipping. So far as the measure conducted to that object, he was satisfied, and he was ready to hear arguments in favour of the trade to India—the advantages of which were doubted by some persons. The trade, it was observed, was flattering to the pride of America—but it was not for revenue—it was not for necessities—not to export superfluities—but to export the specie of our country, &c.

To these remarks it was replied, that since the revolution, the trade to India had commenced; that it had been prosecuted to advantage, and was an extensive mart for a great variety of our superfluous articles—that from our local situation, we were enabled to prosecute the trade with many advantages—that it was evident, that our success had excited the jealousy of European powers, who would avail

themselves of every circumstance to ruin our speculations to that quarter of the world—that therefore it was the duty of the national legislature, to hold out every possible encouragement, to counteract the machinations of our rivals, and prevent the ruin of the trade.

It was further observed, that cash was not the only remittance to India—that immense quantities of produce were shipped, ginseng, lumber, provisions, &c. &c.

Some objections were made to a tax on coal, but this duty was advocated from the policy of the measure, as conducing to the promotion of navigation, increase of seamen, and exploring the earth in search of additional mines—for it was highly probable, that the country abounded in that article. Adjourned.

(To be continued monthly.)
Philadelphia.

April 18. An election held at the state house, on Tuesday, the 7th inst. for fifteen persons, to serve as aldermen for the city of Philadelphia, for the term of seven years. the following gentlemen were chosen, viz.

Samuel Miles,	Gunning Bedford,
Hillary Baker,	John Baker,
Samuel Powell,	Reynold Keen,
Wm. Collday,	John Nixon,
Joseph Swift,	Joseph Ball,
John Barclay,	George Roberts,
Fran. Hopkinson,	John M. Nesbit.
Mat. Clarkson,	

Samuel Powell, esq. is elected mayor, and Alexander Wilcox, esq. Recorder, of the city of Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen were on Tuesday, the 14th instant, elected common council-men for this city, viz.

Benjamin Chew,	Henry Drinker,
James Pemberton,	Nath. Falconer,
George Latimer,	Jacob Schriener,
Miers Fisher,	Ed. Pennington,
John Wood,	Frederick Kuhl,
David Evans,	Isaac Wharton,
John Craig,	Thomas Morris,
James Whiteall,	Jared Ingersoll,
John Morton,	Wm. Van Phil,
John Wharton,	John Kaign.
George Meade,	Israel Whelen,
John D. Cox,	John Stille,
Andrew Tybout,	Robert Smith,
William Wells,	John Dunlap,
Thomas Bartow,	William Hall,

April 21. A letter from a gentle-

man in this city to his friend in the country, dated the 22d inst. says, "I know you are anxious to hear the particulars of our late procession on the arrival of the president general. Being myself one of the *dramatis personae*, I shall give you a short detail of it, as well as my memory will serve.

"On the 19th instant, his excellency Thomas Mifflin, esq. president of the state, the honourable Richard Peters, esq. speaker of our legislature, and the old city troop of horse, commanded by colonel Miles, proceeded as far as the line between this state and that of Delaware, under the pleasing expectation of meeting our beloved WASHINGTON, president general of the united states; we were, however, disappointed, as he did not arrive at the line till early the next morning, when we were joined by another troop from the city, commanded by captain Bingham. After paying him the tribute of military honour due to his rank and exalted character, by proper salutes and otherwise, we escorted him into Chester, where we breakfasted, and rested perhaps a couple of hours.

"This great and worthy man, finding he could not possibly elude the parade which necessarily must attend manifestations of joy and affection, when displayed by a grateful people, to their patriot benefactor, ordered his carriages into the rear of the whole line, and mounted an elegant horse, accompanied by the venerable patriot Charles Thomson, esq. and his former aid-de-camp, the celebrated colonel Humphrie: both of whom were also on horseback.

"On our way to the city, we were joined by detachments from the Chester and Philadelphia troops of horse, commanded by captains M^r Dowel and Thompson, and also by a number of respectable citizens, at whose head was the worthy citizen and soldier, his excellency Arthur St. Clair, esq. governor of the western territory. Thus we proceeded to mess. Gray's bridge, on Schuylkill: observing the strictest order and regularity during the march. But here such a scene presented itself, that even the pencil of a Raphael could not delineate.

"The bridge was highly decorated

with laurel and other evergreens, by mess. Gray, the ingenious mr. Peale, and others, and in such a style, as to display uncommon taste in these gentlemen. At each end there were erected magnificent arches, composed of laurel, emblematical of the ancient triumphal arches, used by the Romans, and on each side of the bridge, a laurel shrubbery, which seemed to challenge even nature herself, for simplicity, ease, and elegance. And as our beloved WASHINGTON passed the bridge, a lad beautifully ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by certain machinery, let drop, above the hero's head, unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. There was also a very elegant display of variegated flags on each side the bridge, as well as other places, which alternately caught the eye, and filled the spectator's soul with admiration and delight.

"But who can describe the heartfelt congratulations of more than twenty thousand free citizens, who lined every fence, field, and avenue between the bridge and city? The aged sire, the venerable matron, the blooming virgin, and the ruddy youth, were all emulous in their plaudits—nay the lisping infant did not withhold its innocent smile of praise and approbation.

"In short all classes and descriptions of citizens discovered (and they felt what they discovered) the most undisguised attachment and unbounded zeal for their dear chief, and I may add, under God, the Saviour of their country. Not all the pomp of majesty, not even imperial dignity itself, surrounded with its usual splendor and magnificence, could equal this interesting scene.

"On approaching near the city, our illustrious chief was highly gratified with a further military display of infantry, commanded by captain James Rees, and artillery, commanded by captain Jeremiah Fisher, two active and able officers; and here I must not omit to give due praise to that worthy veteran, major Fullerton, for his zeal, activity, and good conduct on this occasion.

"These corps joined in the procession, and thousands of freemen, whose hearts burned with patriotic fire, also

fell into the ranks almost every square we marched, until the column swelled beyond credibility itself; and having conducted the man of our hearts to the city tavern, he was introduced to a very grand and plentiful banquet which was prepared for him by the citizens. At dinner, thirteen patriotic toasts were drank. The pleasure and festivity of the day being over they were succeeded by a handsome display of fire-works in the evening thus I have given you a faint idea of this glorious procession, and of the universal joy which inspired every heart upon this interesting, this important occasion."



MARRIED.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Boston. Captain Ephraim Wale to miss Betsey Trott.

At Lexington. Rev. Henry Wear to miss Polly Clark.

NEW JERSEY.

In Burlington. Mr. William Cox to miss Rachel Smith.

DELAWARE.

At Christiana bridge. Mr. John Hannah to mrs. Mary M'Dowell.

In Newcastle. Robert Milligan esq. to miss Sally Jones—Mr. Charles Divin to mrs. Justis.

In Kent county. Mr. Jeremiah Beauchamp to mrs. Mary Downham

MARYLAND.

In Baltimore. Captain Richard Johns to miss Polly Luce.

In Calvert county. Mr. Tubman Lowes to miss Betsey Bond.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

In Charleston. Rev. James Wilson to miss Mary Clark.



DIED.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In Portsmouth. Pierce Long, esq.

MASSACHUSETTS.

At Cambridge. March 26, mr. Nathaniel Kidder, aged eighty-seven; and on March 28, mrs. Deborah Kidder, his relict, aged seventy-two.

In Boston. Mrs. Mary Coffin—mr. J. Means—hon. John Browne.

At Lexington. Mrs. Lucy Clark.

At Salem. Miss Betsey Mansfield—mrs. Mary Ashby—mrs. Eunice Beckford.

NEW YORK.

In the capital. Mr. Moses Go-
mez—mr. Ather Myers.

NEW JERSEY.

In Hunterdon county. Mrs. Van
Cleve.

In New Brunswick. Mr. John
Falmage.

In Salem. Mr. Chamless Smith.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia. Rev. David
Telfair—miss Eliza Dobel—miss
Connelly.

DELAWARE.

Near Duck Creek. His excellen-
cy Thomas Collins, late governor of
the state.

MARYLAND.

In Annapolis. Mrs. Margaret
Henry.

At Tancy Town. Mrs. Jane Gwinn.

In Baltimore. Mr. Joseph Ander-
son—mrs. Elizabeth Curson—mrs.
Rachel L'Argeau.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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One leaf of the masonic address of dr. Tillary having been mislaid, the author is requested to send another copy.

The political state of France, recommended for insertion by L. S. is too long, and would encroach too much on matters more interesting to American readers.

The report respecting the prices of provisions, &c. is too prolix, and rather uninteresting at the present period.

Example of American eloquence—verses on general Greene—&c. are under consideration.

The address of his excellency the president of the united states to congress came too late for the present number.



There is given in the present number an additional half sheet, in order to take in the proceedings of congress, which proceedings shall be regularly continued. A half sheet will be curtailed from the next number, on account of the above-mentioned addition.

AMERICAN MUSEUM,

For M A Y, 1789.

Remarks on the slave trade.

IT must afford great pleasure to every true friend to liberty, to find the case of the unhappy Africans engrosses the general attention of the humane in many parts of Europe; but we do not recollect to have met with a more striking illustration of the barbarity of the slave trade, than in a small pamphlet lately published by a society at Plymouth, in Great Britain; from which the Philadelphia Society for promoting the abolition of slavery have taken the following extracts, and have added a copy of the plate which accompanied it. Perhaps a more powerful mode of conviction could not have been adopted, than is displayed in this small piece. Here is presented to our view, one of the most horrid spectacles; a number of creatures, packed, side by side, almost like herrings in a barrel, and reduced nearly to the state of being buried alive, with just air enough to preserve a degree of life, sufficient to make them sensible of all the horror of their situation. To every person who has ever been at sea, it must present a scene of wretchedness in the extreme; for, with every comfort which room, air, variety of nourishment, and careful cleanliness can yield, it is still a wearisome and irksome state. What then must it be to those, who are not only deprived of the necessaries of life, but confined down the greater part of the voyage to the same posture, with scarcely the privilege of turning from one painful side to the other, and subjected to all the nauseous consequences arising from sea-sickness and other disorders unavoidable amongst such a number of forlorn wretches? Where is the human being that can picture to himself this scene of woe, without at the same time execrating a trade which spreads misery and desolation wherever it appears? Where is the man of real benevolence, who will not join heart and hand, in opposing this barbarous, this iniquitous traffic?

VOL. V,

"The annexed plate represents the lower deck of an African ship of two hundred and ninety-seven tons burden, with the slaves stowed on it, in the proportion of not quite one to a ton.

"In the men's apartment, the space allowed to each is six feet in length, by sixteen inches in breadth. The boys are each allowed five feet by fourteen inches. The women, five feet ten inches, by sixteen inches; and the girls, four feet by one foot each. The perpendicular height between the decks is five feet eight inches.

"The men are fastened together, two and two, by handcuffs on their wrists, and by irons rivetted on their legs—they are brought up on the main deck every day, about eight o'clock, and as each pair ascend, a strong chain, fastened by ringbolts to the deck, is passed through their shackles; a precaution absolutely necessary to prevent insurrections. In this state, if the weather is favourable, they are permitted to remain about one-third part of the twenty-four hours, and during this interval they are fed, and their apartment below is cleaned; but when the weather is bad, even these indulgences cannot be granted them, and they are only permitted to come up in small companies, of about ten at a time, to be fed, where, after remaining a quarter of an hour, each mess is obliged to give place to the next in rotation.

"It may perhaps be conceived, from the crowded state in which the slaves appear in the plate, that an unusual and exaggerated instance has been produced; this, however, is so far from being the case, that no ship, if her intended cargo can be procured, ever carries a less number than one to a ton, and the usual practice has been to carry nearly double that number. The bill which was passed the last sessions of parliament, only restricts the carriage to five slaves for three tons: and the Brooks, of Liverpool, a capital ship,

from which the above sketch was proportioned, did, in one voyage, actually carry six hundred and nine slaves, which is more than double the number that appear in the plate. The mode of stowing them was as follows: platforms, or wide shelves, were erected between the decks, extending so far from the sides towards the middle of the vessel, as to be capable of containing four additional rows of slaves, by which means the perpendicular height between each tier, after allowing for the beams and platforms, was reduced to two feet six inches, so that they could not even sit in an erect posture; besides which, in the men's apartment, instead of four rows, five were stowed, by placing the heads of one between the thighs of another. All the horrors of this situation are still multiplied in the smaller vessels. The *Kitty*, of one hundred and thirty-seven tons, had only one foot ten inches, and the *Venus*, of one hundred and forty-six tons, only one foot nine inches perpendicular height, above each layer.

"The above mode of carrying the slaves, however, is only one, among a thousand other miseries, which those unhappy and devoted creatures suffer from this disgraceful traffic of the human species; which, in every part of its progress, exhibits scenes that strike us with horror and indignation. If we regard the first stage of it, on the continent of Africa, we find that a hundred thousand slaves are annually produced there for exportation, the greatest part of whom consists of innocent persons, torn from their dearest friends and connexions, sometimes by force, and sometimes by treachery. Of these, experience has shewn, that forty-five thousand perish, either in the dreadful mode of conveyance before described, or within two years after their arrival at the plantations, before they are seasoned to the climate. Those who unhappily survive these hardships, are destined, like beasts of burden, to exhaust their lives in the unremitting labours of slavery, without recompense, and without hope.

"It is said by the well-wishers to this trade, that the suppression of it will destroy a great nursery for seamen, and annihilate a very considerable

source of commercial profit. In answer to these objections, Mr. Clarkson, in his admirable treatise on the impolicy of the trade, lays down two positions, which he has proved from the most incontestible authority. First, that so far from being a nursery, it has been constantly and regularly a grave for our seamen; for that in this traffic only, more men perish in one year, than in all the other trades of Great Britain, in two years:

"And, secondly, that the balance of the trade, from its extreme precariousness and uncertainty, is so notoriously against the merchants, that if all the vessels employed in it were the property of one man, he would infallibly, at the end of their voyages, find himself a loser.

"As then the cruelty and inhumanity of this trade must be universally admitted and lamented, and as the policy or impolicy of its abolition is a question which the wisdom of the legislature must ultimately decide upon, and which it can only be enabled to form a just estimate of, by the most thorough investigation of all its relations and dependencies; it becomes the indispensable duty of every friend to humanity, however his speculations may have led him to conclude on the political tendency of the measure, to stand forward, and to assist the committees, either by producing such facts as he may himself be acquainted with, or by subscribing, to enable them to procure and transmit to the legislature, such evidence as will tend to throw the necessary lights on the subject. And people would do well to consider that it does not often fall to the lot of individuals, to have an opportunity of performing so important a moral and religious duty, as that of endeavouring to put an end to a practice, which may, without exaggeration, be styled one of the greatest evils at this day existing upon the earth.

"By the Plymouth committee,

"W. ELFORD, chairman."



For the AMERICAN MUSEUM.

Remarks on duelling.

"Exalted Socrates! divinely brave!
Injur'd he fell, and dying he forgave!"

Too noble for revenge ! which still
we find,

The weakest frailty of a feeble mind."

NOTHING surely is more replete with absurdity, nor more strongly characteristic of the wretched impotence of man, than his propensity to be hurried away by the violence of anger, and to be governed by the impetuous dictates of revenge. Under the direction of those two dark and malignant passions, he becomes the involuntary instrument of horror, blindly pursues the rapid footsteps of destruction, and swiftly marches down the precipice of misery. Reason, that divine spark of omnipotence, is enveloped in clouds of impenetrable gloom, and overruled by the irresistible fury of those discordant affections.

When this description of so horrible a convulsion in the human mind is considered, and when the dreadful effects of it are deliberately examined into ; two things at once are suggested to the understanding. We are struck with dismay at finding ourselves capable of so much violence ; and impressed with the necessity of eradicating early in life, what might otherwise prove a source of the most diffusive calamities. But the natural imbecility of man, interposes to prevent the execution of his intentions. Every day his resolution grows more languid ; and although he thinks himself secure from the assaults of passion, he is soon found unable to resist the violence of its first attack. Surprised and confounded at being thus suddenly defeated, in the midst of his fancied security ; he resolves, after the first commotions of anger have subsided, to watch the insidious invader with more assiduity, and, for the time to come, to be always prepared to repel his assaults. For some time, this determination has its proper effect, and acts with a becoming restraint on his life and manners ; but time blunts the edge of recent resolutions—at an unwary moment, the fierce but treacherous fiend, enters again into the heart, overthrows the fair fabric of virtue, and reduces the mind to its former wretched state of ungovernable fury. Thus unsuccessful in the beginning, the soul becomes accustomed to defeat ; loses the courage and resolution necessary for

the protection of virtue, and gives way, at length, to the prevalence of passion. Like a ship, destitute of a pilot, scudding before the wind in a storm, and liable every moment to founder on a rock : man gives himself up to the government of anger ; suffers himself to be driven whichever way his fury shall direct him, and is every moment in danger of committing some act of violence, which shall disgrace his nature, and bring him to an untimely end.

That this is the case with most men, is very apparent from all their actions ; from this source spring those tumults and disorders with which the world abounds—those tragical acts of public and private revenge, with which history is replete. From this source, too, that polite monster, duelling, obtains its origin—so pregnant with all that is justly reprehensible. Here lies a field for the real critic to make his animadversions. A practice so destructive, illegal, and unjust, ought to be exposed with all the force of the keenest satire, and all the art of the severest criticism.

Duelling can never be justified on any pretence or occasion whatever. It is directly opposite to every suggestion of reason, to every dictate of wisdom, and to every precept of divine revelation. It violates in the most open manner, a positive command of Jesus Christ, who, when he came into the world to save it, likewise proclaimed peace, and, under the severest penalties, enjoined a strict observance of this command. Whoever engages in a duel is a rebel to nature and his Creator. He boldly bids defiance to the injunctions of heaven, to the known principles of conscientious duty, and sacrilegiously pulls down what the divine Saviour of the world built up. Whoever, therefore, engages in a duel, ought to expect nothing less than the divine vengeance as a punishment for his presumption. He ought to expect it, as an example to deter the rest of mankind from similar acts of disobedience.

The law of omnipotence being thus against this practice, what must be the future situation of any one persisting in the violation of it ? Cut off in the very act of rebellion, how can he expect mercy ? Convulsed with

the united commotions of anger and revenge—torn with the agony of rage and disappointment—distracted with a thousand dark and gloomy sensations—can he be in a proper state of mind for the enjoyment of heaven? Can a creature, in this terrible predicament, enter so pure a place as Elysium? Let those, whose wanton folly, and violent natures, precipitate them so frequently into this truly alarming practice; consider the consequences that must eventually flow from it, and I am persuaded they will at least abate in their resentments, and endeavour to overcome their passions.

Another very powerful objection to duelling occurs on this occasion. It hath been asserted by some very learned persons “that duelling is the result of cowardice.” If this position could be fairly established, one would think, that all men would immediately lay aside a practice having so infamous an original. Yet, notwithstanding this reflexion, and the seeming paradox contained in the assertion, nothing is more certain, than that it is established on unalterable truth. The fear of censure—the dread, lest the mad voice of our intoxicated associates should be against us—the agitation of mind at supposing ourselves pursued by the derision of the debauched, the corrupt and the wicked—make us fly from every emotion of reason and humanity; trample under foot the suggestions of nature, and, like madmen, rebel openly against our divine Parent—Benefactor—and Friend!—Nothing, in all nature, militates more forcibly against the dignity of man, than his being capable of such an incomparable excess of folly, meanness, cowardice, and ingratitude! Every good man ought surely, therefore, to reject the offer of a duel, as a thing, if accepted, that could not fail to entail on him the just censure of all reasonable beings. Nay, every brave man ought for the same motives to reject it—since the offer seems to imply, that he is capable of being driven from the post assigned him by his God, to escape the unworthy condemnation of a corrupted world. The hero fears only his God. He bears every calamity with courage, and resolution—fleets the torrent of a malignant world, and, by despising its

attacks, establishes his own fortitude and courage, and dignifies his name with the laurels of immortality.

(Remainder in our next.)



Address of the mayor, corporation, and citizens of Alexandria, to the president of the united states.

To GEORGE WASHINGTON, *esq.*
president of the united states, &c.

AGAIN your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too, at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

Not to extol your glory as a soldier, not to pour forth our gratitude for past services—not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you, by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy—nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now address you—themes less splendid but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us—our aged must lose their ornaments—our youth their model—our agriculture its improver—our commerce its friend—our infant academy its protector—our poor their benefactor—and the interior navigation of the Patowmack (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial use) its institutor and promoters.

Farewell!—Go! and make a grateful people happy—a people, who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

To that Being, who maketh and un-maketh at his will, we commend you—and, after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may he restore to us again, the best of men, and the most beloved fellow citizen!

In behalf of the people of Alexandria,

DENNIS RAMSAY, mayor,
April 16, 1789.

ANSWER.

To the mayor, corporation, and citizens of Alexandria.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the presidency of the united states. The unanimity in the choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as of America, the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form—and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other—have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow citizens, are, from your situation, in that number) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution “never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature.” For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests—the whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated, still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyment of private life.

All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who,

on a former occasion, hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation—perhaps the same gracious providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence; while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbours, farewell!

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



Address of the citizens of Baltimore to the president of the united states of America.

SIR,

WE feel the honour you have this day conferred on the town of Baltimore, by favouring it with your presence, infinitely heightened and enhanced by the desirable event which has produced it. Happy to behold your elevation, permit us to reassure you of our purest love and affection.

In considering the occasion that has once more drawn you from scenes of domestic ease and private tranquility, our thoughts naturally turn on the situation of our country previous to the expedient of the late general convention. When you became a member of that body, which framed our new and excellent constitution, you dissipated the fears of good men who dreaded the disunion of the states, and the loss of our liberties in the death of our enfeebled and expiring confederation: and now, sir, by accepting the high authorities of president of the united states of America, you teach us to expect every blessing that can result from the wisest recommendations to congress and the most prudent and judicious exercise of those authorities; thus relieving us in the one instance, from the most gloomy apprehensions, as when, in a different capacity, you recrossed the Delaware; and, in the other, opening to our view, the most animating prospects, as when you captured Cornwallis.

But, it is from the whole tenor of your life, and your uniform and upright political principles and conduct, that we derive the fullest assurance, that our hopes will be realized. Believing, that a faithful performance of public engagements is essential to the

prosperity of a people, and their implicit reliance on the promises of government, to its stability, we recollect with pleasure your well known sentiments on this subject, and have no doubt, but the other branches of congress will concur with you in placing public credit on the most solid foundation. We have also every reason to conclude, that under the administration of a Washington, the useful and ingenious arts of peace, the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the united states, will be duly favoured and improved, as being far more certain sources of national wealth than the richest mines, and surer means to promote the felicity of a people, than the most successful wars. Thus, sir, we behold a new era springing out of our independence; and a field displayed, where your talents for governing will not be obscured by the splendor of the greatest military exploits. We behold, too, an extraordinary thing in the annals of mankind, a free and enlightened people, choosing, by a free election, without one dissenting voice, the late commander in chief of their armies, to watch over and guard their civil rights and privileges.

We sincerely pray that you may long enjoy your present health, and the citizens of the united states have frequent opportunities to testify their veneration of your virtues, by continuing you, through many successive elections, in the first station of human honour and dignity. In these expressions of our affection and attachment, we are sensible we do not speak the wishes of a town only, but the united feelings of a whole people.

In behalf of the citizens of Baltimore, we have the honour to be, &c.

<i>James M'Henry,</i>	<i>R. Smith,</i>
<i>Nicholas Rogers,</i>	<i>O. H. Williams,</i>
<i>Joshua Barney,</i>	<i>Th. Smith,</i>
<i>Paul Bentalou,</i>	<i>William Clemm,</i>
<i>J. Swan,</i>	<i>Isaac Grift.</i>
<i>John Banks,</i>	

Baltimore, April 17, 1789.

A N S W E R.

Gentlemen,

THE tokens of regard and affection which I have often received from the citizens of this town, were always acceptable, because I believed them always sincere. Be pleased to

receive my best acknowledgments for the renewal of them on the present occasion.

If the affectionate partiality of my fellow-citizens has prompted them to ascribe greater effects to my conduct and character, than were justly due, I trust the indulgent sentiment on their part, will not produce any presumption on mine.

I cannot now, gentlemen, resist my feelings so much as to withhold the communication of my ideas, respecting the actual situation and prospect of our national affairs. It appears to me that little more than common sense and common honesty in the transactions of the community at large, would be necessary to make us a great and a happy nation. For if the general government, lately adopted, shall be arranged and administered in such a manner as to acquire the full confidence of the American people, I sincerely believe they will have greater advantages from their natural, moral, and political circumstances, for public felicity, than any other people ever possessed.

In the contemplation of those advantages, now soon to be realized, I have reconciled myself to the sacrifice of my fondest wishes, so far as to enter again upon the stage of public life. I know the delicate nature of the duties incident to the part which I am called to perform, and I feel my incomperence, without the singular assistance of providence, to discharge them in a satisfactory manner. But having undertaken the task, from a sense of duty, no fear of encountering difficulties, and no dread of losing popularity shall ever deter me from pursuing what I conceive to be the true interests of my country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

◆◆◆◆◆

Address of the standing committee of the Pennsylvania state society of the Cincinnati, to his excellency George Washington, Esquire, president and commander in chief of the army and navy of the united states of America, &c. &c.

SIR,

THE standing committee of the Pennsylvania state society of the Cincinnati embrace this early opport-

tunity of waiting on your excellency with their congratulations on your unanimous appointment, by the people, to the office of first magistrate of this great empire, it being the strongest evidence of your unrivalled merit, and of their exalted wisdom. Permit us to express our peculiar joy and pride upon the occasion, that our beloved general, and the president general of our society, has received the free suffrages of each of our fellow citizens of these states.

We have now the most perfect assurance, that the inestimable rights and liberties of human nature, for which we have toiled, fought, and bled, under your command, will be preserved inviolate; and we felicitate our countrymen, that their national safety and dignity are secure, and that they have the best grounded prospects of all that happiness, which a good constitution, under a wise and virtuous administration, can afford. As we have the fullest confidence that our society, whose basis is friendship and charity, will, equally with others, enjoy these blessings, and partake of your regard, so we beg leave to assure you, that we shall never be wanting in our endeavours to contribute all in our power to your personal comfort and honour, and the prosperity and glory of your government.

Signed by order of the committee,

THOMAS M'KEAN, V. P.

Philadelphia, April 20, 1789.

ANSWER.

To the state society of the Cincinnati in Pennsylvania.

GENTLEMEN,

THE congratulations of my fellow soldiers and faithful followers in the military line of this state, on my election to the chief magistracy of the union, cannot but be exceedingly flattering and pleasing to me; for my mind has been so deeply affected with a grateful sense of the attachment and aid which I have experienced from them, during the course of our arduous struggle for liberty, that the impression will never be effaced.

Heaven alone can foretell, whether any, or what, advantages are to be derived by my countrymen, from my holding the office, which they have done me the honour of conferring upon me, not only without my sol-

licitations, but even contrary to my inclinations.

I promise nothing but an unremitting attention to the duties of the office. If by that attention I may be so fortunate as still to continue to possess the affectionate regard of my fellow citizens, and particularly of that body of which you are the representatives, it will be no small addition to my happiness. The support, which they and you have promised, cannot fail, under the smiles of providence, to contribute largely to the accomplishment of my wishes, by promoting the prosperity of our common country. In the mean time, I thank you, gentlemen, for the interest you so kindly take in my personal comfort and honour, as well as in the prosperity and glory of the general government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



The address of the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council of the city of Philadelphia, in common council assembled,

To his excellency George Washington, president of the united states of America.

SIR,

WE, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council of the city of Philadelphia have assembled, to present you our sincerest congratulations on your appointment to the station of president of the united states of America.

We rejoice, sir, that the citizens of America, so long accustomed to claim your services in every hour of public difficulty, have again given the most affectionate and honourable testimony to your distinguished worth, by calling you, with united suffrage, to take the highest seat of power amongst freemen.

When the gloom, which overcast the cause of liberty at the opening of the late war, occasioned by the alarm of a mighty nation armed to suppress the voice of freedom in this infant land, for a moment sunk the spirit of its sons—you, sir, arose: instantaneous confidence possessed the minds of your fellow citizens:—under your auspices—they fought,—they bled,—and, thro' unparalleled distress of war,

you led them to freedom, the choicest gift of heaven.

Scarce had that solemn scene passed over, when a triumphant victor returned his sword to the civil rulers of his country. Scarce had you retired to the calm retreat of domestic peace, when the civil rule, which we had suddenly established amidst the busy tumult of war, proved unequal to secure the blessings to be derived from a well digested constitution; you, sir, were again called forth, and, presiding over our wisest counsels, have handed to your country a system of civil policy, happily uniting civil liberty with effective government.

What then remained undone, is now accomplished:—and you are called to preside in dispensing the blessings of that government, in the forming of which you took so distinguished a part.

May your administration derive blessings to your country, and honour and happiness to yourself.

In the name of the citizens of Philadelphia, we bid you welcome; and assure you, that we, and those we represent, have the warmest personal attachment to you, and shall always rejoice to meet you singly, or connected with that august body over whom you are going to preside.

Signed, by order of the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council of the city of Philadelphia, in common council assembled, this twentieth day of April, anno domini 1789.

Alexander Wilcocks, recorder.

ANSWER.

To the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council of the city of Philadelphia.

I CONSIDER myself particularly obliged to you, gentlemen, for your congratulatory address, on my appointment to the station of president of the united states.

Accustomed, as I have been, to pay a respectful regard to the opinion of my countrymen, I did not think myself at liberty to decline the acceptance of the high office, to which I had been called by their united suffrage.

When I contemplate the interposition of providence, as it was visibly manifested, in guiding us through the

revolution, in preparing us for the reception of a general government, and in conciliating the good will of the people of America towards one another, after its adoption, I feel myself oppressed, and almost overwhelmed, with a sense of the divine munificence. I feel that nothing is due to my personal agency in all those complicated and wonderful events, except what can simply be attributed to the exertions of an honest zeal, for the good of my country.

If I have distressing apprehensions that I shall never be able to justify the too exalted expectations of my countrymen, I am supported under the pressure of such uneasy reflexions, by a confidence, that the most gracious Being, who hath hitherto watched over the interests, and averted the perils of the united states, will never suffer so fair an inheritance to become a prey to anarchy and despotism, or any other species of oppression.

I thank you sincerely for your kind wishes, that my administration may be honourable and happy to myself and country.

I pray you, gentlemen, will accept, on your own behalf, as well as on behalf of the citizens you represent, my heartfelt acknowledgments for the polite welcome I have received upon my arrival in your city. In tendering these acknowledgments, I must also desire it may be fully understood, that I entertain the same reciprocal sensations of attachment for the good people of Philadelphia, which they have, on all occasions, evinced in my favour.

G. WASHINGTON.



The inaugural address of his excellency the president of the united states, to congress, April 30, 1789.

Fellow-citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

AMONG the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that, of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month: on the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest

predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens—and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me—my error will be palliated by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station—it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe,—who presides in the councils of nations,—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the united States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes: and may enable every instrument, employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and

private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the united States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to prefigure. These reflexions, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the president “to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.” The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments—no separate views—nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal

eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: since we ought to be no less persuaded, that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained: and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your delibe-

rations on the question, how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted?

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the house of representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend. G. WASHINGTON.



Address of the senate to the president of the united states, in answer to the preceding.

SIR,

WE, the senate of the united states, return you our sincere thanks for your excellent speech delivered to both houses of congress;

congratulate you on the complete organization of the federal government, and felicitate ourselves and our fellow citizens on your elevation to the office of president; an office highly important by the powers constitutionally annexed to it, and extremely honourable from the manner in which the appointment is made. The unanimous suffrage of the elective body in your favour is peculiarly expressive of the gratitude, confidence, and affection of the citizens of America, and is the highest testimonial at once of your merit and of their esteem. We are sensible, sir, that nothing but the voice of your fellow citizens could have called you from a retreat, chosen with the fondest predilection, endeared by habit, and consecrated to the repose of declining years; we rejoice, and with us, all America, that, in obedience to the call of our common country, you have returned once more to public life. In you all parties confide, in you all interests unite, and we have no doubt, that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions; and that your prudence and sagacity as a statesman, will tend to avert the dangers to which we were exposed, to give stability to the present government, and dignity and splendor to that country, which your skill and valour, as a soldier, so eminently contributed to raise to independence and empire.

When we contemplate the coincidence of circumstances, and wonderful combination of causes, which gradually prepared the people of this country for independence—when we contemplate the rise, progress, and termination of the late war, which gave them a name among the nations of the earth, we are, with you, unavoidably led to acknowledge and adore the great Arbiter of the universe, by whom empires rise and fall. A review of the many signal instances of divine interposition in favour of this country claims our most pious gratitude. And permit us, sir, to observe, that among the great events which have led to the formation and establishment of a federal government, we esteem your acceptance of the office of president as one of the most propitious and important.

In the execution of the trust repos-

ed in us, we shall endeavour to pursue that enlarged and liberal policy, to which your speech so happily directs. We are conscious that the prosperity of each state is inseparably connected with the welfare of all, and that in promoting the latter, we shall effectually advance the former. In full persuasion of this truth, it shall be our invariable aim, to divest ourselves of local prejudices and attachments, and to view the great assemblage of communities and interests committed to our charge with an equal eye. We feel, sir, the force, and acknowledge the justness of the observation, that the foundation of our national policy should be laid in private morality. If individuals be not influenced by moral principles, it is in vain to look for public virtue; it is, therefore, the duty of legislators to enforce, both by precept and example, the utility as well as the necessity of a strict adherence to the rules of distributive justice. We beg you to be assured, that the senate will at all times cheerfully co-operate in every measure, which may strengthen the union, conduce to the happiness, or secure and perpetuate the liberties of this great confederated republic.

We commend you, sir, to the protection of Almighty God, earnestly beseeching him long to preserve a life so valuable and dear to the people of the united states, and that your administration may be prosperous to the nation, and glorious to yourself.

In senate, May 16th, 1789.

Signed by order,

JOHN ADAMS,

President of the senate of the united states.

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you for your address, in which the most affectionate sentiments are expressed in the most obliging terms. The coincidence of circumstances which led to this auspicious crisis, the confidence reposed in me by my fellow citizens, and the assistance I may expect from counsels which will be dictated by an enlarged and liberal policy, seem to preface a more prosperous issue to my administration, than a diffidence of my abilities had taught me to anticipate. I now feel myself inexpressibly happy in a belief,

that heaven, which has done so much for our infant nation, will not withdraw its providential influence before our political felicity shall have been completed; and in a conviction that the senate will at all times co-operate in every measure which may tend to promote the welfare of this confederated republic.

Thus supported by a firm trust in the great Arbiter of the universe, aided by the collected wisdom of the union, and imploring the divine benediction on our joint exertions in the service of our country, I readily engage with you in the arduous but pleasing task of attempting to make a nation happy.

G. WASHINGTON.



Address of the house of representatives, to George Washington, president of the united states, delivered May 8, 1789.

Sir,

THE representatives of the people of the united states, present their congratulations on the event by which your fellow citizens have attested the pre-eminence of your merit. You have long held the first place in their esteem—you have often received tokens of their affection—you now possess the only proof that remained of their gratitude for your services, of their reverence for your wisdom, and of their confidence in your virtues. You enjoy the highest, because the truest honour, of being the first magistrate, by the unanimous choice of the freest people on the face of the earth.

We well know the anxieties with which you must have obeyed a summons, from the repose reserved for your declining years, into public scenes, of which you had taken your leave forever—but the obedience was due to the occasion. It is already applauded by the universal joy, which welcomes you to your station, and we cannot doubt that it will be rewarded with all the satisfaction, with which an ardent love for your fellow citizens must review successful efforts to promote their happiness.

This anticipation is not justified merely by the past experience of your signal services. It is particularly sug-

gested by the pious impressions under which you commence your administration, and the enlightened maxims by which you mean to conduct it. We feel with you the strongest obligations to adore the invisible hand which has led the American people through so many difficulties, to cherish a conscious responsibility for the destiny of republican liberty, and to seek the only sure means of preserving and recommending the precious deposit in a system of legislation, founded on the principles of an honest policy, and directed by the spirit of a diffusive patriotism.

The question arising out of the fifth article of the constitution, will receive all the attention demanded by its importance, and will, we trust, be decided under the influence of all the considerations to which you allude.

In forming the pecuniary provisions for the executive department, we shall not lose sight of a wish resulting from motives which give it a peculiar claim to our regard. Your resolution, in a moment critical to the liberties of your country, to renounce all personal emolument, was among the many prefaces of your patriotic services, which have been amply fulfilled, and your scrupulous adherence now to the law then imposed on yourself, cannot fail to demonstrate the purity, whilst it increases the lustre of a character, which has so many titles to admiration.

Such are the sentiments which we have thought fit to address to you; they flow from our own hearts, and we verily believe, that among the millions we represent, there is not a virtuous citizen whose heart will disown them.

All that remains is, that we join in your fervent supplication for the blessings of heaven on our country and that we add our own for the choicest of those blessings on the most beloved of her citizens.

F. A. MUHLENBERG, *speaker.*

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR very affectionate address produces emotions, which I know not how to express: I feel that my past endeavours in the service of my country, are far overpaid by its

goodness; and I fear much that my future ones may not fulfil your kind anticipation. All that I can promise is, that they will be invariably directed by an honest and an ardent zeal. Of this resource my heart assures me. For all beyond, I rely on the wisdom and patriotism of those with whom I am to co-operate, and a continuance of the blessings of heaven on our beloved country.

G. WASHINGTON.



The Worcester Speculator, No. II.

THE end proposed by the creation of man, was, undoubtedly, the communication of happiness. How to bring this design into effect, demands the earliest and the ripest thoughts of the human mind. Infinitely various are the means fitted for the accomplishment of this design; and innumerable are the ways which may, with success, be pursued for this purpose. These various means and different ways are adapted to the various dispositions and different geniuses which are possessed by mankind. That course of life which may be best for me, may not be so for my friend; and, that which is suitable for him, may be unfit for me. In the morning of life, every one ought attentively to consider what course is most suitable for himself; how he may probably secure the most permanent pleasures, and be most successful in promoting the happiness of his friends, his country, and the world at large. Some may contribute most to these great and good ends in one employment, and some in another; one is fitted for the sacred offices of the desk, another for the employment of the bar; one for the honourable duties of the foldier, another for the calmer exercises of a peaceful life. He might shine as a farmer who would make but a despicable figure in the practice of physic: the useful artisan, and reputable mechanic, who are now blessings to themselves and to the world, might prove the reverse, were they to turn merchants, physicians, statesmen, or lawyers. Every man is not formed for a politician, or a parson. A man may be a very good taylor, who would excite universal disgust were he to turn preacher. It does not fol-

low, because a man can make good shoes, that he can make good laws, or that he can make a plea, because he can make a plough. It is not my design to point out which of these employments is the best or most honourable; I would rather join Pope, and say, that

“Honour and shame from no condition rise,

“Act well your part, there all the honour lies.”

There are, however, some general rules for the advancement of human felicity, adapted to every rank, profession, or occupation, in which we may be placed. In many cases, an acquaintance with the nature of man will, at once, enable us to discover the mode of conduct which will best tend to the advancement of his happiness. And any one, who has the smallest acquaintance with himself or others, perceives that man is a social being; therefore, to practise social virtues may be given as a general rule for the advancement of human felicity. Man is not formed to be happy in solitude. The disappointed and disconsolate mind, it is true, seeks retirement, and sighs to be alone; but, at best, this desired retreat yields only a pleasing melancholy, and widowed joys. The fruits of society are the proper food for the mind; it feasts upon them; they enrich, they enlarge it. There is an indescribable sympathy betwixt the hearts of friends—a sympathy which is not confined to hearts of different sexes—felt between a man and a woman in the pleasing transports of mutual love—but it pervades the hearts of all the human race. There is a tender and delicate sympathy that runs from heart to heart, conveys the feelings of one to another, and produces a mutuality of pleasures, and of pains. The social seeds of friendship are planted in every human breast. Seldom do we see a person in the bloom of youth, but we discover the blossoms of friendship, which spring from those innate seeds. How delightful do they appear, who, by cultivating the soil on which they grow, display the most!—This social principle is the source of human felicity—the spring from whence the meandering streams of pleasure sweetly glide from heart to heart. Whence

arise the pleasures of a commercial intercourse between nation and nation and wide-extended realms? Whence those which are enjoyed by a general acquaintance, intercourse, and familiarity with the world at large? Whence those which we feel from being members of the same government, the same town, corporation or society? And whence, in fine, arise those more refined and transporting scenes of bliss, most sensibly felt by a dear, indulgent, and sweet enjoyment of an open, generous, and unrestrained friendship? Whence do they arise, but from the social principle—that rich fountain which is ever open to the sons and daughters of men, universally from the commencement to the final dissolution of all terrestrial scenes?

The happiness of all mankind is, in a good degree, connected; so that by promoting the peace of another, we secure our own. And, if we rightly pursue the line of conduct drawn for the promotion of our own best good, that is the line in the pursuit of which we shall communicate happiness to others. The duties, as well as the pleasures of life, are principally of a social nature. He who secludes himself from an intercourse with the world, has but a narrow and contracted sphere to move in; few must be the number of his virtues, and rare the instances of exercising them. Solitude has a tendency to contract the mind and render it ungenerous; it begets dullness and illiberality; and sometimes sours the disposition, and makes it morose and savage. On the other hand, a free intercourse with mankind, opens a wide extended field for the cultivation of the human mind; it refines the heart, meliorates the disposition, and makes us humane in temper, and gentle in manners: it not only increases the number of our virtues, but gives them a polished lustre, and affords repeated opportunities for their exercise. Our business in this world lies with each other. Man was made to live with man. No one is independent of the whole, being only a member of the same body. The health of the body must be attended to; for, if that fail, the members must necessarily perish. The various

ranks and degrees, offices and occupations, professions and trades, which are holden and exercised in the world, are undoubtedly adapted to the circumstances of mankind, and productive of human felicity. A mutual and friendly intercourse should be maintained between these several occupations, professions and ranks. The high should not despise the low, nor should the low envy the high. Justice in rulers ought to prevent jealousy in subjects. The poor need the assistance of the rich, and the rich are beholden to the services and honest earnings of the poor for the affluence and splendor which they enjoy. The clergymen, the lawyers, the physicians, the farmers, the merchants, and mechanics, rulers and subjects, are all mutually dependent. And if among these all were harmony, all would be happiness. It is of the utmost importance it should be so; and every individual ought to use his best endeavours to effect it. It becomes us, as rational beings, to endeavour to support the dignity of our natures by discarding mean and contracted sentiments, and cherishing candour, liberality, and all the social affections. Our friendship should be free and unrestrained; not confined to those of our own rank or order, profession or persuasion, sect or sentiment. Every honest man, be his religious or political sentiments what they may, ought to be viewed by us with complacency; and a candid disposition should be exercised towards those whose frailties have led them into error. Our philanthropy, like the cheering rays of the sun, should extend through all the world; and our kindness and humanity, like the refreshing dew of heaven, should bless the just and the unjust. Were every one to cultivate this frame of spirit, what an effect would it have in producing public and private happiness! Then would the rich be merciful, and the poor exercise gratitude: rulers would seek the welfare of their subjects, and subjects would honour their rulers, and pay a willing and cheerful obedience to good and wholesome laws. This friendly social spirit would add fresh enjoyments to every intercourse and connexion in life. It is this which renders the marriage state desirable and

happy—thrice happy is the family where every bosom glows with social affections ! Surely it is our own fault that we do not inherit the joys of paradise ! How happy might we be were our hearts attuned for these enjoyments in passing from the sweets of one society to another—sharing in the delightful scenes of domestic life, then participating in the manly pleasures of friendly and literary societies, and delighting ourselves in the innocent, gay, and sprightly conversation of mixed companies ! What a round of enjoyments might be ours ! The very idea warms the heart. But how does nature recoil at the reversal of the scene ! To see these enjoyments, these fair fruits of friendship blasted by discord ; To behold families, parishes, towns, counties, and commonwealths, convulsed to the centre by contentions and animosities, chills the heart, and strikes horror to the very soul. To renew our past halcyon days, and the rich blessings of a peaceful life merits the warm wishes and careful attention of every member of this government : and surely no one can withhold a hand from endeavouring to serve his country when it can be done in a way so consistently with, and promotive of, his own happiness. Were these sentiments to pervade the breasts of my fellow citizens, through this commonwealth, sure I am that, they would more effectually eradicate the spirit of rebellion, than all the military force that can be raised, they would soon dispel discord, and introduce harmony and happiness in all our circles and societies through this pleasant land.



Protest, entered on the journals of the senate of South Carolina, Nov. 3, 1788, against an instalment act.

DISSENTIENT.

1st. **B**ECAUSE, we do not admit the reasons assigned for the distresses of the people of this state to be well founded ; neither do we conceive that the legislature hath a power delegated to them by their constituents to pass laws impairing the obligation of private contracts.

2d. Because, in our opinion, no applications have been made by the citizens at large, to justify an inter-

ference of the legislature between debtor and creditor ; and although petitions have been presented to this house for the said purpose, they are but few, and from particular parts of the state only, and subscribed by a very small proportion of the inhabitants of the districts and counties from whence they came ; we therefore do not apprehend it can be the sense of the majority of the inhabitants, even of those districts and counties ; but, on the contrary, we are well convinced, that it is the opinion and wish of a great majority of the good people of this state, that no such law ought to be passed.

3d. Because we think that the operation of the bill will not relieve the petitioners from the distresses of which they complain ; but, on the contrary, that it will be destructive of that mutual confidence, so essentially necessary to be preserved, and which ought to subsist between the members of the same community ; and we are consequently of opinion, that suits will be multiplied, and expenses accumulated on the debtors, who thereby may be involved in difficulty and distress.

4th. Because the bill, in our opinion, militates against the federal constitution, adopted by the people of this state, on the 21th day of May, 1788, particularly against the 10th section of the first article, wherein it is expressly declared, that “no state shall pass any *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts,” and, in the 6th article, the following clause—“this constitution, and the laws of the united states which shall be made in pursuance thereof—and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the united states—shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby ; any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.” And the 7th article concludes with “the ratification of the convention of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.” The judges, being bound by the federal constitution, must give judgment accordingly, whenever any case comes before them, where the law interferes with the be-

fore recited sections; and therefore it appears to us, that the bill will prove a deception to those persons who expect relief therefrom, if they suppose it will continue in force for the time therein limited.

Lastly, Because we humbly conceive the bill to be derogatory to the honour of this house, to be destructive of private credit, and to be highly injurious to the general welfare of the republic.

*D. De Saussure, Benjamin Smith,
John Bull, William Allison.
A. Vanderhorst,*

ExtraËt from the journals of the senate,

FELIX WARLEY, C. S.



ExtraËt from the presentments of the grand jury of the district of ninety-six, in the state of South Carolina, at a court of general sessions of peace, oyer and terminer, assize and general goal delivery, begun on Wednesday, the twenty sixth day of November, in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight.

WE present as a grievance of the greatest magnitude, the many late interferences of the legislature of the state, in private contracts between debtor and creditor. We should be wanting in our duty to our country, and regardless of the obligations of our solemn oath, and the high trust at this time devolving upon us, by operation of the laws of the land, did we omit this occasion, between the expiration of one legislature and the meeting of a new representative body, to express our utter abhorrence of such interferences. We feel ourselves in duty bound to say, that the many acts of the legislature, screening the debtor from the just demands of his fair and bona-fide creditor, have had a very pernicious influence on the morals and manners of the people. They have operated as a check to honest industry, and have given birth to a fatal delusion, that persons by making purchases of property on a credit, and again disposing of such property, would be sure to amass fortunes; and the pernicious influence of apparent

success in a few, has drawn from labour and the pursuits of mechanic arts, and other their proper professional callings, a great number, who are now preying upon society, and heaping ruin on the credulous, unwary, honest, and simple part of the community. Nor does the evil end here—but they find that the fatal slab given to credit, has obliged the merchant to lay on an additional advance on his goods, to counterbalance the risk and losses from the repeated interferences of the legislature: by which means, the honest, industrious man is taxed for the delinquency and default of the artful and designing, who, having got his creditor's property into his hands, seeks every occasion, and lays hold of every subterfuge, to prevent his being obliged to restore any part, or make any compensation to his creditor for the same; these are a small part of the many domestic inconveniences we experience from such acts of the legislature; but we think greater regard should be paid to our national character, and are of opinion, that a faithless community in the society of other states and nations, is full as deserving of the detestation and abhorrence of mankind, as a knavish individual in private society. Let it be remembered, that it was upon credit, and by the use of the funds of other countries, that we have been enabled to convert a howling wilderness into fine cultivated fields and a well inhabited country; and we think it should be our first endeavour to re-establish that credit, by which we may be enabled to proceed; and that this will best be done by restoring mutual confidence, giving stability to the laws, and leaving inviolate private contracts. Better that a few individuals should suffer (even should that be the event) than that a whole community should be distracted, distressed, and stigmatised for want of faith, and a total disregard to national honour. We therefore hope that the legislature, at their first meeting, will take the matter into a more serious consideration, and take such steps as will secure private credit and mutual confidence, and prevent the designing debtor from ruining his honest and just creditor.

The friend. No. III.—Written by the rev. Timothy Dwight, under the signature of James Littlejohn, esq. P. 220.

With honest scorn the first fam'd Cato view'd

Rome, learning arts from Greece, whom she subdu'd.

THE following letter is written on a subject of importance to America. The style and manner of it are more replete with spirit, than my own mild disposition would have dictated; but the sentiments are so just, that I will give them to my readers in my correspondent's own words. In the mean time, I cheerfully accept of Mr. Homely's proposal of a continuance of his correspondence, and shall be pleased to receive his further communications.

To Mr. Littlejohn.

Sir,

AS I called the other morning upon one of my neighbours, an industrious farmer named Jenkins, I found him preparing for the business of the day. Among other conversation that passed, his wife casually asked him, if he designed to plough, that day, in a field which she named. He told her, he thought he should; but he would first go over, and ask his dad-da; accordingly he crossed the street to his father's house, and in a few minutes returned. As he came into the room, he observed to his wife, that his dad-da thought he'd better plough in that field; and that Cuffy said, he would come and shew him where to begin. As I knew him to be forty years of age, and of no contemptible understanding, especially in his own business, I thought it strange, that on so plain a subject, he should feel the necessity of his father's advice, or condescend to accept of his father's instruction.

As I walked home, I could not avoid a train of contemplations on the subject, and soon explained the whole of it to my own satisfaction. My neighbour was the youngest son of a substantial farmer, with whom he lived, till his marriage. His education was merely domestic, and fixed upon his mind the same impressions which so formed the education of Tobit, the old house dog. Confined at home from his infancy, he knew but one

train of ideas, and habits; and these were fixed beyond removal. His father, though now in his dotage, had the same oracular influence upon him, as when he was a child. Accustomed to ask his advice concerning every trifle, he knew not how to decide, even upon trifles, without that advice. Accustomed to be directed by Cuffy, an old servant in the family, he received his directions as matters of course, and knew no other mode of proceeding in his business. Thus, unless prevented by the timely death of his father, he will be a child in his old age, and walk in leading-strings to the grave.

As I was pursuing this subject with fixed attention, I could not help observing a strong resemblance between the conduct of my neighbour Jenkins, and an important branch of the public conduct of my countrymen. From the settlement of this country, we have been accustomed to an absolute and infantine dependence upon Great Britain. To this state of dependence all our habits of thinking and acting, have been conformed. From Britain, have we been long accustomed to derive our manners, our sciences, our laws, and our honours. The name of parent, naturally assumed at our first existence, has attached to itself the utmost extent of parental authority; and the style of infant colonies, has been accompanied by a behaviour literally infantine. With imperiousness on their part, and meanness on ours, the idea was not only exhibited, but admitted, that all things European degenerate in American climates; that, as the animals diminish in size and resolution, so the mind experiences a similar contraction and debasement. Hence the contemptuous epithet, Creolian, was haughtily bestowed and infamously suffered. Every servant of the British crown, every beggar and brat, who could gain an office, even of tidewaiting significance, assumed airs of dominion, like an Algerine renegade, and felt as if no title of respect was too humble an act of inferiority, from a dirty Creole. If we wished to act, or to think, we waited till "dad-da thought it best, and till Cuffy would shew us where to begin."

When the late war commenced, and a spirit of personal independence

spread its ethereal power through every corner of this country, I enjoyed, with supreme satisfaction, the era, when men, when freemen, began to feel themselves to be men, and realized their equality with the other sons of Adam. The entire national glory and importance acquired by us, through every stage of the war, and especially in its conclusion, secured, to my flattered hopes, the future existence of this manly and becoming character. But I have lived to see these hopes disappointed. Since the conclusion of the war, the needy and adventurous have swarmed from the British hive, and sought, in our happy country, the property and importance, denied them at home. Could we treat them with propriety, their accession would benefit America, and, by my own bosom at least, they would be cheerfully welcome to our shore. But unfortunately we have reassumed the spirit of colonial depression, and returned to our original babyhood. Every foreigner, even of very moderate abilities, and still more moderate importance, assumes to himself, and, from our treatment of him, has a right to assume, airs of superiority over all mere Americans; and speaks, with high self complacency, of British grandeur, of British science, and a hundred other British etceteras.

To this conduct we ourselves give birth. Our complaisance to these persons uniformly wears the clearest marks of conscious inferiority, and contemptible servility. Is a fashion to be introduced into our country, it must be handed to us from Britain. Is a seat of learning or dignity to be filled, with cap in hand, we humbly solicit some needy adventurer, to vouchsafe to fill it. Without a single pretence to greater worth, or more suitable accomplishments for the office in question, than multitudes of Americans, without capacity, or disposition to perform the duties of it, and often without any qualification except Europeanism, we invite, urge, and beseech these strangers into our employments of dignity, and our most valuable livings.

A shining instance of this nature lately happened in Pennsylvania. A foreigner, named Henry Howard, came into that state from Ireland, and exhibited himself as a person fitted for the legal profession. With little en-

quiry into his character, or qualifications, the good people of that state concerned in the subject, introduced him through the several grades of elevation, into the office of solicitor general*. It was not indeed supposed that he had the practical knowledge requisite for the employment; but that, a man of genius, or in other words, a European, would very soon acquire. Mr. solicitor, with all the airs of office, was introduced into the best company, and passed in the eye of multitudes, who despised their own countrymen, even when possessed of the requisite accomplishments, for a person of the first consequence. Not long after, a vessel arrived from Ireland, with a female passenger on board, who, immediately after her landing, enquired for her husband, one Henry Howard, a tallow chandler. Unfortunately for mr. solicitor general, the lady happening one day to fix her eye upon him in public, instantly claimed him for plain, tallow chandler Howard, her own identical husband. The good man, with all his importance, could neither deny his wife, nor conceal the confusion her acknowledgment of him excited. However he found means to quit her a second time, and secretly decamped with the utmost precipitation. What must sensible Europeans think of the understanding of a people, among whom their own tallow chandlers are transmuted into solicitors general?

I wish not to be thought unfriendly to foreigners, nor am I conscious of an uncharitable or illiberal disposition towards them. But I cheerfully own, such a predilection to Europeans appears to me highly contemptible, and debasing. As I have not a single doubt, that my countrymen are possessed of genius, and every natural accomplishment, to as high a degree, as any people on earth, so I am equally satisfied, that there is not an office in America, which Americans cannot fill with the first reputation. At least we are yet to seek for Europeans who can fill them better. This, mr. Littlejohn, is not a disrespectful

NOTE.

* The writer is mistaken in this passage. There is not, nor has there been such an officer in this state as solicitor general.—C.

suggestion concerning persons of this description already settled in America. I wish them to consider themselves, and to be considered by us, as on the same line of equality. On what principles can they arrogate more?

The practice, and the source of it, are the objects of my reprehension. I despise both in Americans; I should despise them in Britons, towards Americans. Meanness of soul is the source of it; insignificance and infamy are its necessary effects. The very Europeans, who have settled in this country, are interested in opposing it, for their children will, of course, partake in the common spirit of the country, and in all its consequences.

Thus, mr. Littlejohn, have I mentioned an evil, of no small magnitude, existing in this country. This, if I millake not, is such a subject as you mentioned in your first number; a subject, in which Americans are immediately concerned. If you think these observations merit a place in your essays, my next shall furnish you with the reasons which, in the opinion of one person at least, ought to produce a different conduct in my countrymen.

I am, yours, &c.

JOHN HOMELY.

Newhaven, April 6, 1786.



Original letters of William Penn.

LETTER I.

Richard Turner.

DEAR FRIEND,

MY true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear friends that love the Lord's precious truth in those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know, that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me, under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania: a name the king would give it, in honour to my father. I chose New Wales, being as this a pretty healthy country; but Penn being well known for a head, as Penmanmoire, in Wales, Penrith, in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodland: for I proposed, when the secretary, a Welchman, re-

fused to have it called New Wales, Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered; he said it was passed, and he would take it upon him—nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to vary the name; for I feared, lest it should be looked upon as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to friends, and expect my proposals; it is a clear and just thing; and my God that has given it me, through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the truth.

Thy true friend,

5th 1st mo. 1681. W. PENN.

LETTER II.

Wistmiller, 12th 2d mo. 1681.

*Dear R. Turner, Ant. Sharp,
and Rogr. Roberts,*

MY love salutes you in the abiding truth of our God, that is precious in all lands; the Lord God of righteousness keep us in it, and then shall we be the daily witnesses of the comforts and refreshments that come from it, to his praise, that is the fountain of all good. Having published a paper with relation to my province in America, (at least what I thought advisable to publish) I here enclose one, that you may know, and inform others of it. I have been these thirteen years the servant of truth and friends, and for my testimony sake lost much—not only the greatness and preferments of this world, but 16000*l.* of my estate, that, had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained. But I murmur not, the Lord is good to me; and the interest his truth has given me with his people, may more than repair it; for many are drawn forth to be concerned with me; and perhaps this way of satisfaction hath more of the hand of God in it, than a downright payment. This, I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and re-

prove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary ; and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief—that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country. But to publish those things now, and here, as matters stand, would not be wise ; and I was advised to reserve that till I came there. Your ancient love to me makes me believe you will have a brotherly eye to my honest concern, and what truth makes you free to do, you will, and more I expect not. It is a clear, unentangled, and I may say, honourable bottom. No more, but let friends know it, as you are free—with my dear love in that which no waters can quench, nor time make wax old, nor distance wear out, Your friend and brother,

W. PENN.

The enclosed was first read to traders, planters, and shipmasters, that know those parts ; and, finally, to the most eminent of friends hereaway, and so comes forth. I have forborne paint and allurement, and written truth.

W. P.

There are several inhabitants on the place already, able to yield accommodation to such as at first go ; and care is taken already for to look out a convenient tract of land for a first settlement.

LETTER III.

London, 4th 12th mo. 1692—3.

DEAR FRIENDS,

CONSIDERING how things stand and may stand with you, and the visible necessity the province is under, as well as my own interest, and my earnest inclinations that I speedily return, I have a proposal to make, in which, if you answer me, I shall be able to make my way safe from the government, easy to myself, just to my friends here, and this in reason I ought to desire. In consideration, therefore, of my very great expenses in king James's time, known, in some measure, to T. H. and my great losses in this king's time, the one being at least £.7000, and the other above £.4000, and £.450 *per ann.* totally wasted in Ireland, as T. H. can inform you, by which means

I cannot do what is requisite to bring me among you, without that time here, which may injure our joint interest, or your help to shorten it. I do propose, that an hundred persons in town, if able, or town and country, do lend me, free of interest, each of them one hundred pounds for four years, or each of them more or less, as able, so that it reach the sum ; and I will give you my bond to repay it to each of you in four years time, or, if not paid in that time, a sufficient interest for the whole, or what remains unpaid at four years end, from that time forward, till paid. I shall take it so kindly from you, that if you gave me more at another time, it should not equally please me, and it could not be done more seasonably for yourselves and the whole province : for depend upon it, and you have it under my hand, God giving health for it, I will not stay six months, no, not three months, if in that time I can get passage to remove to you, with family also. I hope to be more worth to you, and a great deal more to the province ; for the hour my back is turned of England, some hundreds, if not thousands, will follow, which will be your as well as my advantage. You may be informed of the reason of this proposal more particularly by R. T. and T. H. if there be any need for it. Almighty God incline and direct you for the best, and determine quickly, for else my course will be (as you may hear from T. H.) otherwise in solitudes. My sincere love salutes you, and my wishes in the will of God, are for all your happiness, whether I see you any more, which, under God, depends much upon your compliance with my proposal ; and those that close with it shall ever be remembered by me and mine—so with my love, farewell,

Your assured friend,

W. PENN.

N. B. *The superscription of the above letter is lost.*



Form of the constitution of the college of physicians of Philadelphia. as revised and agreed upon, April 1, 1783.

THE physicians of Philadelphia, influenced by a conviction of the many advantages that have arisen in

every country, from literary institutions, have associated themselves under the name and title of "the college of physicians of Philadelphia."

The objects of this college are, to advance the science of medicine, and thereby to lessen human misery, by investigating the diseases and remedies which are peculiar to our country, by observing the effects of different seasons, climates, and situations, upon the human body; by recording the changes that are produced in diseases, by the progress of agriculture, arts, population, and manners; by searching for medicines in our woods, waters, and the bowels of the earth; by enlarging our avenues to knowledge, from the discoveries and publications of foreign countries; by appointing stated times for literary intercourse and communications, and by cultivating order and uniformity in the practice of physic.

For the purpose of obtaining these objects, the following rules have been adopted.

1st. The college shall consist of fellows and associates.

2d. The fellows shall consist of practitioners of physic, of character in their profession, who reside in the city, or district of Southwark, or liberties of Philadelphia, and are not under twenty four years of age.

3d. The associates shall consist of persons of merit in the profession of medicine, who do not live within the limits above described.

4th. Three fourths of the whole number of fellows met, shall concur in the admission of a fellow or associate.

5th. The officers of the college shall consist of a president, vice president, four censors, a treasurer, and secretary, who shall be chosen annually, from amongst the fellows, on the first Tuesday in July.

6th. The stated meetings of the college shall be on the first Tuesday in every month; besides these meetings, the president, or, in case of his absence, or indisposition, the vice president, shall have power to call extraordinary meetings, whenever important or unexpected business shall require, of which he shall be the judge. It shall likewise be in the power of any six fellows of the college, who

concur in their desires for a meeting, to authorise the president, or, in case of his absence, or indisposition, the vice president, to call it.

7th. The business of the censors shall be to inspect the records, and examine the accounts and expenditures of the college, and report thereon. And all communications made to the society, after being read at one of their stated meetings, shall be referred to the censors, and such other members of the college as shall be nominated for the purpose, to examine and report thereon to the college, who shall determine by a vote, taken by ballot, on the propriety of publishing them in their transactions.

8th. The business of the secretary shall be to keep minutes of all the meetings and transactions of the society, and to record them in a book provided for that purpose. Likewise to receive and preserve all books and papers belonging, and letters addressed to the college.

9th. The business of the treasurer shall be to receive all the monies of the college, and to pay them to the order of the president or vice president only, which order shall be the voucher for his expenditures.

10th. Every member of the college shall have a certificate of his election, with the seal of the college affixed thereto, signed by the president and vice president, and countersigned by the censors and secretary. The style of certificates, and of all addresses from the college, shall be as follows, The president, or the vice president, and college of physicians of Philadelphia.

11th. No associate, who comes to reside within the limits mentioned in the second rule, shall be admitted to a fellowship in the college, without being elected in the manner prescribed for the admission of fellows—no new member shall be chosen who has not been proposed at a previous stated meeting.

12th. No law nor regulation shall be adopted, that has not been proposed at a previous stated meeting; nor shall any part of the constitution be altered, without being proposed for consideration, for three months—the president, or vice president, when he takes the chair, shall have no vote, except on questions where there is an

equal divifion of voices. Seven fellows fhall be a quorum for all ordinary bufinefs; but for the expen- diture of money, the making of laws, or alter- ing the conftitution, eleven fellows fhall be a quorum.

13th. Every fellow, upon his ad- miffion, fhall fubfcribe to the above rules, as a testimony of his confenting to be bound by them—he fhall, at the fame time, pay into the hands of the treafurer, the fum of eight dollars, towards eftablifhing a fund for the ufe of the college; he fhall likewife pay two dollars, annually, for the fame purpose.

The following phyficians are the prefent members of the college.

John Redman, prefident.

John Jones, vice prefident.

Wm. Snippen, jun. }

Benjamin Ruff, }

Adam Kuhn, }

Samuel Duffield, }

Gerardus Clarkfon, treafurer.

Samuel Powel Griffiths, fecretary.

John Morgan, Thomas Lacke, George Glentworth, James Hutch- infon, Robert Harris, Benjamin Duf- field, John Foulke, Andrew Rofs, William Currie, John Carfon, Wil- liam W. Smith, John Morris, Wil- liam Clarkfon, Benj. Say, Charles Moore, Cafpar Wilar, James Cun- ningham, Nathan Dorley, Michael Leib, John H. Gibbons, Nicholas B. Waters.

All communications, that are in- cluded in the objects of the college, fpecified in the preamble of the con- ftitution, may be addreffed to the fe- cretary, (poft paid, when they are fent by that conveyance) or to any other fellow of the college.

It is hoped the friends of medical fcience, in every part of the united ftates, will concur in promoting, by ufe- ful communications, the important de- figns of this inftitution.

Published by order of the college,
S. P. GRIFFITHS, *fec.*



An act for laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandizes imported into the united ftates.

WHEREAS it is neceffary for the fupport of government, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on

goods, wares, and merchandizes im- ported :

Be it enacted by the congrrefs of the united ftates, that from and after the fifteenth day of June next enfuing, the feveral duties herein after mentioned, fhall be laid on the fol- lowing goods, wares, and merchan- dizes, imported into the united ftates, from any foreign port, or place; that is to fay :

On all diftilled fpirits of Jamaica proof, imported from the European dominions of any ftate or kingdom, having a commercial treaty with the united ftates, 12 cents per gallon,

On all other diftilled fpirits, im- ported from the European dominions of fuch ftate or kingdom, 10 cents, per gallon,

On all diftilled fpirits of Jamaica proof, imported from any other king- dom or country whafoever, 15 cents per gallon,

On all other diftilled fpirits, *Cents.*
per gallon, 12

On molaffes, per gallon, 5

On Madeira wine, per gallon, 25

On all other wines, per gallon, 15

On every gallon of beer, ale, or porter, in casks, 8

On all cyder, beer, ale, or porter, in bottles, per dozen, 25

On malt, per bufhel, 10

On brown fugars, per pound, 1

On loaf fugars, per pound, 3

On all other fugars, per pound, 1½

On coffee, per pound, 2½

On cocoa, per pound, 1

On all candles of tallow, per pound, 2

On all candles of wax, or fper- maceti, per pound, 6

On cheefe, per pound, 4

On foap, per pound, 2

On boots, per pair, 50

On all fhoes, flippers, or goloshoes made of leather, per pair, 7

On all fhoes, or flippers, made of filk or ftuff, per pair, 10

On cables, for every 112 pounds, 75

On tarred cordage, for every 112 pounds, 75

On untarred ditto, and yarn, for every 112 pounds, 90

On twine or packthread, for eve- ry 112 pounds, 200

On all fteel unwrought, for eve- ry 112 pounds, 56

On all nails and fpiques, per pound, 1

On falt, per bufhel, 6

On manufactured tobacco, per lb.	6	Salt-petre, tin in pigs, tin plates,
On snuff, per pound,	10	lead, old pewter, brals, iron and brass
On wool and cotton cards, per doz.	50	wire, copper in plates, wool, dying
On coal, per bushel,	3	woods, and dying drugs (other than
On pickled fish, per barrel,	75	indigo) raw hides, beaver, and all
On dried fish, per quintal,	50	other furs, and deer skins.
On all teas imported from China or India, in ships built in the united states, and belonging to a citizen or citizens thereof, as follows :		And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of December, which shall be in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, there shall be laid a duty on every hundred and twelve pounds weight of hemp imported as aforesaid, of sixty cents.
On bohea tea, per pound	6	And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the duties paid, or secured to be paid, upon any of the goods, wares, and merchandizes, as aforesaid, shall be returned or discharged upon such of the said goods, wares, or merchandizes, as shall, within twelve months after payment made, or security given, be exported to any country without the limits of the united states, except one <i>per centum</i> on the amount of the said duties, in consideration of the expense which shall have accrued by the entry and safe keeping thereof.
On all fouchong or other black teas, per pound	10	And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be allowed and paid on every quintal of dried, and on every barrel of pickled fish, of the fisheries of the united states, and on every barrel of salted provision of the united states, exported to any country without the limits thereof, in lieu of a drawback of the duties imposed on the importation of the salt employed, and expended therein, viz. <i>cents.</i>
On all hyson teas, per pound	20	On every quintal of dried fish, 5
On all other green teas, per pound	10	On every barrel of pickled fish, 5
On all teas imported from any country other than China or India, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, or from China or India in any ship or vessel, which is not wholly the property of a citizen or citizens of the united states, as follows :		On every barrel of salted provisions, 5
On bohea tea, per pound	10	And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be allowed and paid on every gallon of rum distilled within the united states, and exported beyond the limits of the same, in consideration of the duty on the importation of the molasses from which the said rum shall have been distilled, 5 cents.
On all fouchong or other black teas, per pound	15	And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that a discount of ten per cent. on all the duties imposed by this act, shall be allowed on such goods, wares, and merchandises, as shall be imported in vessels built in the united states, and which shall be
On all hyson teas, per pound	30	
On all other green teas, per pound	18	
On all looking glasses, window and other glass, except black quart bottles, ten per centum ad valorem.		
On all china, stone and earthen ware, ten per centum ad valorem.		
On all blank books, writing, printing, or wrapping paper, paper hangings and paste-board, cabinet wares, buttons of metal, saddles, gloves of leather, hats of beaver, fur, wool, or mixture of either, millinary ready made, castings of iron, and upon slit and rolled iron, leather, tanned, or tawed, and all manufacture of leather, except such as shall be otherwise rated, canes, walking sticks and whips, clothing ready made, brushes, gold, silver, and plated ware, and jewellery and paste work, anchors, wrought tin and pewter ware, seven and a half per centum ad valorem.		
On every coach, chariot, or other four wheel carriage, and on every chaise, solo, or other two wheel carriage, or parts thereof, fifteen per centum ad valorem.		
On all other goods, wares, and merchandize, five per centum on the value thereof, at the time and place of importation, except as follows :		

wholly the property of a citizen or
citizens thereof.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall continue and be in force until the first day of June, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and from thence until the end of the next succeeding session of congress, which shall be held thereafter, and no longer.

1789, May 16.

Read a third time, and passed
the house of representatives,

JOHN BECKLEY, clerk.



Anecdotes.

AVENERABLE clergyman, in a neighbouring state, grieved, to see the doctrine of universal salvation prevailing in his parish, was desirous of preventing its progress by convincing mr. M——, the preacher of the doctrine, that his system was unscriptural, and dangerous to society. For this purpose he requested the company of mr. M—— one evening, and being too old to manage the argument with dexterity himself, he desired a young clergyman of his acquaintance to attend and assist him. The aged gentleman opened the conversation of the evening by informing his younger brother in the ministry, that he had requested the company of mr. M——, and himself, in order to have the doctrine of universal salvation fairly discussed, in his presence, for he thought mr. M—— might be convinced of his error; but he was too old to manage the debate—he therefore desired the young clergyman to enter upon the argument with mr. M——. “Why, sir,” replied the gentleman, with his usual address, “Jesus Christ says, he that believeth, shall be saved, and he that believeth not, shall be damned; the dispute, therefore, is wholly between Jesus Christ and mr. M——, and I wish to be excused from an interference.”



GENERAL Lee being one day furrounded, according to custom, by a numerous levee of his canine favourites, was asked by a lady, if he was fond of dogs? With his usual *politeness*, he instantly replied, "Yes, madam; I love *dogs*:—but I detest *bitches*."

A White man meeting an Indian asked him, "whose Indian are you?" To which the copper-faced genius replied, "I am God Almighty's Indian, whose Indian are you?"



AN old gentleman at the point of death, called a faithful negro to him, telling him he would do him an honour before he died. The fellow thanked him, and hoped massa would live long. I intend Cato, said the master, to allow you to be buried in the family vault. Ah massa, returns Cato, me no like dat, ten pounds would be better to Cato, he no care were he be buried; besides, massa, suppose we be buried togeder, and *de devil come looking for massa in de darh, he might take away poor negar man in mistake.*



“IT is a very dark night,” says Calisto to one of his brethren of colour, as they were both staggering home from a frolic on a thanksgiving eve—staggering, did I say—they were not drunk, nor were they sober—they were at that happy medium, when the bondsman feels himself as happy as the monarch.

"It is a very dark night, Cæsar, take care," says Cato. The caution was a good one—but, like many others, was given too late—For Cæsar, striking his foot against the small remains of a post which time had long been hacking to pieces, measured his length upon the ground, before the friendly caution of Cato had met his ear. "I wonder" says Cæsar, rising, and rubbing the mud, &c. from off his holiday suit, "*why de dibil de sun no shine in dese dark nights, Cato, and not keep shining in de day time, when dere's no need of him.*"



EARLY in the last war, when one of the king of England's thundering proclamations made its appearance, the subject was mentioned in a company in Philadelphia; when one of the members of congress turning to miss Livingston, said, 'well, miss, are you not greatly terrified at the *roaring of the British lion?*' "Not at all, sir, for I have learned from natural history, that *that beast always roars loudest when he is most frightened.*"

In oration, delivered July 4, 1788, at Marietta, in the territory of the united states, north-west of the river Ohio, by the honourable James M. Varnum, one of the judges of said territory.

THIS anniversary, my friends, is sacred to the independence of the united states. Every heart must—every citizen must feel himself exalted upon the happy occasion.

The memorable fourth of July will ever be celebrated with gratitude to the Supreme Being, for that revolution, which caused tyranny and oppression to feed upon their own disappointment; and which crowned the exertions of patriotism with the noblest rewards of virtue.

How execrable the system which rasped at the possession of our dearest rights—and how happy the sons of freedom, in being rescued from the vilest servitude!

Recollection, thou faithful monitor of past barbarities, retire behind the curtain of oblivion, nor continue to open our wounds afresh—May the piercing groans of a dying father—the melting tears of a tender mother—the carnage of heroic brothers—the torturing shrieks of virgin innocence—and the agonizing pangs of sanctified connexions—no more embrace the hallowed shrines of vengeance, nor interrupt the joys of men and angels!

If the praises of all the citizens of the united states have ascended, in annual commemorations, to the most perfect altar, meeting the approbation of heaven, how elevated should our feelings be, who celebrate, not only the common advantages of independence; but who, for the first time, recognize our own particular felicity in being placed upon this happy spot!

The fertility of the soil—the temperature and salubrity of the air—beautifully diversified prospects—innumerable streams, through a variety of channels communicating with the ocean; and the opening prospect of a prodigious trade and commerce—are among the advantages which welcome the admiring stranger.

Sweet is the breath of morn; her rising sweet

With charm of earliest birds: pleasant the sun,

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When first on this delightful land, he spreads

His orient beams: on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,

Glist'ring with dew: fertile the fragrant earth,

After mild showers; and sweet the coming on

Of grateful evening, mild—the silent night,

With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,

And these the gems of heaven, her starry train."

Unfortunately for the united states, their progress to victory and independence was so rapid, as not to admit of a correspondent change in the nature of their governments. The high station, which, after a conflict of eight years, ranked them among the nations of the earth, created objects of the first magnitude. Prejudices, too deeply imbibed, and riveted by the force of pre-existing opinion—and local habits, the offspring of unequal advances in civil society, were to be conquered and removed—the mechanic arts and liberal sciences to be promoted—trade and commerce to be directed to their proper objects, through channels entirely contrariant to colonial systems—new sources of revenue were opened, in the management whereof, experience as well as power was wanting—the variety of connexions, arising from their relative situation, laid the foundation for an almost entire change in criminal jurisprudence—the acquisition of immense tracts of territory, not within the limits of any particular state, and the boundless claims of some of the states on countries, not their own, were attended with innumerable difficulties, and threatened the most serious consequences:—in short, the articles of confederation, founded upon the union of the states, were so totally defective, in the executive powers of government, that a change in their fundamental principles, became absolutely necessary. And but for those friendships which have formed and preserved an union sacred to honour, patriotism and virtue; and but for that superior wisdom, which formed the new plan of a federal government, now rapid in its progress to adoption, the confederation itself before this day, would have been dissolved! Then,

indeed, might "have we hung our harps upon the willows,—for we could not have sung in a strange land!" Then we might have lamented, but could not have avoided, the horrors of a civil war! Promiscuous carnage would have deluged the country in blood, until some daring chief, more fortunate than his adversary, would have rivetted the chains of perpetual bondage!

But now, anticipating the approaching greatness of this country, nourished and protected under the auspices of a nation, forming, and to be cemented by, the strongest and the best of ties, the active, the generous, the brave, the oppressed defenders of their country, will here find a safe, an honourable asylum; and may recline upon the pleasure of their own reflexions.

Every class of citizens will be equally protected by the laws; and the labour of the industrious will find the reward of peace, plenty, and virtuous contentment.

Until the new constitution shall so far have operated as to acquire the possession of Niagara and Detroit, we may possibly meet with some disturbances from the natives: but it is our duty, as well as interest, to conduct towards them with humanity and kindness. We must, at the same time, be upon our guard, and by no means suffer the progress of our settlement to be checked by too great a degree of confidence.

Were the paths of life entirely strewn with flowers, we should become too much attached to this world, to wish ever to exchange it for a more exalted condition. Difficulties we must expect to encounter in our infant state: but most of the distresses common to new countries we shall never experience, if we make use of the means in our power to promote our own happiness.

Many of our associates are distinguished for wealth, education, and virtue; and others, for the most part, are reputable, industrious, well-informed planters, farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics.

We have made provision, among our first institutions, for scholastic and liberal education; and, conscious that our being, as well as prosperity, depend upon the supreme will,

we have not neglected the great principles and institutions of religion. The united States have granted to us, in common with the whole territory, a most excellent constitution, for a temporary government. They have provided for its regular administration, and placed at its head, a gentleman of the first character*, both for the many amiable virtues of his private life, and for the eminent talents, and unshaken fidelity, with which he hath sustained the most important appointments. We mutually lament, that the absence of his excellency will not permit us, upon this joyous occasion, to make those grateful assurances of sincere attachments, which bind us to him, by the noblest motives that can animate the feelings of an enlightened people. May he soon arrive! Thou gently-flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequalled majesty, reflecteth no images but the grandeur of the impending heaven, bear him, oh! bear him safely to this anxious spot! And thou, beautifully-transparent Muskingum, swell at the moment of his approach, and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight!

We are happy, my fair auditors, in expressing our admiring attachments, to those elevated sentiments, which inspired you with the heroic resolution of attempting the rude passage of nature's seeming barrier, to explore in the rugged conditions of the field, the paradise of America! Gentle zephyrs and fanning breezes, wafting through the air ambrosial odours, received you here. Hope no longer flutters upon the wings of uncertainty. Your present satisfaction, increasing by the fairest prospects, will terminate in the completion of all your wishes.

Amiable in yourselves, amiable in your tender connexions, you will soon add to the felicity of others; who, emulous of following your bright example, and having formed their manners upon the elegance of simplicity and the refinements of virtue, will be happy in living with you, in the bosom of friendship.

To the secretary at war, whose ex-

NOTE.

* *General St. Clair.*—C.

alted talents and long experience have enabled him to form the most perfect arrangements, we are greatly indebted for the aid of a corps, high in the splendor of military discipline. We have received from the commanding general and from all his officers, every mark of hospitality, friendship, and politeness: our acknowledgments, therefore, are the more unreserved, as they flow from the most unequivocal feelings. Our friends—our country's friends, we embrace you as a band of brothers, connected by the most sacred ties! In the name of all who have fought, who have bled, who have died, in the cause of freedom!—in the name of all surviving patriots and heroes—in the name of Washington, we declare, that in the honourable character of soldiers, you revere the sacred rights of citizens!—live then in this happy assemblage of superior merit!—whenever you may be called to the field of Mars, may you be crowned with unfading laurels!—we know you fear not death:—but, living or dying, may you receive the plaudits of grateful millions!

Mankind, my friends, have deviated from the rectitude of their original formation. They have been sullied and dishonoured by the controul of ungovernable passions: but, “rejoice ye shining worlds on high,” mankind are now upon the ascending scale! they are regaining, in rapid progression, their station in the rank of beings.

Reason and philosophy are gradually resuming their empire in the human mind; and, when these shall have become the sole directing motives, the restraints of law will cease to degrade us with humiliating distinctions; and the assaults of passion will be subdued by the gentle sway of virtuous affection.

Religion and government commenced in those parts of the globe, where yonder glorious luminary first arose in effulgent majesty. They have followed after him in his brilliant course; nor will they cease till they shall have accomplished, in this western world, the consummation of all things.

Religion inspires us with certain hope of eternal beatitude, and that it shall begin upon the earth, by an unreserved restitution to the common

centre of existence. With what rapture and ecstacy, therefore, may we look forward to that all-important period, when the universal desires of mankind shall be satisfied!—when this new Jerusalem shall form one august temple, unfolding its celestial gates to every corner of the globe!—when millions shall fly to it, “as doves to their windows,” elevating their hopes upon the broad spreading wings of millennial happiness!—then shall the dark shades of evil be erased from the moral picture, and the universal system appear in all its splendor!—Time itself, the era and the grave of imperfection, shall be ingulphed in the bosom of eternity, and one blaze of glory pervade the universe!”



A series of letters on the establishment of the worship of the Deity, as essential to national happiness. P. 324.

By an American.

Plurique boni mores,

Quam bonae leges, valent. Tacitus.

LETTER IV.

Dear sir,

TO effect the salutary end proposed in these remarks, I submit the following plan to consideration.

Let the assembly fix the annual salaries of the ministers of religion, somewhat in the following proportion;

To every minister, who has a congregation of not less than two hundred families or polls, a salary of £. per annum.

To every minister who has not less than one hundred and fifty families or polls, £. per annum.

To every minister who has not less than sixty families or polls, £. per annum.

The salary should be sufficient for a decent and honourable support. Those whose congregations are more numerous, would be entitled to somewhat of a larger allowance; their parishioners, *cæteris paribus*, paying more, and their labours and avocations being greater and more frequent than the pastors of smaller societies. Those religious societies in any town or parish, which fall short of sixty families or polls, by joining with some neighbouring society of the same denomination, and having a minister of their own to officiate among them in rotation, would be entitled to a salary

for their teachers; the societies collectively containing not less than sixty families.

Let the number of the ministers of religion of all denominations in a state, be ascertained; and likewise the sum requisite for their support; those who are settled not to have their salaries lessened; but if there be any, who, by the proposed quodation, would not be entitled to a sum from the public, equal to their present salary, their congregation to make up to them the deficiency.

Let societies be authorized to draw for their proportion, from the time of the settlement of a minister;—vacant congregations also to draw for all occasional or probationary supplies, in the same proportion, according to the time in which they are thus supplied.

If in the settlement of a minister, the congregation choose to add to the aforesaid annual grant, for his encouragement and support, they should have full power so to do.

The tax for the support of the public worship of the Deity, being annual and general, would, I conceive, prove a powerful stimulant to order and peace, and to a suitable zeal in the settlement of religious teachers—it would prevent dissensions on the principles of saving a trifling sum, at the expense of those who do their proportion in this way. It would save much precious time, as well as expense of committees to make contracts with ministers with regard to support.

The sum being involved in the public tax, and collected with it, would make but one tax for the support of government and of religion, and consequently greatly lessen the number and expense of public collectors. There would be the entire saving of the expense of gatherers of rates—it would have a mighty tendency to stop the mouths of those mercenary souls, who would rejoice to have it always in their power to prevent the settlement of public worship and order in their respective societies—assemblies would be less frequently called off from the weighty affairs of government, to compose parish contentions, fix parish lines and meeting-houses—our towns not broken down and crumbled any more into little parishes, where people are unable to support a

minister, or he to subsist—a support being less precarious, men of abilities and influence as well as of virtue, would be encouraged to engage in this calling; they would devote themselves with less interruption to the work of the ministry, not being obliged to spend that time in the field to get their bread, which they owe to their studies. The support of a public institution, from which the blessings of civil and social life are derived, would be equally borne by the community, as it ought to be, since all reap benefit from it, and without it, in the opinion of men of enlightened minds, whose opinion the experience all of ages confirms, a nation must speedily rush into barbarous ignorance, anarchy and ruin.

When ignorance spreads her wings over a people, their glory is departed, every thing great and virtuous is no more—such a people become the proper subjects for the aspiring and ambitious to tyrannize over and rule with a rod of iron. Do we wish our children, wise, free, and happy? Let us leave them the best means of instruction.

Christianity, (the professed religion of these states) needs not my feeble pen to recommend it—it has its own commendation in the breast of all who have afforded it the least impartial attention. The design and effect of it is to soften the passions, and regulate the tempers of mankind—to prompt every good affection and disposition—to raise and cherish the seeds of universal love and compassion:—its precepts revive a spirit of virtue, and give new force to the powers of reason and to the efforts of industry, in the common conduct of life.

By this are found most forcible applications to the hopes and fears of mankind, inducing to virtuous manners, drawn from the source of a future state of retribution, and the continual presence and agency of the Deity. As religion inculcates good order and government, it is the strength and glory of a people; the spring of every thing good and pleasant;—it extends its happy influence into private families; it is the stability of towns, states, and nations;—the more extensively its influence is diffused, the more secure shall we be from

the confusions of anarchy and the invasions of tyranny;—it is the sure and necessary guard of social happiness, of unviolated property, of civil liberty, and civil government.

National virtues are derived from religious principle; these spread themselves in countless streams thro' the community;—hence, good manners—civility—chastity—modesty—temperance—industry—justice—mercy—benevolence—public spirit—order—and subjection to civil government.

The deeper the principles of religion are fixed in the human breast, the greater the sense of the obligation to sobriety—honesty—and every social and moral virtue:—hence, religion is necessary to give life and efficacy to the arts and manufactures;—to trade—commerce—and agriculture; to open the springs from whence private happiness and national greatness flow.

It is the influence of religion, and of christianity above all other systems, which has raised the civilized nations of the earth from darkness to light, from brutes to men. In the savage tribes of our western hemisphere, we have a striking picture of what our painted ancestors in Europe were, before they were illuminated with the rays of divine knowledge; and without this blessed aid, such should we have been at this day; like them still ignorant,

of the various skill,
To turn the furrow, or to guide the
tool

Mechanic; or the heav'n-conducted
prow

Of navigation bold, that fearless braves
The burning line, or dares the win-
try pole,

Mother severe of infinite delights.

THOMPSON.

I am, &c.



LETTER V.

Dear sir,

I HAVE considered the institution of public worship only as it respects the prosperity and happiness of a people, in their secular and civil interests, and as it is the support of order and government. Every rational mind must see the necessity of it, to these good ends. The influence this institution has on our future happi-

ness, I shall not in this place consider, nor dwell on the additional force which the argument derives from this quarter. I beg leave to mention an argument of the greatest possible weight on this subject. The truth of it is established by incontestible and infallible authority, and confirmed by the experience of every age and nation, which is, that the supreme Governor of the world deals with nations according to public laws which he hath established. It is in this world that nations are punished or rewarded. They feel the effects of his supreme justice or goodness according to their public characters. The reason of this economy is, because nations, as such, have no future state: the present is, therefore, to them the only time of trial and of retribution. They are rewarded or punished, built up or thrown down, honoured or destroyed, in this world, by that being, whose providence is national and universal.

Give me leave to refer you to a single passage in revelation, which establishes this truth, in which the most High declares that his smiles or his frowns are on the nations according as they do or do not obey his laws. Jer. xviii. chap. "At what instant I shall speak, concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, to pull down, and to destroy it: if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil which I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it: if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them."

This, I conceive, is the general and supreme rule of government, which the most High maintains among the nations; not confined in its operation to the nation of the Jews, but applied to all nations and all ages. A retrospect on the history of the world demonstrates, that the dispensations of heaven towards nations have been invariable according to this rule, down the stream of time, from the foundation of the Assyrian empire, even to the decline of the British, and the elevation of that of these united republics.

Since as a people we have experienced, most signally, the interpositions of providence, as our present tranquility, sovereignty, and independence announce to all the world, and to the conviction of infidelity itself; what returns does Almighty God, the arbiter of nations, who holds the balance of empire, expect from us, but a suitable acknowledgment, and that by the maintenance of that institution, as the medium by which our gratitude must be expressed? Shall we revert to ignorance, to vice and barbarism, in proportion to our obligations to be an enlightened and virtuous people? Forbid it heaven! and ye civil fathers of our dear country! Let perfect freedom in religious sentiments be given—but maintain the public worship of the Deity. I am, &c.

Connecticut, September 1786.

(Letters VI. and VII. in our next.)



History of the treatment of prisoners among the American Indians.—P. 343.

FROM this history of the treatment of prisoners among the Indians, arise several questions of considerable moment to the philosophy of savage life. How shall we account for the adoptions, which, of inveterate enemies, create, in a moment, countrymen, and the nearest relations, or how reconcile the real friendship and fidelity with which they are made and accepted, to that fierce and unrelenting spirit, which, in other instances, divides the hostile nations?—How shall we account for the humanity with which the prisoners are treated, previously to their execution?—How shall we account for a barbarity in punishment, so atrocious that men in a higher state of society can hardly reconcile it with the principles of human nature?—And how, in the last place, shall we account for that astonishing patience which they exhibit in the midst of suffering? Is it magnanimity? or is it insensibility? does it arise from climate? or is it the natural offspring of their state of society and their habits of life? Each of these questions merits particular attention; and their solution will necessarily exhibit human nature in an interesting light; and will shew that the moral

faculties of man are not less susceptible of change than his physical qualities; his mind not less than his countenance, according to the situation in which he is placed. The first of these questions shall be the subject of the present essay.

How shall we account for adoptions, which, of inveterate enemies, create, in a moment, countrymen and the nearest relations? or reconcile the real friendship and fidelity with which they are made and accepted, to that fierce and unrelenting spirit, which, in other instances, divides the hostile nations?

The necessity of saving their small tribes from extinction by eternal wars, has, according to the opinion of some historians, given rise to this custom, and a common sense of utility extended and confirmed the practice. But this opinion supposes a refinement in policy evidently superior to the rude and ardent passions of savage life. It presumes that savages, who feel the ties of society, feebly, and the impulses of uncultivated nature in their utmost force, act more as citizens than as men. A savage seldom acts upon cold and artful maxims of policy. In a state of society, in which personal independence is so complete, their sachems and chiefs can pursue no cool and regular plan of policy separate from the will of the multitude. They can only direct to a certain degree the passions inspired by the rude condition of nature, and of society, in which they exist. We must, therefore, search among the principles of human nature in savage society, for the cause of an effect so little known in civilized nations.

As the women chiefly are entitled to exercise the right of adoption, it may be supposed that their softer dispositions, more easily touched with kindness to strangers, and with compassion to the miserable, only follow the dictates of nature in the sex, when they rescue an unhappy captive from torture. But it is likewise remarked, that women from their impotence, and from the tenderness and irritability of their passions, are more prone than men to revenge. For this reason, the prisoners destined to death, are often resigned to women who have lost their near relations in the late battle,

that they may give the signal and lead the way in the execution of those dreadful scenes of vengeance. Both observations are true; and from them we derive, in part at least, the causes of two opposite events. Those whose hearts are sore from the recent loss of friends, irritated to madness, set no bounds to their fury. Those, in whose hearts the edge of grief has been blunted by time, and the first transports of revenge have subsided, resume by degrees the natural softness of the sex, and return to the sentiments of compassion. A woman, deprived of her husband, in that rude state of society, where no artificial ties exist to attach her forever to his memory, and to check her desires of a new connexion, soon finds the sentiments of grief give way to the demands of nature. She wants one who can furnish her and her family with meat, while she attends to the culture of the spot of ground that furnishes them with beans and corn. These wants are not easily supplied among the men of her own nation, where a thin population, wasted by perpetual hostilities, hardly affords husbands to the younger women. The bereaved seek for that supply abroad, which they cannot find at home, and convert enemies into friends. Parents, who have lost their sons in battle or by the ordinary casualties of nature, seek for something to fill the vacancy that is left in their hearts. They seek it the more in proportion as advancing age requires a support for its imbecility, and an object on which its affections may rest.

Moreover, extreme hospitality and kindness to strangers, is almost characteristic of savages when not embittered by rancour and revenge, or inflamed by the ardor of military enterprize. The people, therefore, who have continued at home during the late expedition, especially the women and old men, feeling little of the martial rage of the warriors, and enjoying their pacific habits and affections in a great measure undisturbed by the war in which they have not taken an active part, regard the captives, incapable of injury, and outcast from their country, in the harmless light of strangers. Their habitual tendencies recur, they embrace them with native hospitality; and, not delicate in the choice of their

friends, their wants point out to them these new connexions. The similarity of manners, customs, figure, and character among savages, aids the reciprocal transition of affection and duty. Among civilized nations, particular characteristics strongly mark the different countries. Country becomes an idea more complicated and more dear. The points of difference are infinite, and almost irreconcilable. These differences prove insuperable obstructions to their easily coalescing in domestic and relative connexions; and become fertile sources of mutual prejudice, antipathy, and contempt. But all savages are so much alike, they have so little field of variation in their simple state of life, that the manners and appearance of different nations oppose no prejudices, and shock no delicacies. Unions between them become less difficult. Not withheld by the artificial ideas created in society, they give way to the simple and unconstrained impulses of nature. The sachems and elders, finding it beneficial to the nation to be thus recruited, encourage the practice; and custom and example facilitate connexions, to which they are led by so many other principles.

But other questions arise upon this subject, no less difficult and important. How does the stranger reconcile himself to his new situation? How can he suddenly relinquish old and adopt new attachments? Why does he never attempt to return to his friends and to his country? Why does he not languish after these beloved objects, so necessary to the happiness of men in civilized society? This phenomenon likewise arises out of the ideas and condition of savage life.

Savages, knowing the sufferings to which they are destined, if taken by their enemies, make their whole education, besides learning to take the game, and to make war by stealth, to consist in training the youth to suffer every imaginable pain with invincible patience. It is among them the point of honour with a captive warrior, to endure tortures and death with a magnanimity, that, insulting the impotence of hostile rage, reflects glory on the heroism of his own nation. His nation would esteem itself dishonoured, if he did not suffer and perish like a hero.

And still more dishonored, if he should weakly accept of life, and change his people but for a moment. Knowing, from their own fierce and unrelenting spirit, the inevitable destiny that awaits every captive warrior, they esteem all prisoners as dead, because, according to their maxims, they ought to die. And they would not receive again into the tribe—they would even put to death, if they should return—the pusillanimous men who had been willing to live upon ignominious terms. For this reason, all their distinguished warriors refuse to be adopted, and choose rather to die like men. Those, who accept of adoption, are despised and hated by their country—they are cast off and cherished by their new family and people. They have, therefore, more inducements to stay than to return.

There are, moreover, many circumstances that render the relinquishing of country, a much easier sacrifice to savages, than to the citizens of polished nations. The latter are attached to this beloved object by property; by wants which render that property necessary; by habits which make the manners of other nations less agreeable; by permanent residence which produces attachment to the scenes with which they have been conversant, and even to the spot of ground on which they have been nourished; by long dependence upon parents; by strong relative friendships; by a thousand nameless charms of society. A savage is bound by none of these ties. Forever changing his habitation, he is attached to no spot—accustomed to roam over thousands of leagues, in quest of prey, or led by curiosity, he can hardly be said to have any country; every place is his country where he can find game.—Property does not recall him; his bow is his property, and that is always in his hand—he has no wants but what this can supply. His domestic and relative affections become feeble from the same causes. After a tedious infancy, during which his parents are strongly attached to him by the peculiar difficulties and hazards of nursing and rearing children in a savage state, having become able to provide for his own subsistence, and being no longer dependent upon them, he is chiefly in

the forests. Separation and independence weaken those ties, which, in polished society, are strengthened by mutual dependence and continual intercourse. Filial affection is a feeble principle in savage life; and even the parental gradually declines, when it is not preserved alive by the presence of children, and augmented by the cares of accumulating their fortune. The other relative affections, and all the charms of society, are little known. And little known is that complicated affection of patriotism, which renders the name of country so dear among civilized nations. So many causes concur to render a change of country easy to a savage, to reconcile him to the new, and to preclude his return to his ancient friends.



An address, (read the second of February, 1789) to the Philadelphia county society for the promotion of agriculture, and domestic manufactures. Containing a short, comprehensive view of the united States of America, particularly Pennsylvania; and observations on the effects which agriculture, manufactures, industry and economy have on government, morality, and human happiness: together with some remarks on the use and advantage of establishing societies throughout the country, for the advancement of those objects.

By ENOCH EDWARDS, esq.
(Published by particular request of the society.)

Mr. President and Gentlemen,
NCESSITY, which is often the apparent cause of the multiplied evils that await human beings, is as often wisely ordered by the supreme Controller of all events, to be that real cause, on which is founded the true prosperity and flourishing condition of every country, society, or individual.

It is peculiarly our fate to be the inhabitants of a territory, where necessity loudly calls for the greatest exertions of economy, industry, and unremitting perseverance, in the management of our domestic and rural affairs, in order to make us a free, wealthy, and an independent people.

But then it must afford the most sub-

stantial satisfaction to every mind susceptible of gratitude or reflexion, to consider, that we possess a country, as yet in the firm vigour of its youth, and but just assuming, as it were, the matured strength of manhood, and also that it contains more, infinitely more resources by nature, than are sufficiently adequate to survive or overcome any light shock occasioned by accident, or to accomplish all the good and great purposes we have ever a right to expect, or even wish for.

Possibly there is no considerable part of the universe which exhibits to the idea or view of man so truly desirable a country, or a country which promises more wealth and happiness to its inhabitants than the united states of America—Their situations, on account of their innumerable harbours, bays, inlets, rivers, creeks, lakes, climates, and wonderful variety of soils, are so divinely ordered, that they all conspire to insure those inestimable attainments.

By industry here, the rich and the poor live associated in harmonious concert without interfering with the happiness of each other. The former may, free from even the appearance of extortion, fairly add wealth to his stock, and the latter be suffered to enjoy a tranquil repose in the midst of plenty; and what has firmly laid the foundation of the most permanent peace and happiness, is, that liberty, both civil and religious, pervades all ranks of mankind. We stand alone on the whole creation, and are singled out as the only civilized people, who possess the supreme good fortune of enjoying equal rights, one with another, and who acknowledge no subjection to any power on earth, unless it be to the laws of the land.

All histories, from what I learn, agree, that at present in the countries of the east as well as in Africa, Europe, South-America, and the more unexplored parts of North-America, so large a proportion of their inhabitants are miserable, either from poverty, slavery, ignorance, or savage barbarism, that certainly it can remain no wonder to observe, that so many of the enlightened civilians, historians, and philosophers, of all those countries where tyranny, superstition, and policy, combine, as so many links, to

form the despotic chains, which bind all the race of man, from the infant to the hoary head, should in a manner envy this land of freedom—this glorious and only region of equal liberty.

Pennsylvania, on account of its soil, temperance of climate, face of its country, mixture of inhabitants, both as to nations, manners, and religions; and also in being distinguished, not only as a great commercial, but a still greater agricultural state, possesses natural advantages and resources, equal, if not preferable to any other country we have knowledge of: even our sister states, in my humble opinion, cannot excite our envy—for although to the eastward, especially in New England, we see the most sanguine and unparalleled industry, economy, and enterprise; still the somewhat greater degree of hardness, in their more northern and rigorous climate, and the rugged surface of their earth, give us by nature many advantages.

To the southward, at least in many parts, their greater degree of heat, the ease, and perhaps it may not be thought an unjust epithet, to say, the indolence of the settlers, and its never failing concomitant, dissipation, together with the idea of labouring for a livelihood being ignominious, owing to the numerous slaves that cultivate their lands, are unfortunate circumstances, that appear to mar many of the prospects of happiness which their respective situations otherwise offer.

It is true, the southern states experience smiles from providence, which we appear to be destitute of. Nature in many places, seems with a lavish hand, to load their fields with a variegated profusion of her bounties, without such severe toil as must be exerted here.—But then, how far this circumstance is a blessing, or how far we have great reason to be thankful that it is not our case, as well as how far we possess that happy medium, and wonderful coalition of fortunate circumstances from our situation, I think must fall within the sphere of every man's understanding to judge of.

It is true, and I think a happy truth too, that the mines of this country are to be explored by our ploughs only, and that the soil and climate will not bring

forward crops without hard labour, great industry and close attention—but then a few circumstances taken into consideration will amply console us for those apparent or seeming slights of providence.

In England and other European countries, where agriculture has arrived to the greatest degree of perfection, one of the grand causes of their wealth and prosperity, is justly attributed to those circumstances, that their soil and climate, like our own, will not produce good crops without the same, or a greater degree of toil than we must have recourse to.

A consideration of the present situation of some of those ancient countries, that deserted the habits of industry, neglected agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and depended on the bounty of nature, foreign supplies, and the power of their arms, for subsistence, and the enlargement of their territories, will be no bad criterion, by which we can form a judgment on what must be built, in any government, the permanent structure of wealth, ease, and happiness.

In doing this, I am confident that had we time to take a cursory view of the annals of mankind, and even rove back to the primitive era of society, we should find two positions established with the most authentic precision, which are,

First, that no great empire, kingdom, or nation, ever arrived to the true *acme* of its real glory by any other means, than on the broad and solid basis of domestic industry, and,

Secondly, that no power, yet on earth, ever retained its vigour, strength, and glory, after indolence, luxury, and effeminacy took the place of that noble virtue.

All the mighty nations that have ever arisen, since the first founding of empire, to the rise, progress and fall of the Roman power, which have long since “sunk under the stroke of time,” were the workmanship of human industry—and were, on the main, however acquired and defended by arms, supported by agriculture, manufactures, industry, economy, and their handmaid, commerce—and the duration of their existence depended, in the end, entirely on the cultivation of those substantial props.

Hence we may account for the many violent and sudden revolutions which formerly took place in the governments of the east—no sooner did any conquering nation take possession of, and set themselves down in their newly acquired dominions, than they instantly began to relax of their primitive vigour. It is true, they cultivated the art of war, and made foreign conquests; but then at home, they neglected to improve the blessings of peace, and one after another, they all fell sacrifices to that folly, which doomed and conducted their predecessors to destruction. The consequences of which will also account for those astonishing phenomena, why history should be obliged at this day, “to fall from her dignity,” and record all those great and fertile countries, that formerly flourished, and which are yet so capable of cultivation, as well as those superb cities, in different parts, where once sat enthroned amidst splendor, wealth, and power, the mighty monarchs of the universe, as being remarkable only for their barren deserts—the habitations of beasts, savages, and monsters, and as places where there is not a vestige of their ancient glory, nor scarce a monument left to announce their situations.

And even Rome, so famed for her superior wisdom and refined civilization, as soon as she relinquished in the smallest degree, her internal and domestic industry, and permitted agriculture (which was the particular stay and support of that empire) to be depressed, cramped, and discouraged, by an importation of eastern luxuries, her vigour yielded to effeminacy, her government, that noble structure, and admirable monument of human wisdom, soon became unwieldy, fell, and was crushed by its own weight.

The great kingdom of Spain, also, is another, and a more modern instance of the same kind. By her industry, her agriculture, her manufactures, and her commerce, she had arisen, about two centuries ago, to such an immense pitch of power, as not only to shake the liberties of, but threaten all Europe, with what they term universal monarchy; but, (happy for that continent) no sooner did the western world open to her view, and pour into her lap the inexhausti-

ble treasures with which it abounded, than she neglected all those means by which she had towered above her neighbours, and sunk, as it were, like the sudden fall of a rock from an eminence, into indolence, contempt, and (paradoxical as it may seem, in the midst of more money, than is possessed by any nation on earth) into poverty itself, inasmuch that there, where the liberal hand of nature has never been eclipsed, are to be found, at this day, more people consigned to wretched indigence, and denied the unalienable rights of humanity, than in any other part of Europe. From all which circumstances I think we may safely infer, that the want of a proper cultivation of the earth, on which is founded every other art, nay, every source of wealth and prosperity, must certainly produce similar effects in every government, in every age, and in every country.

Agriculture is a profession truly honourable: venerable from its great antiquity, and dignified by the extensive and universal blessings it daily administers to mankind. It appears, from the sacred writings, to have been in some measure understood in the first ages, and is almost coeval with our knowledge of the world. But the wonderful and incredible advantages we receive from it, are what we have the most reason to admire. "The art of agriculture by a regular connexion and consequence, introduced and established the idea of a more permanent property in the soil, than had hitherto been received and adopted. It was clear that the earth would not produce her fruits in sufficient quantities without the assistance of tillage; but who would be at the pains of tilling it, if another might watch an opportunity to seize upon, and enjoy the product of his industry, art, and labour? Had not, therefore, a separate property in lands as well as moveables been vested in some individuals, the world must have continued a forest, and men have been mere animals of prey, which, according to some, is the genuine state of nature. Whereas (so graciously has providence interwoven our duty and our happiness together) the result of this very necessity has been the ennobling of the human species, by giving it opportunities of im-

proving its *rational* faculties, as well as exerting its *natural*.—Necessity beget property, and in order to insure that property, recourse was had to civil society, which brought along with it a long train of inseparable concomitants; states, governments, laws, punishments, and the public exercise of religious duties. Thus connected together, it was found, that a part only of society were sufficient to provide by their manual labour for the necessary subsistence of all; and leisure was given to others to cultivate the human mind, to invent useful arts, and to lay the foundation of science."

Agriculture is that profession which promotes morality and religion. The man who labours in the field, has a constant opportunity for serious reflection; his mind enjoys a sweet and innocent repose, out of the way of difficult and dangerous temptations—he views in every routine of business, and in every day's employment, the divine dispensations of providence, and is led, as it were, by his calling, unless he shuts his eyes against the light of day, to feel and express his gratitude for all the boundless mercies of heaven. He lives by fair gain, and makes no prey of others, by outwitting the unguarded; but rejoices to see his neighbours prosper. His comfort is increased with theirs, and in the midst of his rural and domestic enjoyments, his pleasing and lasting resources for happiness, are the rewards of his own industry, and the gracious liberality of his beneficent Creator.

By a successful cultivation of agriculture, innumerable are the advantages that are derived to human society. Nay, all ranks and species of created beings are affected or supported by it. Manufactures are grafted on it, as that replenishing stock, which supplies nourishment, to all their different and extensive branches. It is the life of industry, and it is the soul of economy: it is that art which alone lays the foundation for a plentiful supply to the various necessities of the poor, by affording them constant employment, and exciting their industry, from which must result a consequent security to government. Few states, whose poor people are constantly employed, well fed, clothed, paid, and properly encouraged by kind treat-

ment, are ever afflicted with discontents, insurrections or rebellions. But on the other hand, when they are depressed for want of employment, they become idle, lazy, indolent, and necessitous—and it is from the starved part of every community, that we may ever look for danger; their idleness gives time to invent, and their necessities push them forward, with a courage sharpened by despair, to perpetrate acts of the most daring criminality.

(*To be continued.*)

Observations relative to a commercial treaty with Great Britain, &c. &c. written in 1784. By James M'Henry, esq.—P 319.

To the CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES.

NUMBER II.

TO determine whether America is in a situation to enforce a liberal treaty of commerce with Great Britain, it will be necessary to investigate. I. The dependence of the West India islands on the united states; and II. What articles the united states can import from other countries, cheaper than from Great Britain. Should we find from this enquiry, that the West India islands cannot be maintained in a prosperous situation, without the supplies of the united states, and that England cannot furnish the united states with the bulk of our European imports, upon as advantageous terms as they can be had from other countries, it will prove—that America may reasonably expect, or honourable enforce a treaty upon equal and liberal principles.

I. The dependence of the West India islands on the united states. Whoever has considered, or will sit down and consider, the relative situation of these states and the West India islands, must be convinced, that nature has formed a connexion between them, which politicians cannot destroy. But, if the subject is pursued through their wants and productions, it will be further perceived, that to the strong connexion of nature, is added the indissoluble cement of interest. The West India planters and merchants were fully sensible of this truth, when they represented to

lord North, that “the dominions of the united states of America, and his majesty’s sugar colonies, having been settled in the express view of supplying each other’s wants, it cannot be expected that the sugar colonies can subsist in any degree of prosperity, without those supplies of lumber and provisions from America at the cheapest rate, in contemplation of which they were so settled, or without the consumption in North America of their produce in return.” And, although lord North rejected the prayer of this remonstrance, yet he confessed to the world the truth of its principle, when administration permitted a trade between the united states and the islands, by means of British vessels. Could they have subsisted without our supplies and our consumption of their produce, this privilege would have been withheld; because its operation is to check the growth and increase of their American colonies. The proclamation, therefore, alone is conclusive that our supplies and consumption are deemed essential at least to their prosperity.

Some objections made by Cincinnatus, against preventing British ships from being the carriers of West India produce to the united states, and the growth of the united states to the West Indies, till such time as this carrying trade shall be made common to the ships of both nations, come very naturally under this article: “Great Britain,” Cincinnatus says, “has long paid a bounty on the exportation of her corn, which with other articles, she may easily send to her islands instead of foreign countries.” I will not suspect this writer of a design to mislead; I will rather suppose him ignorant that the exportation of grain from England is forbidden, after it has risen a certain price*, or that with her immense bounties, she has not been able, in a period of sixty-eight years, (from 1697, to 1765), to export, on an average, in any one year, above four hundred and eighty-seven thousand four hundred and eleven quarters of

NOTE.

* I am well informed, that the grain imported into England during the last year, amounted to above one million sterling.

grain, which includes barley, malt, rye, and wheat||. Whereas it appears from authentic documents that the annual consumption of her West India islands only, is equal to sixty thousand barrels of rice, four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and one hundred and forty thousand barrels of bread and flour. On the other hand, the single port of Philadelphia has exported in one year (1773), one hundred and eighty two thousand three hundred and ninety one bushels of wheat, two hundred and sixty-five thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine barrels of flour, forty-eight thousand one hundred and three barrels of bread, and one hundred and seventy-nine thousand two hundred and twelve bushels of Indian corn: and Maryland, in the same space of time, (between the 5th of January 1773, and the 5th of January 1774), eighty-four thousand five hundred barrels of flour, ten thousand three hundred and thirty-three barrels of bread, four thousand five hundred bushels of rye, two hundred and sixty-six thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred and thirty-three thousand bushels of Indian and and all this without bounty, or any aid from government; while the bounties Great Britain has expended in the abovementioned period, amount to six millions fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-two pounds sterling||. These facts serve to shew how inadequate England is to the proposed supply of the islands, or to enter into competition with a country, where the general crop may be said never to fail, and which is capable of the greatest augmentation.

It is further observed by this writer, that "Ireland will contribute largely to supply the wants of the British West Indies." We shall not deny that Ireland can furnish them with beef; but it is a known fact, that Ireland does not raise wheat enough for her own consumption, and that for a series of years, she had supplies from these united states; that she still demands these supplies; and that it is not very probable that she will make encroachments upon her flax and pasturage grounds for the

NOTE.

|| See three tracts on the corn trade and corn laws,

sake of raising wheat to supply the islands. But it is no less true, that the united states can also furnish the West India islands with beef. Cinnamon joins three other sources of supplies; "Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, may very soon be enabled to make up the deficiency, more especially, if by our prohibitions we force their growth and increase." With respect to Nova Scotia, its wheat and flour was drawn from America, and the probability is, that the supply must yet go from the same quarter. As to St. John's, it is out of the question; it may perhaps support its own inhabitants, but will never supply the West Indies. Canada, then, is the only British colony from which a supply is to be expected: but to this supply, besides absolute incompetency, there are two insurmountable obstacles. 1st. Flour does not keep in the West Indies, upon an average, above six weeks. 2dly. The navigation with Canada is open, *communibus annis*, but about twenty weeks in the year; to these two, we might add, that a voyage from Quebec to the islands, generally employs twice the time of a voyage from the united states. From these facts it is evident, that the colonies cannot supply the islands; that the deficiency cannot be made up from Great Britain; and lastly, that to save them from the calamities of famine, or spoiled and rotten provisions, application must be made to the united states, who are alone able to supply them, at a price necessary to their prosperity, regularly, and efficaciously*.

It is too visible to avoid observation, that this idea of Great Britain supplying her islands, is borrowed from the ministerial pamphlet of which we have already spoken†, and makes by far the most fanciful part of that system. It is however a necessary part, without which the whole fabric must have fallen to pieces. Let us suppose for the sake of argument, the nature of the soil and climate of the British colonies—the number, industry and spi-

NOTES.

* The supplies of the British West Indies were derived during the war from the united states, by captures and through neutral islands.

† Lord Sheffield's.

rit of their inhabitants—the encouragements of England and the prohibitions of America, all in action, to force their growth and increase, and then ask these gentlemen to be candid and tell us in what number of years they really think they could accomplish what they assert them capable of doing. To this question the ministerial pamphlet is silent; but we are answered by Cincinnatus with a grave face and apprehensive expression—“very soon.” This very soon however is very indefinite; and for aught Cincinnatus has said, explanatory of the exact time, “very soon” may comprehend a series of years long enough for America to starve the British islands. The experiment of a prohibition is too delicate and dangerous not to awaken in Great Britain a sense of the most alarming consequences. Small shocks are often fatal to a kingdom in its decline, that would scarcely have been felt in its vigour. Her manufactures are too generally rivalled or underfold for her to add to their prices, by endeavouring to supply her islands independent of these states;—her expenses and income too nicely balanced to risk an increase of the one or a diminution of the other. A failure in the exports of the islands would be instantly felt by the revenue;—an attempt to increase her exports of provisions would raise the price of living and labour, and fall upon her manufactures, whose prosperity are inseparable from the existence of the nation. But these considerations aside, is it the policy of Great Britain, tamely and without an effort, to see the current of the American consumption trade settling wholly into the French islands, which must happen, unless our custom is assimilated by acts of reciprocity? for it is already known, that the French can supply us with sugar and other articles much cheaper than the English*. Agreeably to the reasoning of Cincin-

natus, she ought by all possible means to guard against our running into this trade, least, having once found the channel, we should not be easily brought to relinquish it.

There is another objection by Cincinnatus, which I shall consider in this place. By a temporary exclusion of British vessels from our carrying trade, he imagines we may deprive “ourselves of the best and almost only mart for our produce.” To this it might be sufficient to answer that we cannot be deprived of their market, *indirectly*, if we choose it: our merchants could have told him, had he consulted them, that the neutral islands will take large quantities of our produce, and, independent of these or any West India exports—that the Mediterranean—Spain—Portugal—the wine islands—Germany—Holland and other countries open a ready market equal to the whole of our former exports to the British islands; while with these exports, we may bring back many articles of consumption, we were lately obliged to take at second hand and an advanced price from Great Britain.

From this view of the subject, then, shall we hesitate to pronounce—what America has in her power—what of right she ought to expect, and what measures she ought to pursue?

It is now to be examined, II, what articles the united states can import cheaper from other countries than from Great Britain. This being a

NOTE.

† Cincinnatus somewhat exultingly observes, that the resolution of the state of Jersey, strictly considered, is an absolute nullity, because the proclamation of the 2d July, upon which it is founded, does not exclude the vessels of the united states, from the West Indies, these being excluded by the navigation acts. I apprehend the proclamation was chosen inasmuch as it manifested in the most striking manner the intention of ministry, to be opposed to a direct intercourse. With respect to the resolution being a nullity, any lawyer would have told Cincinnatus—that where the intention of an act is plain or self-evident, a mistake in the preamble does not defeat the intention or render the act a nullity.

NOTE.

* “France is increasing her sugar plantations, and nothing but bad management or extravagance can prevent our islands from selling as cheap as the French, although they now undersell us so greatly.” *Observations*, p. 22.

question of individual as well as national profit or loss, and affecting the husbandman and manufacturer not less than the merchant, the balance is sedulously to be sought, and if found in our favour, tenaciously to be retained, or not lightly given up. To place it in its true light, it will be necessary to enter into a fair, separate, and candid enumeration of articles; but as this would take up too much of this paper, I shall reserve the detail for another, which will be the last, and close the present with a few general observations.

There are two avenues through which America may rouse the good sense of Great Britain; the one we have pointed out to be her West India islands, which have been laid hold of by Virginia, who has been imitated by Jersey in the resolution censured by Cincinnatus. The other which is yet more important—is her manufactures, of which we are about to speak. It is certainly more the interest and also more in the power of the united states to do without English manufactures now than during the war. During the war it was our interest to take our goods from such places as offered them to us at the least risk, and this unavoidably continued us in the use of British manufactures. Now it is our interest, to take our goods where we can get them cheapest, the risk being done away: of course we ought to confine our imports from Great Britain to such articles only, as she can sell cheaper than her neighbours or other nations, especially whilst our custom for other articles is to remain without an equivalent. We have obtained a range of markets as large as our wishes, and the cheapest must soon be universally known. We already behold rising into general notice large houses from France, Germany and Holland. These houses, inasmuch as their assortments will be completed from such markets as sell cheaper than England, will be able to undersell our merchants. Much therefore it behoves England to mark the progress of these houses, and much it behoves our merchants to attend to their orders for British goods, lest they should bring on their own country distress, and on themselves bankruptcy and ruin—the dis-

ference alone between the prices of most of the articles she formerly exported to America, and their prices in other countries now open to our trade, is of itself evidence clear enough, that we ought not to give her our commerce without an equivalent. But, alas, the British administration grasp at the exclusive trade of America, even without a treaty—so certain are they, to quote their own words, that “it will not be an easy matter to bring the American states to act as a nation,” that “they are not to be feared as such,” for “a stamp act, a tea act, or such act that can never again occur, could alone unite them.” Blind to the future, these political prophets do not perceive that their proceedings are operating as a stamp act, and *bringing the united states to act as a nation.*

March 6, 1784.



Extract from a periodical publication, entitled the “miscellanist,” written in Dublin, by W. P. Carey.

—P. 357.

ABOVE the cruel views of a conqueror, who, actuated by the lust of fame, shuts his ears to the supplications of pity, and hardening his heart for the work of devastation, wars to establish a shining infamy, by the destruction of his fellow-creatures, on the smoking ruins of desolated kingdoms, the great Washington fought to befriend and save mankind, in defence of whatever is most dear to the generous breast of enlightened patriotism. Distinguished, in an eminent degree, for the great qualities of the Macedonian and Swedish heroes, yet unsullied by the savage cruelty and intemperance of the one, or mad ambition and obliquity of the other, he possessed the rare gift of uniting all the sublime talents requisite in the founder of a mighty empire, with the polished refinements of civilized society, and the softest feelings of humanity. A stranger to profusion, yet generous in every instance where liberality was a virtue; during the late troubles, his fortune was employed in succouring merit, rewarding bravery, promoting discipline in the soldiery, and subordination to the new established government, in the citizens.

At a time when the calamities incident to a state of civil warfare, fell heavy on all ranks, but principally on the middle class of his countrymen, his beneficence, which seemed to flun the public eye, would in all probability be lost in oblivion, but for the voice of those whom he freed from the accumulated miseries of famine, sickness, and imprisonment. Many of his good deeds are passed over by the writers of his time, amidst the striking details of battles, of sieges, and military manœuvres, with which the general curiosity is often more pleased, than with the less glaring portrait of private virtue. Born with abilities to unite the jarring interests of a number of states, and be the leader of a brave and injured people, nature has not been less favourable to him in corporeal than in mental endowments. His person is majestic and striking, his physiognomy is prepossessing, and strongly expressive of the noble qualities of his soul: the dignity of his appearance inspires an awe, which keeps the unacquainted beholder at a respectful distance, until the easy politeness of his manner, formed to gain the affections without artifice, and the modest frankness of his conversation, fraught with judicious knowledge of human nature, insensibly banish the coldness of reserve, and induce the philosopher, the soldier, and polished gentleman, to quit his company with regret, filled with sentiments of enthusiastic reverence and admiration.

Having pursued the blessings of peace through the horrors of war, he forced an eulogium on his conduct, from the mouths of his enemies: and, on the ruins of British tyranny, founded the immortal fabric of his country's independence; leaving this tributary homage to all ruling powers, never in the exulting moment of national prosperity, to force an injured people from their allegiance, by forgetting that the protection of the community was the primary cause of the election of individuals to the delegated sceptre of majesty. The fatal effects which England has justly felt from her own disgraceful and oppressive schemes against America, should serve as a caution to prevent all statesmen from pursuing the narrow policy

and base purposes of illiberal faction: it should instruct them never to sacrifice the interests of one body of subjects to the unjust aggrandisement of another; but equally to extend the benefits of a wise and wholesome legislation to all parts of the empire; as a contrary conduct will inevitably return the blow aimed at the rights of society, in tenfold ruin, on the guilty oppressors, by weakening the state with jealousies and civil dissensions, which will leave it an easy prey to a foreign enemy, or insensibly dismember and finally subvert the established government.

Having equalled the greatest heroes of antiquity in glory, the illustrious Washington surpassed them in virtue and exemplary moderation; when his fellow-soldiers laid aside the sword to add lustre to the arts—to cultivate their native fields, and to enrich the united states, by a beneficial commerce—when the childless father, the lone orphan, and the widowed mourner, resorted to the bosom of peace, and the blessings of plenty, forgot their sorrows, and ceased to weep over the manes of their slaughtered relations—the American hero resigned his command; he refused the liberal rewards offered him by his grateful country; he was contented with the just approbation of a virtuous conscience, and quitting the splendid honours of a public life, he retired to the station of a private citizen.

In whatever light we view the character of this truly great man, we are struck with fresh cause for esteem and admiration: we every moment discover new and shining traits of humanity, of wisdom, and disinterested heroism: we see united in him the distinguished virtues of a good citizen, an experienced general, an upright senator, and a wise politician: we behold him rising superior to every mean consideration of self-love, hazardng his fortunes in the cause of freedom, cheerfully submitting to bear the name of rebel, and braving an ignominious death, to which he would inevitably have fallen a sacrifice, had Britain triumphed in the contest: we behold him furnishing an example the most glorious to the world, the most animating to the nations which yet groan beneath the arm of oppression, an example the most interesting to humanity,

and capable of nerving the palsied arm of age, or even of cowardice itself: we behold him like another Aaron, the sacred delegate of heaven, leading to the field a brave but ill appointed and new raised army, to contend with the ablest generals and best disciplined troops of the mightiest empire in the universe: we behold him often without money, and ill supplied with provisions, braving the accumulated severities of an American winter's campaign, inuring his soldiers to fatigue, and training them by the practice of military evolutions to defeat the attacks of a powerful enemy: we view him stedfastly pursuing the great line of conduct which he had marked out at the commencement of hostilities, mitigating the calamities of war, preventing the effusion of human blood, wasting the forces of his adversaries, tiring out the British nation by avoiding a decisive action; and finally triumphing over every obstacle which seemed insurmountably to oppose the progress of his arms, and the freedom of his country. The rash and unthinking, who estimate a commander by the multitudes whom he has destroyed, by the cities which he has sacked, and the provinces which he has desolated, may choose some ferocious conqueror for the idol of their reverence. The philanthropist, who laments the miseries which fall on mankind by the usurpation and ambition of kings, and the philosopher, who judges of the abilities of a general by the tenor of his plans, and their consistence with his situation and resources, will not hesitate to pronounce the great Washington equal, if not superior to the most shining characters in ancient or modern history.



Extracts from an essay entitled "national arithmetic, or observations on the finances of the commonwealth of Massachusetts." P. 362.

What sort of labour is unprofitable.

AL L kinds that administer to luxury and pleasure are of this denomination. Many branches of manufacture, which are not lightly esteemed amongst us, are supported by luxury, and therefore are unprofitable; for instance, the fabrications

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from gold, silver, and jewels. What does the state gain by all the shoe and knee-buckles, brooches, buttons, clasps, spoons, necklaces, ear-rings, cans, tankards, and poringens, made of silver or gold? Is the state enriched by a pair of paste buckles, gorgeous bracelets, or a well-set ring? on the contrary, does it not suffer a very material injury, not only in being robbed of a part of its capital to supply materials; but of the labour of so many citizens as are employed in manufacturing them? Ought not, therefore, the employers of such mechanics to pay a duty on every piece of plate, or jewel so manufactured, as is done in London, where the tower stamp yields a revenue to the government; and as in Paris, where a mark of the same kind, yields an equal advantage to the nation, so that if the state be impoverished by such luxury, at least it may be benefited in revenue? I suppose that in the labour of gold and silver smiths, within ten years past, there has been melted and wrought into their manufactures, more bullion, than is sufficient to form a currency, if it could be brought into circulation; or, than is competent to establish a bank-stock, adequate to the support of a paper medium, which never could depreciate, and might fully be applied to supporting, critically, the public credit of the government.

Besides gold and silver-smiths and jewellers, there are painters, (particularly inside house, miniature, and portrait painters), hair-dressers, domestic servants (at least three in four), tavern-keepers, and vintners, useless labourers in the state, and who administer to luxury, extravagance and dissipation. It might possibly be deemed refining upon taxation, for the public to derive a benefit from these, altho' European nations have done it, by laying heavy duties on paints and oil imported, and an annual tax on every extra domestic servant, which is paid by the employer or master; and a certain sum for every licence given to hair-dressers, tavern-keepers, and vintners; indeed a trifling sum is now paid by the two latter for retailing licences.

Those who minister to pleasure, are musicians, stage-players, buffoons,

M

opera-fingers, dancers, exhibitors of puppet shews, and shews of birds: the labours of these are unprofitable, since they exist no longer, than the sound which they make, is heard, or the sight of them is present. To these might be added lecturers and orators, who have collected and will still collect large sums of money, from thousands who have neither abilities or inclination to receive improvement. Money, therefore, expended in such methods, must be lost, and the labours exercised by the performers a waste to the public, in an exact proportion as the money they receive, bears to the capital in the state. A general benefit would therefore arise, if such were licenced, and those licences were to be granted for considerable sums.

CHAP. III.

Some kind of taxes tend to increase the wealth in the state: others to decrease it.

THE great complaints which every class of men in the community have made, for a number of years back, of the taxes bearing grievously on them, and, if continued, that they must impoverish the taxed to such a degree, as totally to disenable them from paying any, have frequently led me to enquiries respecting the grounds of such complaints, which have at last issued in the conclusion, that money assessments levied in future, cannot be collected; or if practicable, are improper, since the balance of trade is so greatly against us. Every public contribution in money, forms the means of a greater exportation of it, which the government facilitates by enforcing the collection*. Money once drawn out of a person's hands, we cannot say, with any certainty, will ever be replaced, because the produce of labour may not be able to command it back again. But if, for instance, a hundred pounds weight of beef was to be demanded of a farmer, he is certain of replacing that the next year, for this reason, the grass and produce of the land, will assuredly regenerate it in his young flock.

NOTE.

* In addition to that, the bank has greatly facilitated the exportation of specie.

That any government can be supported without taxes of some kind, is not possible; it therefore becomes necessary, to consider what will be the most advantageous method of affording them in future; and hence it is meant to point out such as will increase the wealth in the state.

If the resources of the commonwealth, are brought into view, we shall find them amply sufficient to support government, and pay the interest and principal of our public debt. To tax in certain quantities of the natural produce of the country, at first view appears to be a mode of taxing which must be attended with peculiar disadvantages, if practicable; but when more closely considered, is found to be both practicable, and easy. It is well known, that specie is only the representative of other things more bulky, and if we have not silver or gold, government must make use of those articles themselves, which these precious metals are designed to represent. I will suppose, therefore, the whole annual contribution to be eight thousand dollars, and that each twenty shilling in the general valuation was to pay eight dollars: would it be easier for the taxed, in general, to find the sum in specie, or one barrel of beef which, at any market, is worth the eight dollars? The fact is, that the beef is the produce of the land and can be had with ease every year whereas the money is not to be spared, if obtainable. Beef will answer all the purposes of the eight dollars, as it may, with ease, be shipped to foreign parts, and the money imported into the state in lieu of it which would enrich the community just as much as the beef sold for the money amongst us would still re-

NOTE.

* "I conceive that in Ireland wherein are about one million and two hundred thousand people, and near three hundred thousand smokes or hearths, it were more tolerable for the people, and more profitable for the king, that each head paid two shillings worth of flax, than that each smoke should pay two shillings in silver." Sir W. Petty's political arithmetic, chap. 2.

main, at least it would not be lessened by taxes, and an addition would be made to the old capital, of a sum equal to the assessments levied. By such means in a few years, money would become plenty, and the credit of the state be maintained, as shall be shewn in another place. If not only beef, but flaxseed, pot and pearl-ashes, and other articles, the produce or manufacture of the state, were to be levied on the inhabitants, instead of specie, an anticipation could be made of one year's tax, and foreign coin always lodged in our treasury, a year preceding the delivery of the tax.

When a farmer brings his produce to market, he is obliged to take up with the buyer's offer, and is forced, not unfrequently, to take merchandize in exchange, which is totally insufficient to discharge his taxes. There is no family that does not want some money for some purposes, and the little which the farmer carries home from market, must be applied to other uses, besides paying off the collector's bills. The consequence is, distraint is made upon his stock or real estate. This effect, though dreadful, yet is the legal tendency of the public requisitions not being discharged, and notwithstanding the lenity of government, (and in the opinion of many it is this very lenity which is the moving cause of all the present distractions amongst the people) has procrastinated the stroke, yet it is no less certain on that account; for, there is no person but must be sensible, that the men filling the offices of administration (who really are the wheels on which the political machine moves, and who, in the first instance, ought to be paid out of the most regular and established funds in the state) must be maintained; and the creditors, who certainly deserve the next attention, ought also to receive their just dues: but the truth is, that neither are punctually paid, nor are taxes collected. What then can be done, but to attempt such means as have been hinted at, and which, in the *virtu* chapter are more particularly taken up? This is a fact, that the last desperate instrument of collection in the present mode, will become the free voluntary contribution in the one proposed. Where money is not, the value of it

cannot be felt. It is a well known truth, that in the capital of a neighbouring state, (and it is supposed to be through the whole state) the purchaser never thinks of asking the vendor of any provisions, or country-made commodities, how much *per* pound or yard; but, what do you sell for—cotton, tea, sugar, coffee, or rum? The quantity being fixed, a barter takes place—both are supplied with what they want, and money never once taken into view. Thus, specie is wholly useless, and must have been in certain ages unknown.

It is found to be very difficult for the collector to persuade a labouring man, against whom he has a tax bill, to resign to the public, all, or the greatest part of the money he has been able to collect in the year. When he becomes possessed of a few dollars, he cannot think of parting with them, without he receives something substantial in lieu of them. It is even difficult to persuade the most enlightened and patriotic amongst us, readily to part with their cash in discharge of taxes. All think they have reason to complain, and they being part of the public, judge, that they may keep themselves out of the money a little longer. But let the collector go to a shopkeeper, and offer to take the amount of his taxes in broadcloth and gauze, gladly would he discharge them at the first request. Just so would the farmer sooner contribute two hundred and twenty pounds of beef, than pay eight dollars; or a bushel of flaxseed, than one dollar; or twenty bushels of wood ashes, than ten shillings. These things being granted, doubtless it will also be conceded, that such a mode will draw specie into the state, by the exportation of the articles received, and consequently enrich it.

Here let it be observed, that taxing in the produce or manufactures of the country, will put a stop to the present iniquitous mode of discount on anticipated paper or facilities issued by the treasurer for sums due by government to individuals. These have increased to such a degree, as to have formed a very large depreciated currency. As it is proposed that towns shall collect the articles to be taxed, no such partial gatherings and payments will be made, as the taxes in kind will be

delivered at the state store or magazines, where they will be ready for exportation.

The present mode of laying taxes, tends to lessen the quantity of specie; for the merchant, finding a real currency so scarce and so difficult to be got, holds what he gets, and to support credit abroad (not daring to risque future collections here) sends off what he has on hand; and the apparent, if not real scarcity of cash, has been in some degree caused, by individuals trying to get a sufficiency to discharge the numerous and repeated taxes, which have all been made in money only.

CHAP. IV.

A heavy duty or prohibition proposed, against the importation of such articles, as are, or may be raised and manufactured, in the state.

IN the second chapter we endeavoured to shew what labour is profitable to the state; in this, it will be attempted to point out those articles which can be, or now are raised and manufactured, amongst ourselves, which form the beneficial labours; since, the profits to foreigners, and the price of our own work, are retained within the commonwealth. Heavy duties on, or a prohibition of such as are imported, which we ourselves can raise or manufacture, are proposed.

Where property is so happily divided, into equal, or nearly equal proportions, as it is in this commonwealth, the general wants of the people, must be nearly alike; that, therefore, in which our agriculture and manufactures fall short of our consumption, must necessarily be the quantity of our imports. That this quantity has far exceeded, in late years, what has been absolutely necessary to our proper subsistence or convenience, is a melancholy truth. That this extra-exportation has made us look about us, and ought to be the fortunate means of driving us to manufactures and agriculture, is equally certain.

The principal articles, which the people in this state want, are clothing for men and women. This has already been shewn to be within ourselves: and as we can raise wool, flax, and leather, sufficient for our

outward clothing, our shirting and other linen wear, and for boots and shoes, so we have most certainly the means of making hats. All articles therefore, of those kinds, which the merchant imports, and which may militate in the smallest degree against raising the materials, and manufacturing the same, for the daily use of the people, ought to be prohibited, or at least a fifty per cent. impost levied on them; and such are conceived to be,

All sorts of woollens under 5*s*. sterling per yard.

All hose made of wool, under 2*s* a pair.

All linen cloth under 2*s*. a yard.

All boots and shoes, and other articles, made of leather, as saddles and portmanteaus. And

Hats of every price and description.

There are articles which we do not wear, that are as necessary to our comfort, as clothing; and these are axes, hoes, spades, and all kinds of farming utensils; hinges, bolts, nails, and almost every sort of iron work, used about houses; common and ornamented andirons, shovels, and tongs, chimneyhooks; pots, kettles, and other cast iron ware; brass candlesticks and every sort of braziers' ware, common earthen ware, and pewterer's manufactures; joiners' and cabinet-makers' wares; tallow and other candles; cordage, fishing ropes and lines; ship iron, as bolts, spikes, rudder irons, &c. white and coloured threads; yarns of hemp, and loaf-sugar, may be had in this state; and if the importation of them were prohibited, no doubt they would be furnished here, very soon, as cheap as they could be from Europe; as the increased demand for these articles, would oblige the manufacturer to employ European artists, whose wages being comparatively small, would, together with the augmentation of sale which must take place, enable him, shortly, to sell them as low as they could be imported.

Loaf-sugar is an article of very great importance to the commonwealth, and which formerly made a capital article of manufacture. The high duty now upon it, may be supposed sufficient to prohibit its importation: but true it is, either from smuggling,

or the large debentures allowed by government, the British-made loaf-sugar is to be bought here as cheap, if not cheaper, than that of our own manufacture. To prevent effectually any such being imported, or rather materially to encourage the manufacturing of it, amongst ourselves, a drawback or debenture on the exportation of the loaf, equal to the impost and excise on the brown-sugar of which it was made, ought to be allowed; by which we might become the suppliers of the sister states, and retain the profit of manufacturing it amongst ourselves.

Window-glass might have been mentioned, which, from proofs had, can be manufactured, to a very great perfection in this state, and (with proper encouragement) in such a measure as will be sufficient to supply the whole of New England, if not of the united states. The specimens referred to, are those lately exhibited by Mr. Robert Hewes, in Bolton.

It may be urged by some that this state is too young in manufactures, to prohibit so many necessities being imported. To this it might be answered, that no one article mentioned, would form a new manufactory, as branches in each are now, or have been formerly carried on successfully; and they would be much more extensive, were the necessary encouragement given to our own labour.

(To be continued.)

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Idea of an English school, for the consideration of the trustees of the Philadelphia academy.—By doctor Franklin.

IT is expected that every scholar to be admitted into this school, be at least able to pronounce and divide the syllables in reading, and to write a legible hand. None to be received that are under _____ years of age.

First or lowest class.

Let the first class learn the English grammar rules, and at the same time let particular care be taken to improve them in orthography. Perhaps the latter is best done by pairing the scholars, two of those nearest equal in their spelling to be put together. Let these strive for victory, each propounding ten words every day to the other

to be spelt. He that spells truly most of the other's words, is victor for that day; he that is victor most days in a month, to obtain a prize, a pretty neat book of some kind useful in their future studies. This method fixes the attention of children extremely to the orthography of words, and makes them good spellers very early. It is a shame for a man to be so ignorant of this little art, in his own language, as to be perpetually confounding words of like sound and different significations; the consciousness of which defect, makes some men, otherwise of good learning and understanding, averse to writing even a common letter.

Let the pieces read by the scholars in this class be short, such as Croxal's fables and little stories. In giving the lesson, let it be read to them; let the meaning of the difficult words in it be explained to them, and let them con it over by themselves before they are called to read to the master, or usher: who is to take particular care that they do not read too fast, and that they duly observe the stops and pauses. A vocabulary of the most usual difficult words might be formed for their use, with explanations; and they might daily get a few of those words and explanations by heart, which would a little exercise their memories; or at least they might write a number of them in a small book for the purpose, which would help to fix the meaning of those words in their minds, and at the same time furnish every one with a little dictionary for his future use.

The second class to be taught

Reading with attention, and with proper modulations of the voice, according to the sentiments and subject.

Some short pieces, not exceeding the length of a Spectator, to be given this class as lessons (and some of the easier Spectators would be very suitable for the purpose). These lessons might be given every night as tasks, the scholars to study them against the morning. Let it then be required of them to give an account, first, of the parts of speech, and construction of one or two sentences; this will oblige them to recur frequently to their grammar, and fix its principal rules in their memory. Next, of the intention of the writer, or the scope of the piece;

the meaning of each sentence, and of every uncommon word. This would early acquaint them with the meaning and force of words, and give them that most necessary habit of reading with attention.

The master, then to read the piece with the proper modulations of voice, due emphasis, and suitable action, where action is required; and put the youth on imitating his manner.

Where the author has used an expression not the best, let it be pointed out; and let his beauties be particularly remarked to the youth.

Let the lessons for reading be varied, that the youth may be made acquainted with good styles of all kinds in prose and verse, and the proper manner of reading each kind—sometimes a well told story, a piece of a sermon, a general's speech to his soldiers, a speech in a tragedy, some part of a comedy, an ode, a satire, a letter, blank verse, Hudibraslic, heroic, &c. But let such lessons be chosen for reading, as contain some useful instruction, whereby the understanding or morals of the youth may at the same time be improved.

It is required that they should first study and understand the lessons, before they are put upon reading them properly; to which end each boy should have an English dictionary to help him over difficulties. When our boys read English to us, we are apt to imagine they understand what they read, because we do, and because it is their mother tongue. But they often read, as parrots speak, knowing little or nothing of the meaning. And it is impossible a reader should give the due modulation to his voice, and pronounce properly, unless his understanding goes before his tongue, and makes him master of the sentiment. Accustoming boys to read aloud what they do not first understand, is the cause of those even set tones so common among readers, which, when they have once got a habit of using, they find so difficult to correct: by which means, among fifty readers, we scarcely find a good one. For want of good reading, pieces published with a view to influence the minds of men for their own or the public benefit, lose half their force. Were there but one good reader in a neighbour-

hood, a public orator might be heard throughout a nation with the same advantages, and have the same effect upon his audience, as if they stood within the reach of his voice.

The third class to be taught

Speaking properly and gracefully; which is near akin to good reading, and naturally follows it in the studies of youth. Let the scholars of this class begin with learning the elements of rhetoric from some short system, so as to be able to give an account of the most usual tropes and figures. Let all their bad habits of speaking, all offences against good grammar, all corrupt or foreign accents, and all improper phrases, be pointed out to them. Short speeches from the Roman or other history, or from the parliamentary debates, might be got by heart, and delivered with the proper action, &c. Speeches and scenes in our best tragedies and comedies (avoiding every thing that could injure the morals of youth) might likewise be got by rote, and the boys exercised in delivering or acting them; great care being taken to form their manner after the truest models.

For their farther improvement, and a little to vary their studies, let them now begin to read history, after having got by heart a short table of the principal epochas in chronology. They may begin with Rollin's ancient and Roman histories, and proceed at proper hours, as they go through the subsequent classes, with the best histories of our own nation and colonies. Let emulation be excited among the boys by giving, weekly, little prizes, or other small encouragements to those who are able to give the best account of what they have read, as to times, places, names of persons, &c. This will make them read with attention, and imprint the history well in their memories. In remarking on the history, the master will have fine opportunities of instilling instruction of various kinds, and improving the morals as well as the understandings of youth.

The natural and mechanic history contained in *Speclacle de la nature*, might also be begun in this class, and continued through the subsequent classes, by other books of the same kind: for next to the knowledge of

duty, this kind of knowledge is certainly the most useful, as well as the most entertaining. The merchant may thereby be enabled better to understand many commodities in trade; the handicraftsman to improve his business by new instruments, mixtures, and materials; and frequently hints are given of new manufactures, or new methods of improving land, that may be set on foot greatly to the advantage of a country.

The fourth class to be taught

Composition. Writing one's own language well, is the next necessary accomplishment after good speaking. 'Tis the writing-master's business to take care that the boys make fair characters, and place them strait and even in the lines: but to form their style, and even to take care that the stops and capitals are properly disposed, is the part of the English master. The boys should be put on writing letters to each other on any common occurrences, and on various subjects, imaginary business, &c. containing little stories, accounts of their late reading, what parts of authors please them, and why; letters of congratulation, of compliment, of request, of thanks, of recommendation, of admonition, of consolation, of expostulation, excuse, &c. In these they should be taught to express themselves clearly, concisely, and naturally, without affected words, or high-flown phrases. All their letters to pass through the master's hand, who is to point out the faults, advise the corrections, and commend what he finds right. Some of the best letters published in our own language, as sir William Temple's, those of Pope, and his friends, and some others, might be set before the youth as models, their beauties pointed out and explained by the master, the letters themselves transcribed by the scholar.

Dr. Johnson's *Ethices Elementa*, or first principles of morality, may now be read by the scholars, and explained by the master, to lay a solid foundation of virtue and piety in their minds. And as this class continues the reading of history, let them now at proper hours receive some farther instructions in chronology, and in that part of geography (from the mathematical master) which is necessary

to understand the maps and globes. They should also be acquainted with the modern names of the places they find mentioned in ancient writers. The exercises of good reading and proper speaking still continued at suitable times.

Fifth class.

To improve the youth in composition, they may now, besides continuing to write letters, begin to write little essays in prose; and sometimes in verse, not to make them poets, but for this reason, that nothing acquaints a lad so speedily with variety of expression, as the necessity of finding such words and phrases as will suit with the measure, sound, and rhyme of verse, and at the same time well express the sentiment. These essays should all pass under the master's eye, who will point out their faults, and put the writer on correcting them. Where the judgment is not ripe enough for forming new essays, let the sentiments of a *Spectator* be given, and required to be clothed in the scholar's own words: or the circumstances of some good story, the scholar to find expression. Let them be put sometimes on abridging a paragraph of a diffuse author, sometimes on dilating or amplifying what is wrote more closely. And now let dr. Johnson's *Noetica*, or first principles of human knowledge, containing a logic, or art of reasoning, &c. be read by the youth, and the difficulties that may occur to them be explained by the master. The reading of history, and the exercises of good reading and just speaking still continued.

Sixth class.

In this class, besides continuing the studies of the preceding, in history, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philosophy, the best English authors may be read and explained; as Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Addison, Pope, Swift, the higher papers in the *Spectator* and *Guardian*, the best translations of Homer, Virgil and Horace, of *Telemachus*, travels of *Cyrus*, &c.

Once a year, let there be public exercises in the hall, the trustees and citizens present. Then let fine gilt books be given as prizes to such boys as distinguish themselves, and exceed the others in any branch of learning: making three degrees of comparison:

giving the best prize to him that performs best; a less valuable one to him that comes up next to the best; and another to the third. Commendations, encouragement, and advice to the rest; keeping up their hopes that by industry they may excel another time. The names of those that obtain the prizes, to be yearly printed in a list.

The hours of each day are to be divided and disposed in such a manner, as that some classes may be with the writing master, improving their hands, others with the mathematical master, learning arithmetic, accounts, geography, use of the globes, drawing, mechanics, &c. while the rest are in the English school, under the English master's care.

Thus instructed, youth will come out of this school fitted for learning any business, calling or profession, except such wherein languages are required; and though unacquainted with any ancient or foreign tongue, they will be masters of their own, which is of more immediate and general use; and withal will have attained many other valuable accomplishments: the time usually spent in acquiring those languages, often without success, being here employed in laying such a foundation of knowledge and ability, as, properly improved, may qualify them to pass through and execute the several offices of civil life, with advantage and reputation to themselves and country.

B. F.

*The humble petition of the shipwrights,
&c. inhabitants of Baltimore town,
to the congress of the united states.*

AMONGST the advantages looked for from the national government, is the increase of the shipping and maritime strength of the united states of America, by laws similar in their nature and operation, to the British navigation acts; or laws differing only from these, where a difference in the circumstances of the two countries may render any deviation necessary. Your petitioners, on which ever side they turn their eyes, see reason to believe, that the united states may soon become as powerful in shipping as any nation in the world. Perhaps it will appear on the closest examination of the subject, that we are

better prepared for a navigation act, than England when she established hers.

That generally called the British navigation act was passed in the year 1660, at which time the registered commercial tonnage of that kingdom did not exceed ninety six thousand. Eight years after, sir Josiah Child says, "without this act, we had not now (1668) been owners of one half the shipping nor trade, nor should have employed one half the seamen we now do at present." From this period, we find their shipping rapidly augmented, till in 1774, the registered commercial tonnage alone was near eight hundred thousand, which gives an increase, in little more than one hundred years, of about seven hundred and four thousand tons of shipping.

It is worthy of notice, moreover, that when this act passed, England could neither dress nor dye her white woollen cloths. The linens she used were chiefly imported from foreign countries—she was unacquainted with the weavers' loom—engine—calico printing was unknown—she had made neither white writing nor printing paper—she had no manufactures of fine glass—there was not a single wire mill in the kingdom, nor could she as yet tin iron plates. About this time also the legal interest of money was eight *per cent*.

With respect to our manufactures, we have several valuable ones already established, and others which, it is well known, want only encouragement to prove of the greatest national advantage. With respect to our shipping, we cannot pretend to offer any accurate estimate of their tonnage. It appears, however, from an authentic return, signed Thomas Irwin, inspector-general of the imports and exports of North America, and register of shipping, that the eleven states, which form the united states of America, employed in the year 1770, three hundred and nine thousand, five hundred and thirty-four tons of shipping; from which we think it reasonable to infer, that the present tonnage belonging to the united states of America, greatly exceeds the commercial tonnage of England, when she passed her navigation act.

These facts encourage us to hope

that our expectations from the new government will soon be realized.

Although we joined our fellowcitizens in a general petition which embraced this object, we nevertheless have deemed it incumbent upon us, on account of its vast importance, to unite with our brethren of Charleston and elsewhere, in bringing it before congress, disconnected with any other matter. Permit us to add, that for want of national protection and encouragement, our shipping, that great source of strength and riches, has fallen into decay, and involved thousands in the utmost distress.

Trusting to the wisdom of congress for a due consideration of the premises, we as in duty bound, &c.

Baltimore town, April 17, 1789.



Thoughts on raising a revenue in produce, &c. Extracted from an election sermon, preached May 8, 1783, by the rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. L. L. D. president of Yale college.

BUT I pass on to another subject in which the welfare of a community is deeply concerned, I mean the public revenues. National character and national faith depend on these. Every people, every large community is able to furnish a revenue adequate to the exigencies of government. But this is a most difficult subject; and what the happiest method of raising it, is uncertain. One thing is certain, that however in most kingdoms and empires, the people are taxed at the will of the prince, yet in America the people tax themselves, and therefore cannot tax themselves beyond their abilities. But whether the power of taxing be in an absolute monarchy, a power independent of the people, or in a body elected by the people, one great error has, I apprehend, entered into the system of revenue and finance in almost all nations, viz. restricting the collection to money. Two or three millions can more easily be raised in produce, than one million in money. This, collected and deposited in stores and magazines, would by bills drawn upon these stores, answer all the expenditures of war and peace. The

little imperfect experiment lately made here, should not discourage us. In one country it has been tried with success for ages, I mean in China, the wisest empire the sun hath ever shined upon. And here, if I recollect aright, not a tenth of the imperial revenues hath been collected in money. In rice, wheat, and millet only, are collected forty millions of sacks, of one hundred and twenty pounds each; equal to eighty million bushels: in raw and wrought silk, one million pounds. The rest is taken in salt, wines, cotton, and other fruits of labour and industry, at a certain ratio per cent. and deposited in stores over all the empire. The perishable commodities are immediately sold, and the mandarines and army are paid by bills on these magazines. In no part of the world are the inhabitants less oppressed than there. England has eleven hundred millions property, real, personal, and commercial, and five million souls. Their ordinary revenue has for many years been ten or twelve millions; and during the late war, the national expenditures have been annually twenty millions. A great part is raised by excise: by the land tax, not above a fifth or sixth, although the annual rental of England is really sixty millions. The funded debt has arisen from one hundred and forty millions, A. D. 1775, to two hundred and eighty millions, in 1783, and can never be paid. It is unparalleled in the annals of empires, that six or seven millions of people ever discharged so heavy a burden. The Roman imperial debt was once, in the time of the Cæsars, three hundred millions sterling, when the empire consisted of thirty millions of people. One emperor at his accession wiped out twenty millions, and the Goths and Vandals scutled the rest, to the ruin of thousands. May God preserve these states from being so involved. The war being over, the future increase of population and property will in time enable us, with convenience, to discharge the heavy debt we have incurred in the defence of our rights and liberties. The united states have now two hundred and fifty millions of property, pretty equally shared by two or three millions of people. And our nation-

al debt* is not ten million sterling; which is to the whole collectively, as it would be to one man, possessing an estate of two hundred and fifty pounds in land and stock, to oblige himself to pay ten pounds. The interest only of the British national debt, upon six or seven million people, is above ten millions sterling annually, that is, greater than the whole national debt of the united states, upon half that number. Our population will soon overspread the vast territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, which in two generations will become a property superior to that of Britain. Thus posterity may help to pay for the war, which we have been obliged to fight out for them in our day. It will not, however, be wise to consign to posterity so heavy a debt; lest they should be tempted to learn, like other nations, the practice of public injustice, and broken national faith.



Directions for raising flax. Published by order of the commissioners and trustees for fisheries, manufactures, and improvements, in Scotland — And enriched with notes suited to the soil and climate of Pennsylvania, by a gentleman long in the practice of raising flax here.

Choice of soil, and preparing the ground for flax.

A Skilful flax-raiser always prefers a free open deep loam, and grounds that produced the preceding year a good crop of turnips, cabbage, potatoes, barley or broad clover; or has been formerly laid down rich, and kept for some years in pasture.

A clay-soil, the second or third crop after being limed[‡], will answer well for flax, as well as soils of a lighter quality; provided it be brought to a proper mould, by tilling after harvest to expose it to the winter-frosts; and by repeated ploughings in the spring, to make the ground fine. A little old stable-dung, or that of pigeons, or

NOTES.

* Forty-two millions of dollars at the peace.

‡ Pennsylvania farmers say that land manured with stone lime will not produce good flax.

sheep, or ashes, may be spread upon the ground immediately before sowing.

Ground enriched with shell or other marls, will answer well for flax, if the marl has been mixed with the soil for some time.

In dry soils, the broader and more level the ridges are laid, so much the better; as, by that means, the natural moisture will be longer retained, and the crop rendered more equal and uniform; which uniformity is of great advantage to crops of flax.

All new grounds, or such as have lain long in grass or pasture, produce clean crops of strong flax; but ought to be ploughed as shallow, and the furrow laid as flat as possible[†].

Flax-seed ought never to be sown on grounds either too wet or dry; but on such as retain a natural moisture; and such grounds, as are inclined to weeds, ought to be avoided, unless prepared by a careful summer-fallow, or by crops of turnips, cabbage, or potatoes.

Before sowing, the bulky clods should be broken, or carried off the ground; and stones, quickens, and every other thing that may hinder the growth of the flax, should be removed.

Choice of linseed.

THE brighter in colour, and heavier the seed is[‡], so much the better; that which appears, when bruised, of a light or yellowish green, and fresh in the heart, oily, and smells and tastes sweet, may be depended upon^{||}.

Dutch seed, of the preceding year's growth, for the most part, answers best; but it seldom succeeds, if kept another year. It ripens sooner than any other foreign seed. Philadelphia seed produces fine lint and few bolls, and answers well in wet cold soils.

NOTES.

† After ploughing, a heavy roller should be used to press the sod smooth and close to the ground. This will make the grass rot the sooner.

‡ The Connecticut seed is better than the Pennsylvania.

|| Seed should be repeatedly passed through the screen, that there may not be left among it a single vine seed, or any light defective flaxseed.

Of sowing linseed.

THE quantity of the linseed sown should be proportioned to the condition of the soil; for if the ground be in good heart, and the seed sown thick, the crop will be in danger of falling, before it is ready for pulling. Nearly three bushels Winchester measure, of Dutch or Riga seed, are generally sufficient for one Scots acre*; and about two bushels and a half of Philadelphia seed, which, being the smallest grained, goes the farthest.

The time for sowing linseed is from the middle of March to the end of April, as the ground and season answer.

It ought always to be sown on a dry bed. And if the soil be light, it should be rolled after harrowing; especially if grass seeds are sown along with it.

Of weeding flax.

IT ought to be weeded when the crop is about four inches long. If longer deferred, the weeders will so much break and crook the stalks, that they will never perhaps recover their straightness again; and when the flax grows crooked, it is more liable to be hurt in the rippling and swingling†.

Quickens should not be pulled in weeding; for, being strongly rooted, the pulling would lay open, and endanger the roots of the lint.

If there is an appearance of a settled drought, it is better to defer the weeding, than by that operation to expose the tender roots of the flax to the drought.

As soon as the weeds are pulled, they ought to be carried off the field, and not laid in the furrows; where they often take root again, and at any rate obstruct the growth of the flax in these parts.

As young and unskilful persons frequently pull up and spoil the flax, they

NOTES.

* Four Scots acres are equal to five English.

† If sown on grass ground, ploughed, as the author directs, the harrow cannot be used, even lengthways, because it will tear up the sods. A heavy brush is best.

‡ If the seed is pure, and sowed on grass ground, all this trouble and expense will be saved.

ought to be mixed with those of more experience. And all ought to take care not to destroy the flax with their shoes, or by resting too much on their elbows, when employed in this business.

Of pulling flax.

IF it is intended to save both the flax and the seed, the pulling should not begin till the flock becomes yellow, almost all the leaves fallen, and the bolls turned so sharp, that they will stick to the finger when pressed upon their points; also one of the lower bolls, cut across the grain with a penknife, appears full of seed, well formed, and firm. But if the stalk is small, with few bolls upon it, which is a sign that the flax is fine, it ought to be pulled when the stalk first begins to grow yellow, when only the undermost leaves fall, before the bloom is quite over, before the bolls turn sharp pointed, and when one of the bolls, cut across the seed, appears soft and watry. It is a rule with persons of skill to follow this last method, when they think that about eight banks or more may be spun from the English pound.

When flax has fallen, such as lies ought to be immediately pulled, otherwise it will rot; and that being pulled, the rest of the crop will receive the more air, and be the less apt to fall.

When parts of the same field grow unequally, so that some parts are ready for pulling before others, what is fit should be pulled, and the rest suffered to stand till ready.

The flax rather ought to be at great pains to pull, and keep by itself, each different kind of lint; what is long and fine, by itself; what is long and coarse by itself; what is both short and fine, by itself; what is both short and coarse, by itself; and, in like manner, every other kind by itself: for if the different kinds are not thus kept separate, the flax will be much damaged in the watering, and the other succeeding operations.

While pulling and sorting the flax, the weeds ought to be picked out; otherwise they will hurt the flax in the operations of watering and dressing; and what is commonly called undergrowth may be thrown away as useless.

Few persons that have seen flax

pulled, are ignorant of the method of laying it in handfulls across each other, upon bands composed of some of the stalks. Laying the handfulls in this way, admits sufficient air, and keeps them separate and ready for the rippler.

Management of the crop after pulling, and before rippling.

IF the flax is not of the finest kind, the cross handfulls, after lying twenty-four hours as above described, should be turned upon the band; and then, after lying other twenty-four hours, should be bound up in sheaves, and slacked like corn, but not covered with head sheaves. If the weather is dry, in about a fortnight's time the seed will be sufficiently won for rippling, and may then be removed to the barn. But if the flax is fine, in about twelve hours after it is pulled, it should be put into stacks; and, if the weather continues dry, in two or three days more, it may be rippled.

Keeping the flax unwatered till next spring, is attended with many bad consequences. For when too much dried, by long keeping, it is not so easily nor so safely watered; the quality of the flax becomes thereby harsher and coarser; it is subject to danger from vermin, and other accidents, during the winter; the water in spring, or beginning of summer, is not so soft and warm as in harvest; and near a year, by that practice, is lost, of the use of the lint*.

Of rippling flax.

THE seed ought by all means to be separated from the flax before watering; for if put into the water along with the flax, it is apt to breed vermin, and discolour it; besides, even the weakest seeds and the husks make an excellent feed for horses and cattle; in particular, they are found to give a fine coat or skin to horses.

When the seed is to be won for sowing, it should be rippled within doors; for rain and damp will discolour, and render it unfit for sowing.

The handfulls for rippling should not

NOTE.

* If you wish to have very fine flax, pull when the stalks begin to turn yellow; and, before you put it into your pond to rot, chop off all the roots and branches.

be great, as that endangers the lint in going through the comb.

After rippling, the flax-raiser will perceive, that he is able to assort each size and quality of the flax more exactly than he could do before.

Of winnowing the seed.

THE bolls, after rippling, should be sifted through a wide riddle, to free them from the wreck of the flax; and if this riddling be done before the wind, to separate the bolls and seed from dust, so much the better. Then the bolls should be carried to a thillin mill: but if there is no such mill in the neighbourhood, the seed must be threshed out with flails. After this operation, the whole should pass through fanners, and different sieves, to clean the seed as much as possible from broken husks, dust, weak seed, &c. Being thus cleaned, it should be carried to a free-aired loft, and spread thin, and often turned for some time, to prevent it from heating; and as the seed dries, it may be laid up thicker together, and seldomer turned, till at last it is fit for the market or sowing.

(Remainder in our next.)



Observations on raising hemp, and preparing it for use. By John Read, esq. Addressed to and published by order of the committee of the American academy of arts and sciences for promoting agriculture.

THE soil I choose for raising hemp, is a light rich mould, as free from stones, gravel, and clay, as possible; care is taken to have the soil thoroughly manured, and once well ploughed in the fall of the year, if other business will admit: in the spring it is ploughed two or three times more, and as often harrowed with an iron-toothed harrow, in order to separate the particles of earth, and leave them as light as possible; then a light brush-harrow is drawn by one horse over the ground, by which means it is levelled so as to receive the seed equally, after which it is marked out for sowing in the same manner that barley and oats are generally sown, calculated (if the soil is very good) at three bushels to an acre, if but middling good, at two and an half bushels to an acre. The seed is always har-

rowed in immediately after sowing, with a fine iron-toothed harrow, and nothing is suffered to pass over it afterwards, lest by treading or otherwise, it might be injured.

The seed must be of the last year's growth, and will be benefited by lying in the cellar a few weeks previous to its being sown. In general, I sow my seed about the middle of May (being governed by the season); a little sooner or later will do; my hemp is commonly fit to pull by the 8th or 10th of August, which is known by the male-hemp turning whitish, just at the time when the farina passes off; this is easily discovered by it's sinoaking when agitated by the wind, or jarred with a stick.

When the hemp is pulled, it is spread on the ground where it grew, about an inch thick; what that will not receive, is carried off to other ground, and, after lying two or three days, turned with a small pole about six feet long; then, receiving one or two days more sun, it is bound into bundles of about fifteen or eighteen inches in circumference, and immediately housed from wet, until convenient time offers to put it into water for rotting, which is done as soon as other business will admit. There being a small stream of water that runs through my farm, I have erected a dam which enables me to flow a pond of about five or six feet high, wherein the hemp is laid (much in the same manner that flax is laid for rotting) and after covering it with straw to keep it clean*, the plank and stones being placed thereon, the dam-gate is shut down, and the hemp being overflowed, remains till it is properly rotted, which is done in six or seven days, if put in as soon as the latter end of August or the beginning of September, the weather being generally warm at that season of the year—if put into the water the latter end of September or the beginning of October, I have let it lie twelve days—if the latter end of October or beginning of November, twenty days, unless the weather has been uncommon-

NOTE.

* It is to be observed, that a muddy bottom will require straw previous to the hemp being laid thereon.

ly warm for the season; in that case, I have found it necessary to be removed sooner, but have made a point of attending to the heat or cold of the weather, as, when the water is warm, the hemp will get a proper rot much sooner than when it is otherwise.

My practice has been to draw the water from the hemp twenty-four hours before the taking it up, leaving the weight thereon, in order that it may be well drained, as in that case it is much better handled; then it is removed to a dry piece of ground, and spread about two inches thick, and, after remaining a week or ten days in that situation, is turned, and in eight or ten days after, is taken up, tied in bundles, and removed into the barn, where it remains till I have leisure time to break and swingle it out; when barn room cannot be spared, I have placed it up against a rail fence running the top ends between the two uppermost rails, letting it remain there until proper time for breaking; for which purpose I have always found clear cold weather to be the best.

My hemp is broke and swingled much in the same manner that flax is done, excepting that the first breaking is done in a coarse break, the teeth or flats being nearly four inches apart; then a common flax break answers well, and being carefully swingled, is fit for use.

My practice for raising seed hath been to set apart in the field some of my best grown hemp for that purpose, pulling up the male and female hemp for about eighteen inches in width, so that a man may pass through; leaving the other in beds about six feet in width, in order that two men, (one on each side) may reach in their hands, and pull up all the male, without injuring the seed-bearing hemp.

This process is performed when the general pulling is done, in August—the female hemp must stand till the seed is fully ripe, which is known by its turning brown; in wet weather I have been obliged to let it stand till the middle of October before it was fit to pull; after which it must be tied in bundles, like the other hemp, and carefully set up against a fence to dry; or, if that is not convenient, it may be laid on the ground, and after one or two days sun, beat out in the same

manner that flax is beat out, striking lightly; then expose the other side to the sun one or two days, after which give it a thorough beating, and spread the seed with all the leaves, &c. in a dry place for some days, then thresh it with a light flail, or rub it by hand, either way, till the seed is all out, and, after winnowing, put it into a dry place for sowing the next year.

The seed-bearing hemp requires a few days longer to rot than the other, owing to the thickness of the bark or hurl, and the greater quantity of glutinous substance occasioned by its longer standing.

I have always preferred old manure to new, more especially if horse or cow dung, but new will do, and it is much better to have it ploughed in, in the fall.

With respect to the quantity of hemp, raised on an acre of ground, it varies from six to twelve hundred weight, much depending on the quality of the soil and the manner of preparing it.

The expense of cultivating, &c. an acre of hemp, is not at present in my power to ascertain, great part of the business being done at leisure, and when the time could be best spared; I would just observe, that I can raise two or three acres yearly on my small farm, without interfering much with other business*.

The present price of hemp, together with the bounty given by the state, to encourage the culture of this useful plant, amounts to about two hundred and twenty dollars per ton, which bid fair to establish its growth here; and I am fully satisfied, from my own experience, that at the present day, no branch of agriculture (where land is found suitable) can be carried on to so great advantage as that of raising hemp; and I have no doubt that our farmers will soon be convinced of the truth of this observation. It having been found by experience, both in Europe and America, that hemp may be grown on the same ground for twenty or thirty years in succession, without

lessening the crop, or impoverishing the soil—this also will have its weight.

The last season I tried the experiment of raising hemp on a piece of diked marsh, the salt water having been kept off better than one year; after being ditched, I had a small part near the upland carefully dug, and manured with old dung that was mixed with sand; the hemp grew to full height, and proved to be of the best kind; this encouragement has occasioned my preparing a larger piece for further trial the next season, when I mean to make several experiments on the cultivation and cleaning of hemp, and if any advantage should accrue therefrom, I shall do myself the honour of communicating it to the committee as early as possible.



Curfory miscellaneous observations.

VINES have been raised to the northward of Boston from seeds taken out of Malaga raisins; as the person who planted them said there but two years of their growth, he has neglected the opportunity of enquiring, whether they were taken care of and bore fruit, of which, according to appearance, from their healthy state of two years growth, there could be little doubt; but as the culture of the grape claims but little attention, or rather is most astonishingly neglected in America, it will be no surprise to him, should they have been rooted up or neglected. Vines grow spontaneously through the states, from New Hampshire to Georgia, not only in deep vallies on the borders of rivers, but to the mountain tops; was attention paid to the culture and improvement of these, we, no doubt, might make vines various in their qualities, as well as salutary in their effects; but, supposing almost against common sense, and the usual deductions drawn from analogy, that our grapes will not make good wines, does not the beforementioned experiment convince, that we may raise vines from the various raisins we import? Nay, is it not easy for us to import the seeds of ripe grapes from countries to which we trade, and may not this answer as well as transplanting slips from foreign vines, as has been adopted to raise vineyards in America?

NOTE.

* A man that understands the breaking and swinging hemp well, will clean from forty to fifty weight per day.

Whether the above feeds were fown in fpring or fall, is not recollected; they were fown in a box of good mould, tranfplanted the firft year, flood two hard winters, were budding the third fpring, when they were no longer under the obfervation of the planter; during this period, no more care was taken of them than if they had been a common bramble—as the experiment was made purely out of curiofity, not with a view to combat thofe exceffive prejudices that are eftablifhed in America againft the cultivation of vineyards, and the production of good wines.

But to pafs this over with the ufual inattention, that has hitherto attended the culture of the grape, let us advert to flax; and here I fhall only take notice of the exportation of its feed; this is looked upon as a tolerable article of American exportation, and has had perhaps more attention paid to it than it deferves, and lefs to its confequences than they merited; admitting one hundred thoufand bufhels are exported to Ireland, fay the value twenty-five thoufand pounds fterling, the imports of America have been eftimated at three millions, of which one-fifth or one-fixth may be prefumed to be in linen, and we may not be wide from truth, if we fay the imports of Irifh linen into America, amount to three hundred thoufand pounds fterling; here is an amazing difproportion, but it is greater ftill in confequence; one bufhel of feed raifed in flax, and manufactured into fine linen, comes to us at an advance of two, three, or four hundred for one. I neither intend to enter into the minutiae of this manufacture, nor write with that precision the fubject requires; but the manufacture of fine linen may be compared to the focus of a burning glafs, for as that concentrates the folar rays to a point, and produces intense heat, fo fine linen draws great property into little compafs. A piece of fine Irifh linen weighs about fix pounds; a piece of fine cambrick of eighteen yards, when bleached, weighs about four pounds, and its value in Picardy or Scotland, may be five pounds fterling; thefe are fufficient premifes to demonftrate how the value of our flax may be improved; hemp is almoft totally neglected; the

Britifh import our hemp, but wifely prohibit their fhipping from uſing any fail cloth but what is manufactured in Great Britain; it would be looked upon too invidious, to dwell long upon fo apparent an abſurdity, as our neglect of manufacturing fail cloth, &c. Of the thoufands of European weavers now in America, not one in a hundred works in the loom; yet not an emigrant from Ireland but knows the nurſing care of their legiflature over their linen manufacture; their appointing a board of truftees, from people of the firft rank and confequence, to improve, encourage, fupport, protect, and guard this valuable manufacture. Ireland has feventeen millions of acres, manufactures linen to the amount of two millions, and beſides her other manufactures, exports in value as much proviſions as the united ſtates; ſhe has now near two millions and a half of fouls*; the linen manufactory was eſtabliſhed towards the cloſe of the laſt century, under the auſpices of king William; it was then ſuppoſed her inhabitants exceeded not a million; ſhe imported much, but exported no linen; hence it is evident that the linen manufacture has been the chief ſource of her wealth and population. Proceeding to England we meet with a ſtill greater diſparity, in drawing compariſons between her and the united ſtates; England has fix millions of people, thirty millions of acres, and exports to the amount of fifteen millions; the ſingle unincorporated town of Mancheſter, ſends out more manufactured goods in value, than the whole exports of America; the town of Birmingham, from the flouriſhing condition of its manufactures, has raiſed all the contiguous lands to a very great value, as alſo the market for proviſions to a very extended circumference; and ſo it is, whenever manufactures are eſtabliſhed and flouriſh; manufactures, and their co-operators, trade and commerce, ſtamp the value of land; as they flouriſh, lands riſe; as they decay, lands fall.

Moſt landholders admit that the value of lands depends on trade; but

NOTE.

* A very late calculation ſtates the inhabitants of Ireland at four millions.—C

few will allow it to depend so immediately upon it, as it really does; relatively indeed, they will admit that it does affect land; but they seldom choose to concede so far as to allow, its value primarily and absolutely depends on trade and manufactures, and it is to their not adopting this principle in its full extent, that they do not encourage trade and manufactures so much as they ought; nay, in many cases act totally repugnant to their own interests, either from prejudices, early and deeply imbibed, or from not thoroughly investigating the subject.

It would be endless to draw examples from England, France, &c. of their indefatigable industry and attention to the improvement of their trade, manufactures, and commerce; high duties, prohibitions, pains, penalties, are all called in to aid their interests. I here take no notice of agriculture, because the necessity of its improvement is self-evident, and needs no demonstration, for as every one must eat, so he knows the culture of land is necessary for that purpose, and the more land is improved, the cheaper is his food. Therefore, writing in a cursory manner like this, agriculture is always understood as the *fine qua non*, though not expressed.

It is the great misfortune of the landholder, planter, and farmer, that they will not be at more pains thoroughly to investigate the principles of trade; we abound in iron, but how do we improve the invaluable blessing? England imports fifty thousand tons annually for her manufactures, as she does many other raw materials for working up into manufactures, and knows well the inestimable advantages of the measure; we abound in raw materials, and either export, neglect, or despise them: there is not a country upon earth, where manufactures are in so little estimation, or so carelessly adverted to. England prohibits the importation of wrought iron to encourage her own manufactures, as she does that of many other articles; she looks to the great and general principle, not to every trifling or invidious deduction; every rank may complain that they pay more for many articles than they might be imported for, but the general benefit

silences particular clamour; it is the same in an infinite variety of articles; foreign silks, especially French, were loaded with heavy duties, and as that did not prevent importing or smuggling, they were totally prohibited, with heavy penalties when found, that their own silk manufactures might be properly encouraged; would that experienced government have done this, was it not demonstrable to them, they did right? did they regard the clamours of the traders or consumers? no! with that dignity that all governments ought to support, they saw their acts put in force, and offenders punished.

I have yet said nothing relative to an emission of paper money; temporary distress may require temporary relief; but I shall adduce one argument for the consideration of the advocates for our encouraging manufactures—through all the manufacturing and trading countries in Europe, the increasing price of provisions and labour has been nearly (exactly is not to be ascertained without great trouble) in a ratio as the influx of specie into a country; no nation in Europe has a paper currency; a measure they certainly would adopt, was it eligible; and arguments drawn from banks and banking, and their circulating notes, are invidious and inconclusive, as they respect a paper currency, as there is a specific intrinsic value in specie advanced for notes issued, and which can be had on demand, and was England or France to admit paper to the amount of the circulating cash, it would terminate in the destruction of their manufactures, for as it would raise the price of provisions and labour, the manufactures would be carried on in cheaper countries, and the manufacturers must follow.

The third article of the late treaty of commerce between France and England, is a demonstrative proof of British wisdom, and ought to be adverted to; here the landholder, the West India planter, and the merchant, have their interests secured by the heavy duty on brandy, at the same time, this apparently partial benefit is a universal good.

Having now thrown out some outlines for others to delineate with more accuracy, precision, and energy, shall

only observe that it requires able heads, much leisure and length of time, to point out the blunders, absurdities, and prejudices, in the American trade, as well as to demonstrate the astonishing improvements that may be made; may the example of older and more experienced nations instruct us, and then we shall become rich and powerful. *Baltimore, January 2, 1787.*



The negro Caesar's cure for poison, for discovering which the assembly of South Carolina purchased his freedom, and gave him an annuity of one hundred pounds.

TAKE the roots of plantane and wild hoarhound, fresh or dried, three ounces, boil them together in two quart of water to one quart, and strain it; of this decoction let the patient take one third part three mornings fasting, successively, from which, if he finds any relief, it must be continued until he is perfectly recovered: on the contrary, if he finds no alteration after the third dose, it is a sign that the patient has not been poisoned at all, or that it has been with such poison that Caesar's antidote will not remedy, so may leave off the decoction.

During the cure, the patient must live on spare diet, and abstain from eating mutton, pork, butter, or any other fat or oily food.

N. B. The plantane or hoarhound, will either of them cure alone, but they are most efficacious together.

In summer you may take one handful of the roots and branches of each, in place of three ounces of the roots of each.

For drink, during the cure, let them take the following:

Take of the roots of goldenrod, six ounces, or in summer, two large handfuls of the roots and branches together, and boil them in two quart of water to one quart, to which also may be added, a little hoarhound and sassafras; to this decoction, after it is strained, add a glass of rum or brandy, and sweeten it with sugar for ordinary drink.

Sometimes an inward fever attends such as are poisoned, for which he ordered the following:

Take one pint of wood ashes and three pints of water, stir and mix them

well together, let them stand all night and strain or decant the lye off in the morning, of which ten ounces may be taken six mornings following, warmed or cold according to the weather.

These medicines have no sensible operation, though sometimes they work in the bowels, and give a gentle stool. *The symptoms attending such as are poisoned, are as follow:*

A pain of the breast, difficulty of breathing, a load at the pit of the stomach, an irregular pulse, burning and violent pains of the viscera above and below the navel, very restless at night, sometimes wandering pains over the whole body, a reaching inclination to vomit, profuse sweats, (which prove always serviceable) slimy stools, both when collic and loose, the face of a pale and yellow colour, sometimes a pain and inflammation of the throat, the appetite is generally weak, and some cannot eat any; those who have been long poisoned, are generally very feeble and weak in their limbs, sometimes spit a great deal, the whole skin peels, and likewise the hair falls off.

Caesar's cure for the bite of a rattlesnake.

TAKE of the roots of plantane or hoarhound, (in summer roots and branches together) a sufficient quantity; bruise them in a mortar, and squeeze out the juice, of which give as soon as possible, one large spoonful: if the patient is swelled, you must force it down his throat; this generally will cure; but if he finds no relief in an hour after, you may give another spoonful, which never hath failed.

If the roots are dried, they must be moistened with a little water.

To the wound, may be applied a leaf of good tobacco, moistened with rum.



Cure for the bite of a rattlesnake, as discovered by DAMPSON, a negro: for which discovery the assembly of South Carolina purchased his freedom, and allowed him an annuity.

TAKE heart snakeroot, both root and leaves, two handfuls, poly-pody leaves, one handful, bruise them in a mortar, press out a spoonful of the juice, and give it as soon as possible.

fible after the bite; then scarify the wound, and take the root of the herb avens, bruise it, pour a little rum over it, and apply it to the part, over which is to be put the heart snakeroot and polypody which remain after the juice is squeezed out. These medicines and applications must be repeated according to the violence of the symptoms, so as in some dangerous cases, it must be given to the quantity of eight spoonfuls in an hour, and the wound dressed two or three times in a day.

The above herbs may also be bruised and beat up into a paste with clay, and, when necessary, may be scraped down to the quantity of half a common spoonful, and given amongst a little rum and water, and repeated as the doses of the juice above-mentioned. A little of this paste may be wet with rum, and rubbed over the wound.

N. B. He always used this method when he could not find the green herbs.

Sometimes the cure is entirely performed by the patient's chewing the heart snakeroot, and swallowing the juice, and applying some of the same herb bruised, to the wound.

When the part is greatly inflamed and swelled, all the herbs in the following list are taken to the quantity of some handfuls of each, and boiled into a strong decoction, with which it is to be fomented several times a day.

1. *Afarum cyclimini folio*, or heart snakeroot of the province.—2. *Polypodium vulgare*, or common polypody.—3. *Caryophyllata Virginiana radice inodora*, or, Virginia avens, called here five fingers.—4. *Lonchitis aspera*, or, rough spleenwort.—5. *Hypnum, julacum*, or, small erect club-moss.—6. *Gnaphalium humile*, or, creeping gold locks.

Samson frequently went about with rattlesnakes in calabashes, and would handle them; put them into his pockets or bosom, and sometimes their heads into his mouth, without being bitten. In proof of the efficacy of his medicines, he several times suffered himself to be bitten by the most venomous snakes, and once let his wounds come so near a mortification, that it was doubted whether he could recover, yet he cured himself with them; he disarmed any snake of its venom with some one of the herbs.—It is said chewing the heart snakeroot,

and spitting the juice upon a snake, will instantly kill it.



A receipt for curing cancers; made public in pursuance of a resolution of the general assembly of Virginia, after having appointed a committee to make a trial of its effects and receiving the report of it success.

THE POWDER.

TAKE a peck of garden sorrel and better than half as muchcelandine; beat them in a mortar, and press the juice through a fine cloth into a pewter basin. Take a large handful of the inner bark of persimmon from the south side of the tree; beat it as fine as can be; pour a little spring water to it and let it stand an hour; then squeeze it as tight as can be, through an open cloth, into the other juice in the basin. Heat an iron pestle very hot, and with it run four ounces of allum to the juices mix them all well together, and set the basin in the hot sunshine, and let it continue there till the juice be dried away, and the powder as dry as it can be made by the heat, and being stirred two or three times every day; if it be too white or too crumbly, repeat the operation with a small quantity of the juices; if it be too hard and too sticky, repeat it with a little more allum; and, in either case, dry it as before, in the sun. When it is rightly prepared, and the ingredients in due proportion, it will beat to powder in the middle of a hot day; but not in the morning or evening; and in the middle of the day, when it is dry, will be of a darkish white colour, but in the morning darker. The best time for making this powder is in the end of May, or beginning of June.

THE WATER.

Take the inner bark of sassafras root, the inner bark of logwood root, the inner bark of Spanish oak from the south side of the tree; of each a handful; boil these barks in a stone vessel, with a gallon of rum, until it come to a quart; then pour it off, and sweeten it with honey; mix in half gill of spirit of turpentine, and dissolve in it the quantity of a large nutmeg of fine allum, and the quantity of a small nutmeg of white vitriol.

This powder and water are to be applied in the following manner: sprinkle the powder over the part affected, and cover it with lint, which must be picked, not scraped, and wetted in the water warmed in an oyster shell. Over all apply a piece of lead, and bind it on as tight as the person can endure it. This must be repeated every morning; and at every dressing, observe to cleanse the sore perfectly, and keep it from the air as much as possible. Let not any water, except that here directed, touch the wound, not even for a considerable time after it is healed, for these cancers are very apt to break out again, unless healed carefully and effectually. The patient is frequently inclined to fevers, and to be costive; then I generally give a purge or two of *pill. ex duobus*, but beware of mercury. To persons of very full blood, I give a few pills of conserve of red roses every day, and blow and then let them blood. Sometimes these cancers, when imagined near cured, will be flush of blood; when I apply a plaister of cedar, made by drying the leaves in a lukewarm oven, and rubbing them, and sitting them through a tiffanet, or a very fine sear, and afterwards mixing the powder up to a consilience for spreading with honey: this plaister will drive the blood back, but should not be applied to any part of the body, in either sex, below the stomach. During the cure, the patient should carefully abstain from strong liquor, and food seasoned with hot spices. And for his general drink, use tea, made of beet roots.



Mr. Howard's receipt for curing the yaws, lame disemper, scurvy, rheumatism, &c. for which the general assembly of South Carolina, allowed him a gratuity of three thousand pounds.

MR. Howard before he gave any medicines, thought it necessary to have some blood taken out of the arm nearest the side where the pains or ulcers were seated; then he purged the patient moderately four or five times with *pillulae ex duobus* which he gave over night; but when the person was weak, he preferred the *extractum rudii* to the other pill, and gave

the size of two or three pease of it for a dose.

After they had undergone this course of gentle purging for eight or ten days, he ordered a gill and half of the following diet-drink, to be taken morning and evening, which they persisted in till the cure was perfected:

Take of sarsaparilla and China-root, each four ounces, cut them very small, and put them into an iron pot, with eight quarts of water; let them stew slowly for twelve hours over a very gentle fire, taking great care at the same time, that the pot be so closely stopped, that as little as possible of the steam may pass out; and when the liquor is cold, cork it well up in bottles.

Effectual as this might be, and it proved so in many instances, he believed (and probably very justly) that he afterwards improved it by the following additions:

Take six, or (according to the state of the patient) eight ounces of sarsaparilla, eight ounces of dry China-root; cut and split them very fine, and then add one ounce and an half, or two ounces of gum guaiacum, properly powdered, and when the decoction is stubborn, half a pound of crude antimony coarsely pulverized; put the whole in an iron pot, with eight or ten quarts of water, (according to the strength of the patient) and boil them with the same cautions, and for the same time, as before, bottling up the liquor when cold. To this decoction, when the patient was low and weak, he often added a handful or two of the shavings of hartshorn.



Letter on the dissection of the American skunk, from dr. Mitchell, to Mr. Post, surgeon.

SIR,

YOUR proficiency in anatomical knowledge, and the success with which you now prosecute your enquiries, make me presume that a few facts, upon that useful subject, will not be displeasing to you.

Not long since, I had an opportunity to dissect the American skunk or *viverra putorius* of Linnaeus. The most remarkable appearances, on examination, were the following: the skin was exceedingly lax, inasmuch

that when pulled away from the subjacent membrane, the hairs in many places drawn through it, were left rooted in the fat; the urine possessed no more fecor than is common to that excrementitious fluid in many other animals; but the peculiar odoriferous substance, which the creature emits when pursued, proceeds from two sacs, each capable of containing about half an ounce, situated on both sides of the extremity of the intestinum rectum, and surrounded by large and strong circular muscles, which, contracting by a voluntary exertion, force out the thick yellowish liquor, through two ducts opening near the verge of the anus. As the animal is neither swift nor robust, this seems to be given it as a defence against its enemies, on whose approach, the volatile matter is discharged with considerable force, and to no small distance. From its analogy to musk, ambergrease, civet, and castor, I am strongly inclined to think it might be with advantage ranked among the antispasmodics of the *materia medica*, or classed with drugs in the shops of perfumers.

A similar substance, although not so abundant and fragrant, I have likewise found in bags of the same kind, when I dissected the common weasel, or *mustela vulgaris*, which in all probability will be found to possess virtues not much differing from the spodnar or liquor of the *viverra*.

The musquash or *castor muschatus*, which I have also dissected, has no sacs of this kind, and therefore I am forcibly led to suspect that its odour resides in the cuticular exhalants and perspired matter.

If this communication can afford you any pleasure, if it points out to physicians a new remedy, or if it suggests to the belles and beaux an untried perfume, the product of our own country, it will add at the same time much to the satisfaction I experienced in collecting and arranging the materials.

I have the honour to be, &c.

S. L. MITCHILL.

New York, Jan. 21, 1788.



Directions for conducting a newspaper
in such a manner as to make it in-
nocent, useful, and entertaining.

—By *dr. Rush*: addressed to *mr. Brown*, editor of the *Federal Gazette*.

1. CONSIDER that we live three thousand miles from the nations of Europe, and that we have but little interest in their domestic parties, or national quarrels. The less therefore you publish of them, the better.

2. Avoid filling your paper with anecdotes of British vices and follies. What have the citizens of the united states to do with the duels, the elopements, the crim. cons, the kept mistresses, the murders, the suicides, the thefts, the forgeries, the boxing matches, the wagers for eating, drinking, and walking, &c. &c. of the people of Great Britain? such stuff, when circulated through our country, by means of a newspaper is calculated to destroy that delicacy in the mind, which is one of the safeguards of the virtue of a young country.

3. If any of the above-named vices should ever be committed in the united states, the less that is said about it the better. What have the citizens of Philadelphia to do with the criminal amours of *mr. M—*, of Boston—the frequent and minute histories of such gross vices, take off from the horror they would otherwise excite in the mind.

4. Never suffer your paper to be a vehicle of private scandal, or of personal disputes. If the faults of public officers are exposed, let it be done with decency. No man has a right to attack the vices or follies of private citizens, in a newspaper. Should you under a false idea of preserving the liberty of the press, lay open the secrets of families, and thereby wound female honour and delicacy, I hope our legislature will repeal the law that relates to assault and battery, and that the liberty of the bludgeon will be as sacred and universal in Pennsylvania, as your liberty of the press.

5. Never publish an article in your paper, that you would not wish your wife or daughter (if you have any) should read or understand.

6. The less you publish about yourself the better. What have your readers to do with the neglects or insults that are offered to you by your fellow citizens? if a printer offends you, at-

tack him in your paper, because he can defend himself with the same weapons with which you wound him; type against type is fair play; but to attack a man who has no types nor printing press, or who does not know any thing about the manual of using them, is cowardly in the highest degree. If you had been in twenty Bunker-hill battles, instead of one, and had fought forty duels into the bargain, and were afterwards to revenge an affront, upon a man who was not a printer, in your newspaper, I would not believe that you possessed a particle of true courage. If such a person injures you, if you are a christian, you may forgive him, or sue him—if you are a savage, you may challenge him to fight a duel—and if you are a wild beast, you may tear him to pieces with your claws, or kick him into the gutter.

7. Publish, as often as you can obtain them, an exact but short account of all the laws that are passed in all the states in the union.

8. Furnish your customers if possible with the future debates of the senate and house of representatives of the united states.

9. Let the advancement of agriculture—manufactures—and commerce, be the principal objects of your paper. A receipt to destroy the insects that feed upon turnips, or to prevent the rot in sheep, will be more useful in America, than all the inventions for destroying the human species, which so often fill the columns of European newspapers.

10. Publish a price-current, and a state of the weather, once a week; and once a month, publish a list of all the deaths in the city—and if possible, the names of the diseases which occasioned them.

11. Do not neglect to insert a good essay, or paragraph, because it has been published in another newspaper. Extracts from modern publications upon useful subjects, will at all times be acceptable to your readers.

Wishing you success in your undertaking, only in proportion as you comply with these directions,

I am your humble servant,

A FRIEND TO THE UNION.

October 1, 1788.

The following method of raising cotton is given by a person who resided in the West Indies, also in South Carolina, and has tried the same in this state, where it came to perfection—a sample, of which is now in his possession.

CHOOSE the middle of April, if the spring be forward, for preparing the soil, which is done by hoe ploughing, or laying the ground in small ridges, or potatoe hills, which prevents the soil throwing out a crop of weeds, and gives double vigour to the powers of vegetation.

The latter end of April, or beginning of May, when the frost is fully out of the ground, are thought to be the properest season to plant the seeds, when the rains have penetrated the earth; there is then every chance of succeeding in getting the plants so strong as to resist the dry weather.

Put the seeds in a tub over night, and pour thereon warm water, stirring them about; the good will sink, and the false seed will swim on top, which throw away. Plant them at three feet apart, five or six seeds in a hole, in a straight line; the lines to be about eight feet apart; when so close, the trees are better protected from dry weather, the ground being sheltered by their branches.

When the plants arrive to fourteen or sixteen inches high, they are then to be topped; a dry day must be chosen for the purpose, and about one inch of the upper part of the plant lopped off, as well as the principal branches. This operation produces a number of branches to grow from the principal stem, and spreads the tree without permitting it to run into high wood. At this time, it ought to be hilled up, and a strong moulding given, in order to secure it in an upright situation when the rains come. It will be then necessary to top all the trees that have grown above three or four feet high, and reduce them all to an equal height, permitting the branches to spread horizontally, to enjoy that situation uninjured. Cotton should never be permitted to rise higher than four or five feet, as the pods in their green state form a great weight, and break down, if they are too tall, by every breeze of wind.

When the season for gathering the

cotton arrives, the whole attention ought to be in gathering it—take none but what is fully open and dry : never intrude on the half opened pods ; the wool should hang loose, in a state of separation from the pods ; when so gathered, it saves a great deal of labour in whipping it, which is very tedious, and injures the seed : the wool should be laid under cover, to dry the seed. When brought to the gin, it should be exposed to the sun : for the drier it is, the easier it will pass through the gin.—Cotton grows on middling good ground.

N. B. When the caterpillars attack the cotton, in the early part of the year, they may be permitted to fly off unmolested ; but if they come when the tree begins to bloom, they must be destroyed, or they will spoil the crop : if the land is clear, simply shaking them off the tree will be sufficient, as the ants will then devour them ; but if the ground be full of weeds, they must be killed, as you take them. A crop of early Indian corn may be planted between the cotton, when it is established, and may be gathered in before the corn.



Miscellaneous observations on certain national customs and prejudices.

THE American revolution, among other consequences, had nearly extirpated several embarrassing English customs, and substituted in their place, the easy and elegant simplicity of French manners. Washington countenanced the change ; but the intercourse with England arriving, and our country being crowded with her formal sons, their customs are insensibly stealing upon us. At many tables, the company seem doubtful, whether to make the round with “your health, sir,”—“your health, madam,”—whether to rest at the health of the lady of the house—or whether to disturb any one with this foolish ceremony, which is condemned even by those who practise it ; but why should they rest in doubt to banish a custom which our reason condemns !

As a nation, we ought to form some national customs, and not be eternally subservient to those which prevail abroad. A few leading men in each

town, by setting the example, might effectually destroy this health-drinking custom.

The table customs of France are worthy of imitation, for they are (if I may use the expression) refined into rural ease and simplicity, the essence of true politeness. The most agreeable and happy hours of the gay lives of the French, are spent in a large circle nearly divided by each sex : while we are cloyed with ceremony and form, they enjoy the rich luxury of perfect freedom and social ease. If the company is composed of both sexes, each gentleman places himself between two ladies—every one has his glass—a bottle of claret and a decanter of water—and they drink or not, as they feel disposed—the soup and a rich variety pass round—and the lady of the house pays as little attention to her guests, as if she was one of the number ; every gentleman from his situation, is attentive only to the two ladies on each side of him, whom custom has committed to his charge ; and instead of formal harangues and abstruse debates (too common on such occasions in America) the position of the females in France imposes a barrier between the males, and divides the conversation into a lively vein of pleasantry ; but the ladies in America generally huddle together in a body, and the conversation is confined to the distinct sexes ; it is well the prevalence of this custom does not carry their scruples so far as to assign separate tables to the ladies and gentlemen.

In America, a stranger is often introduced into a room of new faces, and separately to each individual—his personal situation, on this occasion, is extremely awkward, and embarrassing—and it never fails to fill a continental European with disgust. In France, a stranger is introduced to a company collectively—and, in a few minutes, he becomes a member of the company at large, entirely at his ease with all around him : and if his business or inclination leads him to withdraw, he retires off softly and unnoted.

Toast-drinking formerly prevailed in France, but is now totally abolished ; however, as this custom seems congenial with the genius of Ameri-

ca, it is probable it will remain a national custom.

In America, we keep up the line of separation between the sexes, even after dinner; the ladies, at a certain signal, file off to a separate room, when the men tubed in their conversation, as if a weight had been removed from them. In France, so much of the happiness of the people depends on the mutual intercourse between the sexes, that they rise together, retiring into another room, to drink coffee, and divert themselves in the most agreeable manner.

I have often reflected with astonishment, how effectually we were blinded by the veil of English illiberality. Their travellers have uniformly represented France as a nation of frog-eaters and detestable cooks—making soup out of the bones they pick up in the streets. Having resided several years and travelled through the greatest parts of France and England, I can venture to affirm, that, excepting the fourth class, the people of France enjoy the luxury of rich living and good wines, both in variety and quantity, far beyond the English. The fourth class are the peasantry, who cultivate the soil, and who live in the utmost indigence; but when the English travellers draw general conclusions from one class of a nation only, they ought, at the same time, to reflect how their fellow-citizens of the same condition subsist in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland.

In short, the English are rapt up in ideas of the importance and dignity of their country, and unwilling to allow the merit due to other nations.

A Sentimental Traveller.

New York, Nov. 15, 1788.



Remarks on the plans of Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New-haven; with a few thoughts on the force of habit.—Supposed to be written by Noah Webster, jun. esq.

“WELL, how do you like Boston?” said an American to a Londoner, who had just arrived, and walked through the town. “Extremely,” replied the Englishman; “it resembles London in the crookedness and narrowness of the streets: I

am always pleased with a careless irregularity and variety.”

“How do you like Boston,” says a native of the town to a Philadelphian. “I am much pleased with the people,” replies the gentleman; “but the streets are so crooked, narrow, and irregular, that I have good luck to find my way, and keep my stockings clean.”

An Englishman and a Bostonian, walking together in Philadelphia, were heard to say; “how fatiguing it is to pass through this town; such a sameness in the whole! no variety! when you have seen one street, you have seen the whole town!”

These remarks, which are heard every day, illustrate most strikingly the force of habit and tradition. The influence of habit is every where known and felt—any prepossessions, therefore, in favour of our native town, are not matter of surprise. But that a traditional remark or opinion should be handed from one generation to another, and lead nations into error, without a detection of its falsity, is a fact as astonishing as it is real. Such is the opinion of the writers on the fine arts; “That variety is pleasing”—an opinion embraced without exception and applied promiscuously to the works of nature and of art. I have rarely met with a person, not an inhabitant of Philadelphia, who would not say he was disgusted with its regularity; and I am confident, that the opinion must proceed from that common-place remark, that variety is pleasing; otherwise men could not so unanimously condemn what constitutes its greatest beauty.

That in the productions of nature, variety constitutes a principal part of beauty, and a fruitful source of pleasure, will not be denied: but the beauty and agreeableness of works of art depend on another principle; viz. utility or convenience. The design of the work, or the end proposed by it, must be attentively considered, before we are qualified to judge of its beauty.

This kind of beauty is called by lord Kaims* relative beauty. He observes, very justly, that “intrinsic

NOTE.

* Elements of criticism. vol. 1. p. 198.

beauty is a perception of sense merely ; for to perceive the beauty of a spreading oak, or of a flowing river, no more is required but singly an act of vision. Relative beauty is accompanied with an act of understanding and reflexion ; for of a fine instrument or engine, we perceive not the relative beauty, till we are made acquainted with its use and destination." A plough has not the least intrinsic beauty ; but when we attend to its use, we are constrained to consider it as a beautiful instrument, and such a view of it furnishes us with agreeable sensations.

The single question, therefore, with respect to a town or city, is this : Is it planned or constructed for the greatest possible convenience ? If so, it is completely beautiful. If wide and regular streets are more useful and convenient than those that are narrow and crooked, then a city, constructed upon a regular plan, is the most beautiful, however uniform the streets in their directions and appearance.

I have often heard a comparison made between the level roads of Holland and the uniform streets of Philadelphia. A dull sameness is said to render both disagreeable. Yet if a person will attentively consider the difference, I am persuaded he will be convinced that his taste is but half correct ; that is, that a just remark with respect to a level open country, is improperly applied to a commercial city. Variety in the works of nature is pleasing ; but never in the productions of art, unless in copies of nature, or when that variety does not interfere with utility. A level champaign country is rarely convenient or useful ; on the other hand, it is generally more barren than a country diversified with hills and vales. There is not generally any advantage to be derived from a wide extended plain ; the principle of utility, therefore, does not oppose and supersede the taste for variety, and a tedious sameness is left to have its full effect upon the mind of a spectator. This is the fact with respect to the roads in Holland.

But it is otherwise in a city, which is built for the express purpose of accommodating men in business. We do not consider it as we do a landscape, an imitation of a natural scene, and

designed to please the eye ; but we attend to its uses in artificial society, and if it appears to be calculated for the convenience of all classes of citizens, the plan and construction must certainly be beautiful, and afford us agreeable sensations.

The regularly built towns in America, are Philadelphia, Charleston, in South Carolina, and Newhaven. All these may be esteemed beautiful, though not perfectly so. Philadelphia wants a public square or place of resort for men of business, with a spacious building for an exchange. This should be near Market-street, in the centre of business. The gardens at the state-house are too small for a public walk in that large city. The whole line of bank houses is the effect of ill-timed parsimony. The houses are inconvenient, and therefore not pleasing to the eye ; at the same time they render Water-street too narrow.

But whatever faults may be found in the construction or plan of the city, its general appearance is agreeable, and its regularity is its greatest beauty. Whenever I hear a person exclaim against the uniformity that pervades that city, I suppose him the dupe of a common-place remark, or that he believes a city built merely to please the eye of a spectator.

Charleston is situated upon low ground ; but just above high water mark. The soil is sand, which, with a scarcity of stone, has prevented the streets from being paved. The plan of the city is regular, but some of the streets are too narrow. As it is almost surrounded with water and low marshy ground, it was necessary to attend to every circumstance that should contribute to preserve a pure air. For this purpose, it was the original design of the citizens, to prevent any buildings from being erected on the wharves, in front of the town ; thus leaving a principal street, called the bay, open to the sea breezes. Since the revolution, this design has been partially dispensed with ; some buildings having been erected on the water side of the bay, and particularly one in front

NOTE.

+ A line of houses built on the descent of land to the river, with a street adjacent to the houses on both sides.

of the exchange, which stands at the head of Broad street, and commands an extensive view of the town on one side, and of the harbour on the other. Should stores and warehouses be raised on the wharves, to such a height as to intercept a view of the harbour from the bay, they would diminish the beauty of the town, and in some degree prevent the agreeable effect of the cool breezes from the sea.

Newhaven was laid out on a most beautiful plan, which has however suffered in the execution. The streets cross each other at right angles, as in Philadelphia; and divide the city into convenient squares. But in the centre is a large public square, the sides of which are more than two hundred yards in length, and adorned with rows of trees. Through the centre of this square runs a line of elegant public buildings, viz. the state house, two churches, and a school house. This square is a capital ornament to the town: but is liable to two exceptions. First, it is too large for the populousness of the city, which contains about five hundred buildings. In so small a town, it must generally be empty and consequently give the town an appearance of solitude or dullness. In the second place, that half of the square which lies west of the public buildings, is occupied mostly by the church yard, which is enclosed with a circular fence. This reduces the public ground on the opposite side to a parallelogram, which is a less beautiful figure than a square; and annihilates the beauty of the western division which it occupies. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the green or public ground in the centre of Newhaven renders it perhaps the most beautiful small settlement in America.



Extracts from "an enquiry into the causes of the present grievances of America." Published in Wilmington, Delaware.—P. 257.

THE only American author who has written against manufactures, is Mr. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia. I shall quote his observations, upon which I shall make some remarks: "our exterior commerce," says this author, "has suffered very much from the beginning of the present contest;

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during this time we have manufactured within ourselves the most necessary articles of clothing. Those of cotton will bear some comparison with the same kinds of manufacture in Europe, but those of wool, flax, and hemp, are very coarse, unsightly, and unpleasant; and such is our attachment to foreign manufactures, that be it wise or unwise, our people will certainly return, as soon as they can, to raising raw materials, and exchanging them for finer manufactures, than they are able to execute themselves."

"Be it wise or unwise:" here the author plainly shews he had doubts of the policy of preferring foreign manufactures, and the event has proved it to be highly impolitic. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that the state of South Carolina manufactures nothing, not even a shoe for their negroes; this state, if we may believe the information given by Commodore Gillon to the house of representatives, is reduced to a degree of poverty hardly credible: a man of fortune in that state obliged to pawn his plate for forty dollars, a tract of land of five hundred acres, within twenty miles of Charleston, selling for five guineas, and land all over the state for a penny an acre. Had not the pine barren act* been passed, every foot of the valuable land in that state would have become the property of British agents; but to return to Mr. Jefferson's notes. "The political economists of Europe have established it as a principle, that every state shall endeavour to manufacture for itself, and this principle, like many others, we transfer to America, without calculating the difference of circumstances, which should often produce a difference of result. In Europe, the lands are either cultivated, or locked up against the cultivator; manufactures must therefore be resorted to of necessity, not of choice." The author here infers, that manufactures did not exist in Europe, un-

NOTE.

* An act passed in South Carolina about three years ago; this act allows a debtor to offer any part of his property to his creditor, who is obliged to take the same at the valuation of three freeholders residing near where the property is.

til the lands were either cultivated or locked up against the cultivator; but manufactures are coeval with agriculture itself; at least they may be traced to the tower of Babel; the inference therefore is erroneous.

Again, "manufactures must be resorted to, of necessity, not of choice: but is not agriculture as much a work of necessity as manufactures? For if the earth produced grain of its own accord, who would be at the expense and trouble of ploughing? "Is it best then, that all our citizens should be employed in agriculture, or that one-half should be called off to exercise manufactures, and handicrafts the other?" Surely no man in his senses would think of annihilating agriculture; but this author is fond of extremes; I would recommend to his attention, the advice of Phœbus to his son Phæton, "*in medio tutissimus ibis.*" Again, "those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breaths he has made the peculiar deposit of substantial and genuine virtue." This is a strange method of putting one part of mankind above another, and this for no other reason but difference in occupation, as if there was more religion or virtue in driving a plough, than making one; but how has God manifested his preference of agriculture? was it by rejecting the offering of Cain, the first husbandman in the world? This distinction is as absurd as invidious. "While we have land to labour, then never let us wish to see our citizens occupied at a work bench, or twirling a distaff: carpenters, masons, smiths, are wanting in husbandry: but for the general operations of manufacture, let our work shops remain in Europe." Are all men calculated for farmers, carpenters, masons, and smiths? What is to be done with those whom defect in constitution or in body will not permit to follow those occupations? And of the other sex, as is already observed, there are numbers of women who must become a county charge, unless manufactures are encouraged. In fact, a state consisting of all farmers, is a speculation bordering on Quixotism, which never was, nor can be reduced to practice, let the extent of territory be what it

will. "It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there, than to bring them to the provisions and materials, and with them their manners and principles." Do men retain the manners and principles of the country they emigrate from? or rather do they not relinquish them, and adopt those of the country they migrate to? The latter has been always the fact; this cannot be better exemplified than by the conduct of foreigners. Through an unhappy depravation of manners, the marriage tie is little regarded in France, inasmuch, that it is a common saying among their neighbours, the Germans, "that a Frenchman locks up every thing but his dog and his wife, and these he lets run at large;" but the French, who have settled in the united states, where conjugal fidelity is in fashion, have adopted the custom of the country: and the volatile Frenchman, who gallanted every wife but his own, is here fashioned into a discreet husband. In fact, encouraging European manufactures, is the most effectual means of establishing European fashions, and with them the whole train of European prejudices, absurdities, corruptions, and vices. "The mobs of great cities, add just as much to the support of pure government, as fores do to the strength of the human body." This argument makes rather against society, than against manufactures. It must be confessed, that populous cities are detrimental not only to pure government, but also to morality and virtue. But the encouragement of European manufactures is the most effectual means of increasing the population of cities, by converting our citizens into merchants, shopkeepers, small dealers, chapmen, hucksters, porters, draymen, with the numerous train of tippling houses, the societies of the frail sisterhood, for the benefit of sailors, &c. &c. &c. Commercial towns ever will possess the greatest share of vice and iniquity; but manufactures may be established in villages and hamlets, where the morals of the people may be kept unflinched; these objections, therefore, are mere sound.

There is nothing can make us truly independent, but the encouragement of our own manufactures; first, be-

cause it ought to be the policy of every state to promote the industry of their own subjects in preference to foreigners. Secondly, because we ought to make every necessary article possible ourselves, otherwise, in cases of war, we may be distressed for want of them; and I am led to believe, that upon proper encouragement, we shall, in a few years, excel the present state of British manufactures; indeed no reason can be given why we should not. By our unaccountable folly we are keeping our young women in a state of celibacy, contrary to the first command of our Creator, and the established maxims of all wise states. What is the reason? because numbers of our youth have nothing to do, no occupation to maintain a wife; those who have no farms, must either go to sea, where, perhaps, they are no more heard of, or emigrate to Carthage or Kentucke, in hopes of bettering their fortunes. To the former of those places, three vessels loaded with passengers went from Philadelphia last fall. What can be the reason of our citizens emigrating to that sickly spot? Surely they could not have been so misinformed, as to have been led to believe that the climate was more healthy, or the government more mild; in fact, poverty, jails, and wheelbarrows, are sufficient to drive them to Nova Scotia, New Zealand, or out of their senses.

The importation of foreign manufactures, like Pandora's box, scatters evils all around; almost every public grievance may be traced to this source. It has drained the country of specie; it has sunk American property to a fourth part of its value; it has filled our courts of justice with law suits, the sheriff's dockets with executions, and the public prisons, with debtors and criminals; it has banished subjects from the states; afforded the British a plea for keeping possession of our forts, and occasioned a revolution in our government, and so interested is one part of the community, and ignorant or indifferent the other, that we are willing to ascribe our calamities to any but the real cause.

BRUTUS.

Newcastle, May 15, 1788.

(To be continued.)

Historical memoirs, relating to the practice of inoculation for the small pox, in the British American provinces, particularly in New England. By Benjamin Gale, A. M.

P. 244.

WAS inoculation, upon some of our small islands on the sea coast, or on some point of land, at a proper distance from inhabitants, impracticable, with safety to the inhabitants of this colony, I should not think it unreasonably wholly to suppress it; but without all doubt, it may be so regulated, as to be wholly safe, and without danger of communication; and therefore, I think, I may justly say, to deny liberty of inoculation to persons in trade, seamen, and such as are more immediately exposed to the disease, or to lay those, who would go out of the colony to obtain it, under so great disadvantages, is an invasion of the natural rights of mankind, and an obstruction to their pursuing the first law of human nature.

The number of the inhabitants in our old American settlements double once in twenty or twenty-five years, and our new-made settlements, once in fifteen or twenty years.

The New England colonies are better peopled than the other provinces and colonies in America, which I principally attribute to the tenure of our lands, which are held in fee-simple, according to the tenure of the manor of East Greenwich in Kent; and I humbly conceive nothing would so much facilitate the settlement of crown lands, obtained by our new acquisitions in America, as their being granted in like manner: paying quit-rents to monopolizers of large tracts of land, is not well relished by Americans, and has in itself a natural tendency to render the defence of the country against foreign invaders, and our savage enemies, despicably infamous. A signal instance of this happened during the French war, A. D. 1745. The colony of Connecticut having just before finished the settlement of their new lands, adjoining to the manor of Livingston, in the province of New York, being on the north-west frontiers of this colony, some skulking parties of Indians being seen in the manor aforesaid, the tenants left their settlements, which

had been made almost a century before, and fled over into this country to our new made settlements, which then had not been made more than seven years, where they looked upon themselves as safe and secure; a convincing proof that no men will face an enemy, like those who fight *pro aris et focis*. Our southern colonies, in particular, have been drove before a despicable enemy, like sheep; this never was the case even in the infant state of these colonies.

The census of the inhabitants of this colony, transmitted by governor Fitch, A. D. 1756, by order of the lords of trade, was 128,218 souls whites, and 3587 blacks; that of the year 1762, 141,000 souls whites, 4590 blacks, of which 930 were Indians. The levies of our fencible men diminished the increase, so that the last seven years the colony only increased 13,000. On the peace, doubtless, the rapidity of population will recover; and in how short a space of time, the well settling our new acquisitions may be effected, from all the American colonies collectively, I leave everyone to determine; and I cannot but think, that, whenever the state of public affairs will permit the parliament of Great Britain to advert to the peopling and securing the acquisitions made in America, they will judge it best effected, as much as may be, from her colonies in America; and that the law prohibiting inoculation in America will be accordingly annulled, by their superintending authority, as prejudicial to the population of the colonies.

It appears from dr. Douglass's account of the small pox in the town of Boston, where he lived, and made critical observations, the three last times that it was epidemical there, viz. A. D. 1721, 1730, and 1752, that the number of persons visited with the small pox, in the natural way, was 16,047. of which 1858 died; and that in 1752, the number of those who received the infection by inoculation, before mercury was made use of in Boston in inoculation, amounted to 2113 persons, of which 30 died (blacks in both being included); granting that those who had the disease in the natural way stood an equal chance for life with those who were inoculated,

it appears, that in those three years, there died one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, in the town of Boston only, for want of inoculation; by which deaths, according to the longest term of doubling the number of inhabitants in America, in one century from those periods, the number will be diminished by twenty-nine thousand two hundred and ninety-six, which is (from the best calculation I am able to make) a number far superior to those who came from Europe, into the New England colonies, from their first settlement, to this present day.

Various sea port towns, as well as some inland places, have been visited with the small pox, since the first settlement of the New England colonies, by which many have died; perhaps, taken collectively, not more than one in four has recovered, partly owing to removing the sick, in order to prevent communicating the infection; and partly to the want of skilful physicians, and faithful experienced nurses to attend the sick, which often obliged to make use of some of the most abandoned wretches, for want of suitable persons who had had the small-pox, to perform that service.

It is much to be regretted by many, that the practice of inoculation may not be tolerated, in the New England colonies, and regulated by laws, well adapted to prevent the spreading the contagion, amongst such as do not choose, and those whose circumstances will not permit them, to comply with the expense attending it.

The increase of mankind has been more impeded by the small-pox, than is usually imagined: it is not the loss of one in six or eight, who die with the disease, that is chiefly to be attended to, but the accumulated loss of all the posterity, which might have descended from them, multiplied through all succeeding generations.

Massachusetts, 1764.

John Churchman's address to the members of the different learned societies in America and Europe, in support of the principles of the magnetic variation, and their application in determining the longitude at sea; shewing wherein what the learned doctor Euler published on this subject at Berlin, was deficient.

IN the beginning of the year 1787, I was published and sent to the different parts of Europe and America, an essay towards ascertaining the laws which govern the variation of the magnetic needle; with a proposal of an universal method for applying the same to the discovery of the longitude at sea. The principles being now admitted, the only doubt appearing against this method being generally useful, is that arising from a question by some individuals, whether or not the variation can always be taken with accuracy; which doubt I hope may with care be readily removed.

And as I have heretofore sent forward the general principles, I have now prepared to send a number of calculations from the variation observed in different parts of the world, at places, the situations of which have been ascertained by observations of the transit of Venus and otherwise; with the dates of observations, and names of the observers; some of which will be found to agree exactly, others within a very few minutes, and generally as nearly as could be reasonably expected; and as the observations and calculations prove themselves and each other, they will be considered as proofs equal to any which I can at present produce, and will shew how nearly the variation can be ascertained.

Some of those, however, who admit these principles, have supposed that the idea of applying the magnetic variation to the discovery of the longitude, is not altogether new. It is true that several were of opinion in the last century, that if all the true principles of the variation could be ascertained, this result would be a natural consequence; but the great length of time necessary to make observations and the trouble in collecting them, when made, have perhaps been some of the reasons why the movements of this wonderful phenomenon have remained so long without a demonstration: nay, some have even hinted that a part of these very principles of magnetism was published by the learned doctor Euler, at Berlin, in the year 1757. Although I dispatched a duplicate of my proposals, to the imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, whereof he is a member,

as well as one to the royal Prussian academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin, and many others to that part of the world, (the receipts of most of which have been duly honoured with acknowledgments) yet I have not heard from that quarter that they thought the same principles were ever fully published before. I would not wish by any means to be thought to try to detract in the least from the real merit of the learned author of that publication, who is undoubtedly entitled to great respect, as well on his own account, as being the descendant of a gentleman whom the late learned and illustrious Frederic king of Prussia, called a giant in geometry; but apprehending this matter a common cause, in the success of which mankind are in some degree interested, and that the nature of the case requires that the business should appear in its true light; and as I have not had the pleasure of seeing the original, I now make free to quote all the principles laid down by that gentleman which are said to be faithfully translated therefrom, so as to retain the substance; (see *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 10th, under the article variation) and afterwards I shall take the liberty of making some observations thereon, shewing where he has been deficient in many respects. His principles are as follow.

“M. Euler, son of the celebrated geometrician of that name, has, however, shewn that two magnetic poles, placed on the surface of the earth, will sufficiently account for the singular figure assumed by the lines which pass through all the points of equal variation in the chart of dr. Halley.

“M. Euler first examines the case wherein the two magnetic poles are diametrically opposite; second, he places them in two opposite meridians, but at unequal distances from the poles of the world; third, he places them in the same meridians; finally, he considers them situated in two different meridians. These four cases may become equally important; because, if it is determined that there are only two magnetic poles, and that these poles change their situations, it may sometime hereafter be discovered that they pass thro’ all the different positions; since the needle

of the compass ought always to be in the plane which passes thro' the place of observation and the two magnetic poles, the problem is reduced to the discovery of the angle contained between this plane and the plane of the meridian.

"M. Euler, after having examined the different cases, finds that they also express the earth's magnetism, represented in the chart published by messrs. Mountain and Dodson, in 1744, particularly throughout Europe and North America, if the following principles are established.

"Between the arctic pole and the magnetic pole $14^{\circ} 53'$.

"Between the antarctic pole and the other magnetic pole $29^{\circ} 23'$.

" $53^{\circ} 18'$ the angle at the north pole, formed by the meridians passing thro' the two magnetic poles.

"250 the longitude of the meridian which passes over the northern magnetic pole.

"As the observations, which have been collected with regard to the variation, are for the most part loose and inaccurate, it is impossible to represent them all with precision; and the great variations observed in the Indian ocean, seem to require, says M. Euler, that the three first quantities should be 14, 35, and 65 degrees. In the mean time, the general agreement is sufficiently satisfactory."

Notwithstanding all the learned doctor has written on this subject, it does not appear that he mentions the least hint of applying the magnetic variation to the discovery of the longitude; for which purpose, I have humbly conceived it absolutely necessary for all the following elements to be fully understood; none of which, except the first, appears to have been ascertained by him.

1st. The number of magnetic points towards which the needle is attracted.

2d. The distinction between the magnetic points and the magnetic poles.

3d. The situation of the magnetic equator.

4th. The nature of the curves formed by the magnetic meridians.

5th. The periods of revolution of the magnetic points.

6th. The courses which they run.

7th. Their latitudes.

8th. Their longitudes, from some meridian for the present time.

9th. A set of tables of their diurnal, monthly, and annual situation, for any time past or to come.

10th. A set of rules for applying all these principles and materials to use, &c.

The learned gentleman observes, "that two magnetic poles will sufficiently account for the singular figure assumed by the lines which pass thro' all the points of equal variation," and again "he considers them situated in two different meridians."

It is presumed the following easy self-evident truths will readily be granted: 1st. That the terrestrial equator is a circle every way equidistant from the two poles of the earth. 2d. That the magnetic equator is a circle every way equally distant from the two magnetic points. 3d. That the magnetic equator divides the globe in two equal parts. 4th. That every circle, dividing the globe in two equal parts, is a great circle. 5th. That every great circle has two poles. 6th. That the poles of every great circle are two points, every way ninety degrees distant therefrom. 7th. That the two poles of every great circle are diametrically opposite to each other. Hence the two magnetic poles are the poles of the magnetic equator, and consequently they are diametrically opposite to each other; and as the gentleman himself justly allows those two points, towards which the needle is attracted, to be really not diametrically opposite, how can it be that the two points towards which the needle is attracted, should be the magnetic poles, or even coincide therewith? And, notwithstanding two magnetic points, not diametrically opposite, will sufficiently account for the singular figure assumed by the lines which pass through all the points of equal variation, will it not appear strange, that the two magnetic poles which are opposite, should produce this effect? I must confess that this is a mistake which I at first fell into; since which I have taken the liberty to distinguish those two points, towards which the needle is attracted, by the separate term of magnetic points, as before mentioned, being entirely distinct from the two magnetic poles; which, if considered in this light, will be found to perfect the general rules.

It does not appear that this gentleman had any idea of the magnetic poles or magnetic points performing revolutions round the poles of the earth; for we read, "if it is determined that there are only two magnetic poles, and that these poles change their situations, it may sometime hereafter be discovered that they pass through all the different positions. By these expressions, it appears that they must change their situations in such a manner, that the end of the needle, which at any particular place now tends towards the north, would at another time at the same place tend west, then south, and afterwards east; and so on in process of time, to every degree and point of the compass; which is contrary to known fact.

In the year 1777, I considered the northern magnetic point to have been in latitude $76^{\circ} 4'$ north, and longitude $86^{\circ} 45'$ west from Greenwich; and the southern one to have been in even numbers in latitude 72° south, and longitude 140° east from the same meridian*; (which the great variety of observations and calculations prove to be very near the truth) which makes the distance between the arctic pole and the magnetic point, to be $13^{\circ} 56'$; which is the complement of the latitude of the same.

Now, if we even adopt the doctor's own expressions, and call the magnetic points the magnetic poles, or confound them together, which has the same effect, on examination we find, after his giving the distance between the arctic pole and the magnetic pole, likewise between the antarctic pole and the magnetic pole, also the angle at the north pole formed by the meridians passing through the two magnetic poles, he immediately informs us, that the great variations observed in the Indian ocean, seem to require that (these) the three first quantities should be 14, 35, and 65 degrees. He manifestly makes here a halt between two opinions; therefore, by saying that the two magnetic poles are in this or that place at the same time, and the two opinions so very wide from each other, and the

true places, many men of science say this is but little to the purpose. The distance at the arctic pole the doctor at first called $14^{\circ} 53'$, and afterwards 14° ; here his two opinions differ from each other 53 minutes.

The distance at the antarctic pole, he at first calls $29^{\circ} 23'$, and lastly 35 degrees; which causes his two opinions to differ from each other nothing less than $5^{\circ} 37'$ which is the difference between these two quantities; and as the southern magnetic point is proved to be in or about 72° south latitude, the true distance at the antarctic pole is the complement of that number, and of consequence only 18° ; which brings his last opinion within 17° of the real distance, because $35 - 18 = 17$; hence his last opinion is not quite double the real distance.

In the angle at the north pole, formed by the two meridians abovementioned, his two opinions differ from each other only $11^{\circ} 42'$, which is the difference between 65 degrees and $53^{\circ} 18'$. It is true, he does not tell us on what meridian to look for the southern magnetic point; but if we even admit the northern magnetic point (which he has taken for the magnetic pole) to be where he has fixed it at that time, viz. 250° east, (which an accurate calculation will scarcely warrant) in order to make the angle at the north pole between the two meridians beforementioned for that time, according to his last opinion, viz. 65 degrees; the southern one must then of consequence have been 185 degrees east, because 65 subtracted from 250, are equal to 185, which is about 45 degrees further east than the actual observations and calculations will admit it to have been, even in the year 1777. It further appears manifest, that the motion of the southern magnetic point is very slow, for in the year 1642, when Tasman discovered Van Diemen's Land, it is reported by him that at that place the needle pointed due north and south; and the ingenious dr. Halley allows this to have been the case in the year 1700; and when captain Cook visited that place in the year 1777, the needle varied at Adventure Bay, (in latitude $43^{\circ} 21'$ south, and longitude $147^{\circ} 25'$ east) only n. $5^{\circ} 19'$ east; which being reversed is s. $5^{\circ} 15'$

NOTE.

* The longitude is computed from this meridian.

wrong, upon the various publications that come in his way, puts himself upon a level, in point of knowledge, with their several authors. This, you will say, is not peculiar to the Philadelphians, but may serve as a general character for most readers in the world—be it so—you may see in one portrait the resemblance of many a face—but the strength of the contour, the particular arrangement of the features, the countenance, or some other striking circumstance, reminds you of the friend that it resembles most.

I mean not by this observation to insinuate any thing to the disadvantage of the Philadelphians. I love and admire them too much to harbour even a thought of the kind. Their conduct uniformly flows from that spirit of freedom, which they inherit from a British ancestry, which has not been suffered to degenerate, but has rather acquired new vigour by being transplanted into an American soil. Freedom of enquiry will necessarily lead to freedom of speech; and though an honest mind will sometimes be mistaken in its opinions of men and things, yet its very mistakes are pardonable, inasmuch as they proceed not from a depraved heart, but a misinformed judgment. I love to hear a plain man deliver his real sentiments with that downright bluntness, which is generally characteristic of integrity; though it may sometimes be affectingly assumed to hide a deceitful, or countenance an impermanent, temper.

Parties, I am told, some time ago, ran pretty high in this place. Some were for changing the proprietary into a regal government;—for what reason I have not been able to discover; unless they could imagine, that the administration at home, would be more anxious to preserve their privileges inviolate, than a family, whose immediate interest it must needs be, to do. All is calm and serene at present. People of different opinions can now talk with coolness upon the subject, and all seem to be united in one general desire to promote the real interests of their province.

So much, dear Charles, for one of your favourite topics. If you want to know more of the politics of this city, you must come here and observe

for yourself;—for, I confess, I am not equal to the task.

I have transmitted to my lord P— as circumstantial an account as I could get of the plan of this city, and its many improvements and institutions, together with a little history of the progress of literature, which, you know, is quite in his way. I have met with no history of this province, that deserves notice. What have been published are merely partial narratives of their political debates, which are far from being in the least entertaining or instructive. I wish to see a regular, sensible, and well written history of Pennsylvania, from its first settlement to the present period, which might comprise an interesting account of the labours of its venerable founder, the progress of commerce, of arts and sciences, the gradual improvement of taste and manners, and the rise of the various sects of religion. I know but one gentleman in this city, who is capable of executing such a work; and I fear his present engagements, if he should have an inclination, would not afford him sufficient leisure for the purpose.

Many excellent productions in the literary way have been published here. That spirit of freedom, which I have already mentioned, hath given birth even to orators and poets; many of whose performances I have heard and read with the highest satisfaction.

I am your's most affectionately,

T. CASPINA.

Philadelphia, July 10, 1771.

(To be continued.)



BON MOT.

A FEW years since, as a number of convicts were passing from Newgate, handcuffed, two and two, sentenced to be shipped from England for America, the procession advanced with great jollity, with lasses before them playing through the wood laddie, &c. a gentleman who was a spectator could not help exclaiming, "Heavens! How can these poor wretches be so joyous on such an occasion?" Which one of the convicts, a droll fellow, overhearing, he replied, "joyous! aye, so we are, master; and if you will but come along with us, you will be quite *transported*."

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Denmark, February 24.

THE triple alliance between Holland, Great Britain, and Prussia, is in great forwardness. The king of Great Britain's recovery will be celebrated with great joy at the Orange palace.

Great preparations are making for war—and the campaign will open early. Seven or eight ships of the line will be ready to sail as soon as the rivers are clear of ice: ministry have sent orders to raise four thousand sailors in Norway.

The citizens of Geneva have restored their ancient constitution, and have demanded of France, Sardinia, and the canton of Berne, the guarantee of the republic.

Sweden, February 20.

Another revolution has been effected in this kingdom by its sovereign: this was done by seizing the principal nobility, and confining them in the castle of Frederichsoff: the kingdom by this manoeuvre is deprived of one of its principal branches.

Bruxelles, February 28.

The paragraph, which asserted that the Brabanters had submitted to the demands made by the emperor, is false: on the contrary, they remain firm and inflexible in their resolutions not to comply, though from threats, he may proceed to violence.

The flame of liberty, which for ages has illuminated the English hemisphere, will, ere long, burn as bright in this quarter.

The nobility of France appear inclined to frustrate the beneficent views of the monarch in the states convention.

Paris, March 5.

New tumults have arisen in Bretagne; the people of the third estate have formed themselves into regiments, determined to oppose any force that the nobles may bring against them. They have already driven away the parliament, and have raised a fund for the reimbursement of those members whom they mean to exclude for the future: for, it is to be understood, that the office of member in the parliaments of France is acquired by purchase, and has been confined to those persons who have the privilege of no-

bility. The Bretons propose that their new parliament shall be composed, one-half from the nobles, the other from the third estate.

London, February 23.

The king of Prussia has just laid fresh shackles on the liberty of the press, which nearly amount to a total prohibition of printing any political news. The emperor is going to do the same in Flanders: and the Dutch have totally effected it!!!

Feb. 26. The late frost has been felt in countries to which it was a stranger before. At Algiers, the snow was four feet deep. At Lisbon, the thaw was so violent, accompanied by a very heavy rain, that the streets were inundated, and several persons carried off into the river.

That the king of Prussia will take part in the northern war, can appear no longer doubtful. He has seized on several Danish vessels in the ports of Stettin, Memel, and Elbingen.

The pretext for this reprisal, as made to the Danish consul, is, "the Danes having some weeks since seized on a chest of specie, of the value of fifty thousand ducats," which the king of Prussia now claims as belonging to him, and which was going to Stockholm in payment of some wood brought from Sweden.

The foreign armies are already preparing for the ensuing campaign, which promises to be one of the most active known in the history of Europe.

Prussia and Poland will probably join Sweden and the Turks against the emperor, Russia and Denmark. Should they persist in assisting the empress, it may probably involve Great Britain in the dispute.

At Constantinople there has been a great insurrection, which lasted three days, occasioned by the ill success of their arms.

March 1. Mr. Wesley, at eighty-seven, is now at Bath, on his preaching tour through the kingdom!

March 4. Orders have been issued by the government of Bruxelles, to the chevalier de Celles, high sheriff of that place, and one of the principal magistrates, instantly to prepare barracks for French troops, which may be expected daily. He is at the same time nominated commissary of the barracks,

We are likewise informed, that another body of French forces is expected to march into Flanders, and that they will possess themselves of the garrisons of Ostend and Nieuport.

This will be done with the consent of the emperor.

March 5. This morning some dispatches were received in town from Flushing, which confirm the report of the French going to garrison the chief places in Austrian Flanders; and that preparations are making in the Low Countries to receive them. This is a step which requires the most minute attention of the British cabinet.

There are amongst the American loyalists and refugees, some persons of principle and honour, who have really and truly suffered for their attachment to the mother country. These we sincerely congratulate that the day of retribution is at hand. There will be upwards of a million and a half paid to them in the course of this month, which sum has arisen from the lotteries, and certain parliamentary grants.

March 12. It is not unlikely but that fresh attempts will be made towards finding out a north west passage, in consequence of the discoveries made by captain Dixon, when on a trading expedition to that part of the American continent, an account of which has lately been published. However exploded the accounts of the Spanish admiral De Fonte may have been, there now seems to be a degree of probability in that story, as the islands discovered by Dixon are certainly near the entrance of De Fonte's Strait, and further researches may possibly prove the truth of that which hitherto has been deemed a fiction.

In the last state paper published by the emperor, in respect to the states of Brabant, his majesty expressly says, "that the forms of law were only made for ordinary cases, and that his supreme will shall be obeyed."

March 14. Another large confederacy has lately been formed on the continent, which is styled "the armed neutrality." It consists of several of the independent electors of Germany, the most powerful of whom are those of Hanover, Saxony, and Prussia. They together can bring into the field an army of two hundred thousand

men. There is no doubt which part this confederacy will take, should it be drawn into the war; for it certainly would join against the emperor.

All the Austrian troops were ordered to quit winter quarters at the end of last month, and to form the different camps as soon as possible.

Those in Transylvania and Moldavia are to be ready for marching on the first notice.

The elector of Bavaria has joined the armed neutrality of the German powers. His force is very considerable, and would, in case of a rupture, be turned against the emperor.

The slave trade, and the test act, are to be again agitated in the course of this session.

March 16. Letters patent have passed the great seal of France, naming commissioners to investigate that part of their code of laws, which relates to the procedure of civil and criminal causes. It is intended, in the first place, that the expenses of the law shall be reduced, the form of process shortened, and the penal laws united under the same head.

In respect to criminal prosecutions, they shall be conducted with the utmost expedition; the punishment shall be new modified to the just proportion of the crime. And further, the criminal shall be allowed every privilege of counsel, and the fairest means of proving his innocence.



AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

Kingston, (Jamaica.) April 22.

SINCE the commencement of the present month, fourteen sail of large vessels are said to have left Port au Prince, for America, to load with flour.

The demand for flour in St. Domingo has already affected the market here—that very necessary article has considerably risen in price, and if the exports, which are talked of, take place, it will probably be soon worth as much here, as it is now said to be at Port au Prince, 6*l.* per barrel.

Newport, April 18.

Yesterday a respectable committee were unanimously chosen to draft instructions for our representatives, instructing them to renew their motions in general assembly, for the immediate

appointment of a state convention, for the purpose of adopting the new constitution, agreeably to the recommendation of the late hon. congress. The report of instructions was made accordingly, and unanimously agreed to.

Boston, May 1.

Near nine thousand yards of woolen cloth, all yard wide, or upwards, have been fulled and dressed since August last, by Mr. Quinby, clothier, of Falmouth.

Worcester, April 23.

By the Madras [East India] Gazette, we learn, that near thirty thousand inhabitants of the East Indies perished last year by famine.

Middletown, May 16.

Last Thursday the anniversary election of supreme magistrate, and other officers, for the government of this state, was held at Hartford, when the following gentlemen were elected, viz.

His excellency Samuel Huntington, esq. governor, the honourable Oliver Wolcott, esq. lieutenant governor.

New York, May 6.

The duck manufacture in Boston, is patronised by gentlemen of the first characters and fortune in that place; and there is the greatest probability, that the navigation of that state will, in a few years, be wasted to every quarter of the globe, by canals from the American looms.

By accounts from Boston it appears, that the tradesmen and manufacturers of that metropolis are following the patriotic example of their brethren of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, in associating for the promotion of the manufactures of the union: they all are turning their attention to the grand council of the nation, as the only adequate source of relief—the prop of their hopes, and from whose power alone such great national objects can receive competent encouragement, support, and protection.

A letter from Boston, dated April, 29, says, “yesterday there was a considerable seizure of goods, run in from Philadelphia, silks, calicoes, &c. in breadcasks; as also a quantity of sugars, for short entry.

“There will be great vigilance to

detect smuggling, when the federal acts are in force—you may depend on it.”

May 21. The state of Rhode island has enacted, that the same duties and imposts shall be levied and collected in that state, as may be levied and collected by the general government of the other eleven states, to be deposited in their treasury, subject to the appropriation of the assembly.

Pittsburg, May 2.

By a gentleman who arrived here a few days ago from Sandusky, we are informed, that news was brought there before he left it, of five parties of Indians, of different tribes, preparing to go to war; it is said they intend for the frontiers of Kentucke and the Ohio, to watch for boats coming down that river. This information, we hope, will shew the necessity to those going down the river, of being well prepared, as much danger is undoubtedly to be apprehended.

We are also informed, that captain Brandt is using his influence to rouse the Indians against us, and to dissuade them from paying any attention to their agreement at the late treaty.

Winchester, May 13.

A letter from Morgan-town, dated May 4, says, “The Indians have lately paid us a visit—about fifteen miles from this place, a few days ago, they killed two men, a woman, and two children. In another part of the country, they stole some horses, and carried off a man, but being pursued, the horses were retaken. The horses were laden with articles they had plundered many of the inhabitants of, Indian match coats, &c. &c. all of which fell into the hands of the pursuers. A skirmish took place between the savages and those who followed them,—nobody killed on either side.”

Georgetown, May 7.

We congratulate our readers on the fair prospect of Patowmack becoming soon the channel of conveyance for the produce of the fertile country through which it runs. The water carriage is so far established, that five waggons are kept for the purpose of constantly plying between Waters's branch, the common landing, and George town. Col. Dark's boat, last week, brought down 2

load of two hundred sixty-two barrels of flour from Shepherds town, in Virginia, and passed Shanandoah and Seneca falls, with safety and ease. The expence of carriage is considerably lessened, from 8s. 4d. and 10s. to 5s. per barrel, from Washington—and the boatmen are very active in soliciting employ.

May 14. A letter from Louisville, dated April 22, says, "the emigration from the Atlantic states, to this country, has been very great this year. Since the opening of the river no less than two thousand seventy persons have entered the lines of Kentucky, and scarcely a day passes but some arrive at this spot."

Baltimore, May 22.

The amiable lady of our beloved president arrived in this place on Tuesday evening, and set out early next morning for New York. She was met at Hammond's ferry by several of our citizens, and received with such other demonstrations of affection and respect as her short stay admitted. Fire works were discharged before and after supper, and she was serenaded by an excellent band of music, conducted by gentlemen of the town. We shall only add, that, like her illustrious husband, she was clothed in the manufacture of our country, in which her native goodness and patriotism appeared to the greatest advantage.

Philadelphia, May 8.

A letter from New York, dated May 3, says, "I was extremely anxious to arrive here, in order to be present at the meeting of the president and the two houses. That event, however, did not take place till Thursday last, when the president was qualified in the open gallery of the congress house, in the sight of many thousand people. The scene was solemn and awful, beyond description. It would seem extraordinary, that the administration of an oath—a ceremony so very common and familiar—should, in so great a degree, excite the public curiosity. But the circumstances of his election—the impression of his past services—the concourse of spectators—the devout fervency with which he repeated the oath—and the reverential manner in which he bowed down, and kissed the sacred volume—all these conspired

to render it one of the most august and interesting spectacles ever exhibited on this globe. It seemed, from the number of witnesses, to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man, I may, perhaps, be an enthusiast; but I confess, that I was under an awful and religious persuasion, that the gracious Ruler of the universe was looking down, at that moment, with peculiar complacency on an act, which to a part of his creatures was so very important. Under this impression, when the chancellor pronounced, in a very feeling manner, "long live George Washington," my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air."

A letter from Madras, dated September 28, 1788, says, "hostilities are once more commenced between the English and Tippoo Saib, who, from the time of the English first settling upon the coast to this day, has been their most inveterate enemy, having always declared them the ravagers of the country. He is allowed to be the greatest military genius of the east, and commands the greatest army of any of the eastern princes."

The English house of commons, March 13th, upon motion for that purpose, went into a committee, "to consider of the trade between the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the territories belonging to the united states of America."

May 19. On Friday last, agreeably to the constitution, the senate of the united states was classed.

The classes were determined by lot, and are as follow, viz.

First class—for two years.

Tristram Dalton, George Reed,
Oliver Ellsworth, Charles Carroll,
John Elmer, Wm. Grayson,
William Maclay,

Second class—for four years.

Paine Wingate, Richard H. Lee,
Caleb Strong, Pierce Butler,
Wm. Patterson, William Few.
Richard Basset,

Third class—for six years.

John Langdon. John Henry,
Ralph Izard, W. S. Johnson,

Robert Morris, James Gunn.

The mode adopted on this occasion was as follows :

A committee of the senate was chosen to divide the whole number into three classes. Three lots, marked No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, were put into a box—a member from each class was appointed to draw one of the lots—and the lot drawn determined the rotation of the class to which such number belonged.

His excellency John Collins is elected governor, and the hon. Daniel Owen, esq. deputy governor, of the state of Rhode Island.

May 27. Friday last, the lady of the president of the united states arrived here from Mount Vernon. This truly respectable personage was met by a number of the principal ladies and gentlemen of this city, (among whom were the president of the state, and the speaker of the general assembly) a little beyond Darby. At Gray's-ferry, she partook of an elegant cold collation, and thence was escorted to the residence of mrs. (Robert) Morris, by the troops of light-horse, commanded by captains Miles and Bingham. Her arrival, which was about two o'clock, P. M. was announced by the ringing of bells, and a discharge of thirteen guns from the park of artillery, under the command of captain Fisher.

Having fixed her departure for Monday morning, the troops paraded, with an intention to escort her to Trenton—his excellency the president of the state, and many gentlemen on horseback, attending, at ten o'clock the procession moved from mrs. Morris's house, who, in her own carriage, accompanied mrs. Washington to New York. The weather proving rainy, she requested that the troops might return; and they took a respectful leave of her, a few miles from the city.

During her short stay in Philadelphia, the citizens have vied with each other in demonstrations of respectful attachment to this most amiable woman.

Last Thursday, the general assembly of the presbyterian church in the united states of America, met for the first time, in this city. The assembly was opened, agreeably to the appoint-

ment of the late synod of New York, and Philadelphia, with a sermon by the rev. dr. Witherpoon, president of New Jersey college, from 1. Cor. iii. 7. "So then, neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth: but God that giveth the increase."

The rev. dr. John Rogers, of the city of New York was chosen moderator. The rev. dr. George Duffield, of Philadelphia, and the rev. mr. James F. Armstrong, of Trenton, were chosen clerks.

MARRIAGES.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Boston—Mr. Samuel Thayer to miss Rachel Carey.—Mr. Daniel Rea, *Tertius*, to miss Sally Bangs.—Mr. Caleb Francis to miss Polly Rose.

At Swansey—Mr. William H. Bowers to miss Patty Hall.

In Dorchester—Mr. Gregory Clark to miss Lucy Vose.

NEW-YORK.

In the capital—Mr. Solomon Levy to miss Rebecca Hendricks.—Mr. Richard Lawrence to miss Haydock.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia—Mr. Wooddrop Sims to miss Sarah Hopkins.—Mr. Serles Sewall to miss Mary Shields.—Captain John Mulloney to miss Catharine Quinlin.

DELAWARE.

At Dover—Mr. John Prior to miss Eliza Stanley.

At Duck creek cross roads—Mr. John Brooks to miss Kitty Maxwell.

VIRGINIA.

In Richmond county—Mr. John Nicholson to miss Susannah Peachy.

IN THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

Capt. David Zeigler to miss Sheffield.

DEATHS.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Boston—Mrs. Mary Pelham.—Capt Job Bradford.—Mr. Joseph Ballard.—Mr. Philip Freeman, aged 77.—Mrs. Elizabeth Winship, aged 84.—Mrs. Mehitable Webb, aged 95.—Mr. Joseph Hudson.—Mr. Evan Morgan.—Mrs. Sarah Child, aged 76.—Miss Rebecca Hart.

At Lancaster—Mrs. Margaret Stoddard. 76.

In Northampton—Mr. Josiah Clark, aged 92.

At Watertown.—Mrs. Elizabeth Faulkner.

At Falmouth.—Rev. Isaiah Mann.

CONNECTICUT.

In New London. Mrs. Winthrop.

NEW-YORK.

In the city of New York.—Miss Elizabeth M'Cready.—Mrs. Provoost, aged 70.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia.—Mrs. Mary Bidle.—Miss Rachel Budd.—Mrs. Mary Miller.

In Lancaster.—Col. Chambers, of a wound received in a duel.

At Pittsburg.—Thomas Hutchins, esq. geographer of the united states.



Brief sketch of the most interesting proceedings of congress.—P. 425.
MONDAY, April 20.

THE subject of the revenue was resumed.

Mr. Fitzsimons moved, that a drawback should be allowed upon all rum distilled from molasses in the states, and exported to any foreign port.

Mr. Madison objected to drawbacks, as opening a wide door to defrauding the revenue; wished the gentleman to offer his reasons for the measure.

Mr. Fitzsimons suggested, among other reasons, that it would ease the minds of our brethren of the eastern states, who were so largely concerned in the distilling business; that rum distilled in the country could not be exported if loaded with a tax; that it would materially affect an important branch of business, in a way, that no other article would be affected. The gentleman further observed, that it was more easy, in his opinion, to provide checks to prevent frauds, than to devise methods to insure the collection of the duties.

Mr. Lawrence spoke in favour of the drawback.

Mr. Madison then read a passage from the account of exports from Massachusetts, by which, he said, it appeared, that but a small proportion of the rum distilled there, was exported to foreign markets, and of that proportion, the greatest part was sent to the coast of Africa; with the duty, the sale had been great, too great through the states; and if now allowed a drawback, the consequences were to be deprecated. The exportation of it, to the only foreign part that received any considerable quantity, the gentleman reprobated.

Mr. Bland observed, that the other day gentlemen were so strenuous for

the encouragement of manufactures, that commerce appeared an inferior object; now they appeared equally zealous to extend and protect commerce—he was opposed to a drawback.

Upon the votes being taken, it passed in the negative, so no drawback was allowed.

Mr. Fitzsimons then introduced a motion, that a drawback should be allowed on merchandizes that may be exported within a limited time, the impost of which has been paid, or bonded; the gentleman assigned various reasons for the motion.

Mr. Hartley proposed, that the vote against the drawback on rum, should be reconsidered for the present.

Mr. White was opposed to a drawback, it appearing to him conducive to no advantage, and operating against the revenue, by affording great opportunities for fraud.

Mr. Madison observed, that when the intercourse between the states should become more intimate and general, it would increase the opportunities for frauds, and render it extremely difficult to provide a sufficient remedy, upon the most simple plan of revenue, for the evil.

Mr. White observed, it was evident the trade to the West Indies did not need encouragement—he had been informed, that there were near forty sail in that line only from Massachusetts, an evidence that the trade was flourishing.

Mr. Boudinot—sir, I am averse to restrictions upon commerce, and think it sound policy, that no duties should be laid, but such as are absolutely necessary; but the present plan of raising a revenue upon importations, renders a deviation from such a system necessary. Articles, however, that are not consumed after importation, should not certainly be

subjected to a duty, this would be a fatal blow to commerce; for it is within my knowledge, sir, that large quantities of Madeira wine were imported, for the express purpose of exportation. Not to allow of a drawback in this and similar cases, would clog trade excessively. Checks, sir, may be easily provided to defeat fraudulent designs—I must, therefore, be in favour of the drawback.

It was resolved, that the motion on drawbacks be postponed.

On motion, the committee rose—the speaker resumed the chair—and the house adjourned.

TUESDAY, April 21.

A motion of mr. Fitzsimons, to allow a drawback on goods reshipped, was agreed to.

The same gentleman then moved, that a duty of _____ per ton, be laid on all vessels built within the united states, and owned wholly by citizens thereof.

Mr. Goodhue said, he was at a loss to know why a duty should be laid on American ships. He thought the duties imposed on imported articles, were a sufficient tax on trade, and that this duty would operate to discourage shipbuilding, which was of the utmost importance to this country.

Mr. Fitzsimons replied, that he had no idea of imposing this duty for the purposes of revenue; but every gentleman would acknowledge the necessity of providing some fund to defray the expenses of light-houses and other incidents of commerce; and he proposed to fill up the blank with six cents.

Mr. Partridge considered this article as an improper subject of taxation; it appeared to him to be like taxing the implements of husbandry; he could not see the reason of selecting this article for the purpose of direct taxation. It would, he said, be time enough to provide for light-houses when the particular subject should come into view. He moved that the clause be struck out.

Mr. Madison observed, that it would be entirely improper to lay any considerable duty on the tonnage of the united states; still he imagined a light duty was necessary for the purpose which had been mentioned. He was of opinion, that a striking dis-

tinction ought to appear between the vessels of the united states and those of other nations. He said, there was a number of objects to which this duty would be most properly applied, and which rendered this tax proper and expedient—such were the support of light-houses, the erecting hospitals for disabled seamen, and other things of that sort. For these purposes, a tax on shipping was the most natural and convenient resource.

Mr. Sturges was opposed to the duty. He thought it impolitic to do any thing which might discourage shipbuilding; the duties laid on other articles were mostly so high as to furnish sufficient funds for the purposes mentioned by the gentleman.

Mr. Smith said, the duty proposed was so moderate, that its operation would never injure the merchant. In the state of Maryland, the duty on tonnage was far greater than this—there two shillings was paid per ton; in other states, the tonnage was still higher.

Mr. Clymer remarked, that the reason why ships should be taxed for the support of light-houses, was because the subject of the tax was connected with, and agreeable to the object to be answered by it. If a fund was to be raised to insure houses from fire, would it not be natural to do it by a tax on buildings? If money was not raised in the mode proposed, it must be raised by some other means, which would be inconvenient.

Mr. Tucker concurred that a small tonnage-duty was necessary and proper. It had been objected that it would operate as a direct tax on shipping. He was of a different opinion. It was, in fact, a duty on imports and exports, and was paid by the consumer.

Mr. Fitzsimons said, the proposed duty would little more than defray the expenses of light-houses. In Pennsylvania, there had always been a duty for this purpose, from six pence to seven pence per ton. If some provision was not made in this way, there must be a deduction from the ordinary revenue, to answer this demand, which could not well be spared.

The question was put on mr. Partridge's motion, which was negatived.

It was then resolved, that on all vessels built within the united states, and owned wholly by citizens thereof, and on all vessels foreign built, but owned by the citizens of the united states, a duty of six cents per ton should be laid.

The next paragraph, in the original proposition, was then read, to wit: on all vessels belonging wholly to the subjects of powers in alliance with the united states, or partly to the subjects of those powers and partly to citizens of the united states, per ton.

Mr. Goodhue proposed to fill the blank with fifty cents, which, according to a calculation he had made on a ship of two hundred tons, would amount to about five per cent. on the freight.

Mr. Boudinot proposed thirty cents.

Mr. Goodhue said, there would be no occasion for laying a duty on foreign ships, were it not that our vessels were liable to burdens in foreign ports. It was proper, therefore, to calculate the duties to be levied in our ports, in some degree, according to those burdens. He imagined that thirty cents would not be enough to establish that preference in favour of our own ships, which was the object of the present plan. It would not give us the advantage we were seeking for.

Mr. Lawrence said, it had been justly remarked, that this tonnage duty was an additional burden on freight, consequently it ought to be considered, whether what we had to send abroad would bear that additional burden. If we had not shipping enough of our own, we should be obliged to employ foreigners, consequently the duty would eventually fall on ourselves. It was known, that in different parts of the union, there was a variety of articles which we were obliged to export, such as rice, tobacco, and lumber, and that this exportation required more ships than we possessed. It was necessary to look to foreigners, or let the commodities perish on our hands. He conceived, the articles of exportation would not bear these additional burdens in foreign markets. Gentlemen from the southern states mentioned the other day, that the planters had already begun to turn their attention from their staples to other objects, because they could not be profitably

exported. If these difficulties existed now, they would in a greater degree, when the burdens were increased. This would operate as a tax on ourselves, and as a direct tax, because the article must pay it. The unavoidable consequence would be, that foreigners would enhance their freight to an insupportable degree. If then this expense should prevent or embarrass exportation, what would be the consequence? It would check industry of every kind—the farmer would have no encouragement to raise more produce than would be necessary for his own consumption. He concluded, with observing that the proposed duty was much too high.

Mr. Hartley agreed with Mr. Lawrence, and proposed thirty-three cents and one third.

Mr Goodhue did not wish to lay too high a duty, but to obtain the just medium. He thought five per cent. was not too much, and that American vessels could not be properly encouraged with less.

Mr. Fitzsimons observed that it had been the policy of all nations to encourage their own shipping, and to obtain every maritime advantage over their neighbours. Surely we ought not to be less attentive to our national interest. By encouraging liberally the navigation of these states, the produce of our country would in time be carried to market in American vessels cheaper than in those of foreigners. To calculate for the present moment, and from present appearances only, was fallacious. There were few vessels in employ which would yield a profit of five per cent. The shipping at present employed in transporting the produce of the united states amounted to about six hundred thousand tons; of that, no more than one third was American property—the other two thirds were the property of foreigners, and he doubted whether any restrictions we could impose, would in a short time produce a balance in our favour, and procure us the superiority in that point, which it was our object to obtain. But if a distinguished preference was given by the laws to the shipping of this country, merchants would have inducements to increase their capitals in navigation, and at length the wished for

superiority would be felt. He was sensible, that it would be unwise, in the outset, to lay such a duty as would deter foreign ships from visiting our ports. If four hundred thousand tons of foreign shipping were employed in carrying our produce, as he had calculated, we ought to be cautious of oppressing them—for thereby we essentially injured ourselves.

Upon a calculation which a gentleman had made, a ship of two hundred tons would, in making two voyages in a year, pay two hundred dollars annually—this tax was too high. If it was agreed to, a dollar a ton at least must be imposed on ships of powers not in alliance with us. He conceived that the gentleman's remark, that a tonnage duty would prevent the exportation of our produce, did not apply; for the most valuable and important of our exports could not be obtained from any other quarter, and whatever duty was imposed, those articles must be supplied from America—tobacco, rice, and lumber, could not be procured in sufficient quantities in any other part of the world. The West Indies could not be supplied with flour from any country but the united states.

Mr. Tucker was willing to encourage the shipping of this country, but he could not consent to such a duty as would bear heavy on certain parts of the union, while it would operate as a bounty upon others. He would agree to a small additional duty on foreign ships, tho' he was confident it would be wholly paid by particular states. Some states had more shipping than was necessary for their own use; others, which had the most bulky articles for exportation, had very few ships. The burden would therefore rest on these states, whether they employed American or foreign vessels; for whatever additional tax was imposed on foreigners, it would operate as a bounty on American ships, by enabling them to raise their freight. By the calculation, which he made of the tonnage employed by the town of Charleston alone, the proposed duty would amount to forty or fifty thousand dollars a year, not more than two thirds of which would go into the federal treasury.

He further observed, that gentle-

men ought to consider, there was still another addition to be made to the duty on tonnage, in the case of the shipping belonging to nations not in alliance with us. If sixty cents were laid in the present instance, and a still higher duty upon ships of that description, the tax would be insupportable. He closed, with moving for twenty cents, which he thought would be an encouragement sufficiently liberal to the shipbuilding of the united states.

Mr. Benson wished the committee would take the previous question, whether there should be a discrimination between nations who are in alliance with us, and those who are not. To make such a discrimination was not, in his opinion, consistent with principles of policy. It was true, we were bound by certain treaties and compacts, but he knew not whether they extended to any discrimination. He wished for information on this subject.

Mr. Burke was opposed to so high a duty as sixty cents, as it would be a sacrifice of the interests of some of the states. The rice and tobacco of Virginia and Carolina were now lying in the warehouses—they would be continued there, and the production of those articles would be greatly diminished by such a tax.

Mr. Sherman observed, that the object of these duties was to put American vessels on a footing of superiority to foreign ones—he feared that object could not be answered by large duties, because other powers would increase their burdens on our ships in proportion—neither did he see the policy of the discrimination proposed between the ships of nations in alliance, and of those which were not.

Mr. Madison. I am confident there are good reasons why we should make a discrimination. In the first place, it is not, perhaps, unworthy of consideration, that the public sentiment of America is in favour of a discrimination. I am sure that the state from which I came, will not be pleased if they see the same burdens imposed on their allies, as on other nations. Do we not know, sir, that one of the powers in alliance with us, has relaxed her commercial system in favour of America, and has, in par-

ticular, opened a market for the sale of our new ships?—a most important acquisition! In France, vessels built within the united states may be sold, paying only five per cent. duty. In the ports of Great Britain, American ships cannot be sold at all: nay, an American ship cannot be repaired in Britain, nor a British ship in America. It is true, the policy of France has been more unfriendly to our commerce, than we had reason to expect. But the American minister at that court has long been soliciting a relaxation in this policy, and there is good reason to believe he has made some favourable impressions. I think these are considerations which merit attention. But, sir, there are others of equal importance; I believe that from artificial and adventitious causes, the commerce between the united states and Great Britain exceeds what may be supposed to be its natural boundary. I find, on examining the accounts of three large states, Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina, that the tonnage of powers in alliance with these states bears no sort of proportion to that of Great Britain. This is a proof that very little direct commerce takes place between us and those countries with which we have treaties, much less, indeed, than would take place, were there none of these artificial circumstances to divert commerce from its natural channel. A similarity of language, a conformity of laws, and other reasons have supported, and will continue to support the communication with Britain: I would wish, therefore, to give some political advantages to those nations, to regain their natural proportion of trade, and to transfer it from Great Britain, who has more than her proportion. In this view of the subject, I am induced to believe it would be good policy to make a discrimination. Is it not good policy to hold out some inducements for nations who are not in alliance with us, to court that alliance? it has been said, that we shall not gain much by such a proceeding. I confess it would not be prudent to make a very great distinction; but will any one say, that the vessels of Great Britain shall enjoy greater advantages in our ports, than ours enjoy in theirs? in the first place, some

of her ports in the West Indies, the most important and valuable to us, which she possesses, are that against us: again, American vessels may enter the ports of Great Britain with American produce only; yet they must go directly to Great Britain; while British ships may make circuitous voyages, and bring into our ports the produce of every nation on the globe. Taking all these circumstances into view, I think, there are substantial reasons for making the discrimination proposed.

Mr. Lawrence asked, if we had experienced any advantage from those nations with whom we had treaties, which entitled them to a preference? If, said he, we are under obligations to them, I shall be one of the last to say any thing to prevent a discharge of those obligations; but as we are not thus bound, I think we ought to consider our interest—nations, as well as individuals, are guided by this principle alone. If the preference proposed is against our interest, we ought not to establish it. A gentleman from Virginia has stated several considerations to prove that we ought, in propriety and good policy, to give a preference: and has also mentioned, that the public sentiment of America is in favour of it. I would ask the gentleman how this sentiment is to be collected—from the conversation of individuals, or from acts of public bodies? If from individuals, I am not so well informed of it as the honourable gentleman may be; but if from acts of public bodies, I believe there is but one state which has made a discrimination; I know that the state, which I have the honour to represent, has made none. We consider that good policy does not warrant it. The gentleman has said, that there has been a relaxation in the policy of some of the powers, and that in France we may sell vessels built in this country. I believe this is a privilege without a benefit. He has also suggested, that farther privileges are expected. Sir, we may expect alterations in our favour, but the probability is, that we never shall see our expectations realized.

Some time ago, we had the privilege of exporting oil to France. This I know has lately been pro-

hibited. The merchants of this country will pursue their interests; they will form connexions with those nations which promise most advantages to them; they will best discover their own interests, and pursue them most uniformly; and we should leave them at liberty to pursue them to the best advantage. I believe it is unnecessary for us to interfere, and make a discrimination respecting foreigners. They should be all on the same footing; especially as we are under no obligations, and at liberty to pursue our own interests. This being the case, we are to ask ourselves this question, whether we are pursuing our own interest, by discouraging the competition among foreigners for our carrying trade? If we give any preference, it should be to those nations which will navigate the cheapest. I am informed that the Dutch navigate at the cheapest rate of any nation; of course their ships will be employed in carrying our produce; but if they have not got enough to supply us, we must look to other nations, and then, sir, we must ourselves feel the impositions which we lay on them.

Sir, it is alleged, that we have no advantages in British ports equal to those which they enjoy in ours. But it ought to be remembered, that in the ports of Great Britain, the American vessels are on the same footing as their own. If this is meant for a commercial regulation, as the gentleman from Connecticut has observed, then the nations, upon whom it bears hard, will meet us with the same impositions on our ships.

We can now freely export to Great Britain the produce of our country. I know that from this state we export lumber, pot-ash, iron, and other articles to Great Britain, and that we pay no higher duties than British ships do. But these articles, imported from other countries, pay a much heavier duty. Is it not probable, that Britain will tax our ships in return for the burdens which are proposed, and thus deprive us of that little share of the carrying trade which we already possess? I believe it is policy to let these matters take their own course. We are not obliged to shew more favour to one nation than another, and I wish we may go upon the general principles of

self-interest, which operate equally among all mankind. I hope the sense of the committee will be taken on this question, and that they will decide against the discrimination proposed.

Mr. Madison. I am a friend to the great principle of interest and to a free, liberal commerce; and yet, sir, my ideas of this principle lead me to a different opinion from the honourable gentleman just up: I wish we were less under the necessity than I find we are, of shackling our trade with duties or restrictions of any kind. But, sir, there are cases in which it will be impossible to avoid following the policy of other nations, to which I feel myself as averse as any man.

I beg leave to remark, in answer to one train of ideas which the gentleman has brought forward, that though interest ought generally to co-operate, and will generally regulate itself; yet there are cases in which certain factitious advantages divert labour from its natural course, and render it artificial. Does not all our reasoning on the subject of revenue prove the policy of these things? Why is it necessary to impose restraint in some cases, and to give bounties in others? Why is it necessary to pass laws to encourage one kind of labour in preference to another, to turn the stream of industry from one object to another? Some causes or other always present themselves, to render these changes useful and necessary. The policy is well known to all nations. How often is it that other countries bestow exclusive advantages in trade to companies of opulent individuals? Sometimes a perfect equality would be fatal to a fair competition; although, in general, I agree that it is otherwise. If there be a competition between two commercial cities, the one possessed of great wealth, great habits of business, &c. and the other destitute of these advantages, it is not possible for the latter to rival the former, however favourable its natural situation and resources, and however great its exertions may be—it is not possible that it should acquire its due and proportionate share of business. When I consider the vast quantity of American produce consumed in Europe, and of European goods import-

ed from England. I am amazed at the disproportioned share which Great Britain has in our commerce.

In the trade of South Carolina are annually employed about fifty six thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven tons of shipping. The proportion which the Dutch and French bear to this, is only two thousand four hundred, while that of the British is nineteen thousand. In Massachusetts, the amount of tonnage is about eighty-five thousand; seventy eight thousand of which are American, the remainder nearly all British. In Virginia, for nine months, the tonnage was fifty-six thousand: of this twenty-six thousand was British, and two thousand French and Dutch.

It has been asked, what evidence we had that the public sentiment of America was favourable to a discrimination? Perhaps, sir, it would be improper to adduce any evidence but what is found in the transactions of public bodies. From this source abundant testimony can be drawn. In the state of Virginia, the difference amounts to almost double. If I do not mistake, the tonnage on vessels of states not in alliance with the united states, is a dollar, while that on those which are, is but half a dollar. There are other distinctions, one in favour of French wines and brandy. In Maryland, there is also a discrimination; I believe the difference there is about one-third: in Pennsylvania the same preference is established. I do not certainly recollect; but I believe, in some other states, the same distinctions exist. These facts afford a very substantial proof, that a considerable part of the united states is inclined to make a discrimination in favour of our allies.

Mr. Baldwin said, we were called upon to know if the sense of the people was in favour of a discrimination. We had a sufficient proof of their sentiments in the very existence of this house. The commercial distresses of this country, arising from the selfish system of policy which Great Britain had established, first brought together the convention at Annapolis, for the express purpose of counteracting them on general principles. That convention found it impracticable to effect the business which they had undertak-

en, and it terminated in assembling the convention, which gave birth to the present revolution. The general expectation, from one extreme of the continent to the other, is, that a discrimination will be made against those nations who have not explained the terms on which they would carry on an intercourse with us, or who had actually passed laws which bore hard upon our interests. It was necessary, by internal regulations, to defend the commercial interests of this country: a discrimination was therefore requisite.

Mr. Fitzsimons said, he would confine himself to stating the difference between the policy of the two nations, which the committee had principally in view. It was perfectly true, as had been related, that of the foreign shipping in our employ, three quarters were British. He did not think it difficult to account for that being the case. The American colonies, prior to the revolution, were in possession of shipping nearly enough to carry on their trade: but in the course of the war, they were deprived not only of their ships, but of the means of acquiring others. When the peace took place, the British merchants and their agents filled all our commercial towns, by whose influence, and the flourishing capital of Great Britain, the produce of this country was exported in the ships of that nation, which gave an undue proportion of our commerce to them. In the ports of Great Britain, we were permitted to bring any thing which was the actual produce of these states, and except some small distinctions, we were on a footing with all other nations. In the ports of France, we were admitted nearly on an equality with her own ships. The ships of America might be sold in France, and afterwards employed in any trade, even to her colonies. Our ships might also be sold in Great Britain; but could never afterwards be employed in her colonial trade. In her West India islands, American vessels were not admitted on any account. But the subjects of Great Britain might carry from America the produce of the country, in British ships only. In the French colonies, American vessels were admitted; but the articles they

were allowed to carry, were of small value. It was true, that to some of the [French] West India islands, the united states were permitted to export their produce : but it should be remembered, that it consisted of articles which could not be obtained any where else. It was not from favour to America, that these articles were admitted. The fact was, that they could not be supplied from any other quarter.

A gentleman from Connecticut had observed that if we laid restrictions on the vessels of Britain, they would meet us with equal restrictions ; but every thing which Great Britain took from us, was what she could not procure any where else, or could not procure so cheap. Rice, tobacco, and lumber, were articles for which she must always be indebted to us. We should not, therefore, risk any thing by any reasonable regulation which we could make. Indeed we had no favours to expect from that country. Her hostile disposition had been long manifested by arbitrary systems, which had raised her commerce on the ruins of her neighbours. He would not, however, contend with some gentlemen for a very high duty. He only wished for a moderate encouragement to the navigation of this country.

Mr. Goodhue then withdrew his motion for sixty cents. A question on $33\frac{1}{2}$ cents was put, and lost ; and a question on 30 cents was then put, and carried.

Some debate was then had upon the paragraph respecting the duty on all vessels belonging to the subjects of powers not in alliance with the united states, and the blank was filled up with fifty cents.

The committee then rose, and the chairman reported the following resolution.

Resolved, as the opinion of this committee, that the following duties ought to be laid on goods, wares, and merchandizes, imported into the united states, viz.

	Cents.
On all distilled spirits of Jamaica proof,	15
On all distilled liquors of inferior proof,	12
On melasses, per gallon,	6
On Madeira wine, per gallon,	$32\frac{1}{2}$
On all other wines, per gallon,	20

On every gallon of beer, ale, or porter, imported in casks,	8
On all beer, ale, or porter, imported in bottles, per dozen,	24
On malt, per bushel,	10
On barley, per bushel,	6
On lime, per hoghead,	100
On brown sugars, per pound,	1
On loaf sugars, per pound,	3
On all other sugars, per pound,	$1\frac{1}{2}$
On coffee, per pound,	$2\frac{1}{2}$
On cocoa, per pound,	1
On all candles of tallow, per pound,	2
On all candles of wax, or spermaceti, per pound,	6
On cheese, per pound,	4
On soap, per pound,	2
On boots, per pair,	50
On all shoes, slippers, or goloshes made of leather, per pair,	10
On all shoes, or slippers, made of silk or stuff, per pair,	10
On cables, for every 112 pounds,	50
On tarred cordage, for every 112 pounds,	50
On untarred ditto, and yarn, for every 112 pounds,	60
On twine or packthread, for every 112 pounds,	100
On hemp, per cwt.	50
On all steel unwrought, for every 112 pounds,	56
On all nails and spikes, per pound,	1
On salt, per bushel,	6
On manufactured tobacco, per lb.	6
On snuff, per pound,	10
On wool cards, per doz.	50
On coal, per bushel,	3
On salted mackerel, shad, and salmon, per barrel,	75
On dried fish, per quintal,	50
On all teas imported from China or India, in ships built in the united states, and belonging to a citizen or citizens thereof, as follows :	
On bohea tea, per pound	6
On all fouchong and other black teas, per pound,	10
On superior green teas, per pound,	20
On all other teas, per pound,	10
On all teas imported from any other country, or from India or China in ships which are not the property of a citizen or citizens of the united states, as follows :	
On bohea tea, per pound	8
On all fouchong or other black teas, per pound	15

On superior green tea, per pound 30
 On all other green teas, per pound, 18
 On all window and other glass,
 ten per centum ad valorem.

On all blank books, writing, printing, or wrapping paper, paste-board, cabinet wares,* buttons of metal, saddles, gloves of leather, hats of beaver, fur, wool, a or mixture of either, millinery, castings of iron, on slit or rolled iron, leather, tanned, or tawed, and all manufacture of leather, except such as shall be otherwise rated, canes, walking sticks and whips, clothing ready made, gold, silver, and plated ware, and jewellery and paste work, anchors, and wrought tin ware, seven and a half per centum ad valorem.

On every coach, chariot, or other four wheel carriage, and on every chaise, solo, or other two wheel carriage, fifteen per centum ad valorem.

On all other articles five per cent. on their value, at the time and place of importation, except as follow: tin in pigs, tin plates, lead, pewter, brass, copper in plates, wool, dying woods, and dying drugs (other than indigo) raw hides, beaver, and all other furs, and deer skins.

That all the duties paid, or secured to be paid, upon goods imported, shall be returned or discharged upon such of the said goods, as shall, within months be exported to any country without the limits of the united states, except so much as shall be necessary to defray the expense that may have accrued by the entry and safe keeping thereof.

That there ought, moreover, to be levied on all vessels entered or cleared in the united states, the duties following, viz.

On all vessels built within the united states, and belonging wholly to citizens thereof, at the rate of six cents per ton.

On all vessels, not built within the united states, but belonging wholly to citizens thereof, at the rate of six cents per ton.

On all vessels belonging wholly to the subjects of powers with whom the united states have formed treaties, or partly to the subjects of such powers, and partly to citizens of the said states, at the rate of thirty cents per ton,

On all vessels belonging wholly or in part to subjects of other powers, at the rate of fifty cents per ton.

Provided, that no vessel built in the united states, and belonging to a citizen or citizens thereof, whilst employed in the coasting trade, or in the fisheries, shall pay tonnage more than once in any one year; nor shall any ship or vessel, built within the united states, pay tonnage on her first voyage.

The speaker resumed the chair, and the question on the report of the committee being postponed for further consideration, the house adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, April 22.

AGREEABLY to the order of the day, the house went into a committee on the bill for prescribing the form and manner of taking the oath required by the sixth article of the constitution.

Having gone through and amended the same, the committee rose, and reported; and the consideration of the report being postponed, the house adjourned.

THURSDAY, April 23.

THE committee, appointed to confer with the committee of the senate, upon the modes or forms to be observed in sending papers, bills and messages to either house, made report; consideration of which was postponed. —Adjourned

FRIDAY, April 24.

THE report of the committee read yesterday, was taken up and discussed. Some gentlemen conceived, that certain parts of it held up a distinction between the senate and the house of representatives, unfavourable to the dignity of the latter; two members being required by it to carry a message from the house to the senate, while the secretary was to be the messenger from the senate to the house. A considerable debate ensued upon a motion for recommitting this report.

On one side of the question, it was observed, that a distinction was proper, and did not imply a comparison; that the constitution favoured this distinction; the house was the most numerous body, and the propriety of a larger number on the part of the house was sanctioned by custom, used upon all occasions; that the real dig-

nity of the house depended upon supporting the constitutional distinctions of each branch of the legislature; that many advantages might result from two members being on such committees, as it would tend to prevent mistakes; that the senate had a right to determine their own mode; that it was evident, by an attention to the report, that the senate did not mean to arrogate consequence to themselves; but designed that the forms proposed should be reciprocally respectful.

On the other side, it was contended, that the senate evidently assumed a superiority; that it was necessary to guard against the earliest movements to aristocracy; that the mode proposed was complex and burdensome; that one member was adequate to all the purposes of carrying a message; that the constitution held out no distinctions; the house was fully equal to the senate, and, in some particulars, possessed of powers that the senate do not enjoy, as the originating money bills, &c.

The report was finally recommitted.

It was then moved, that the report of the committee of the whole house, in their resolution upon the subject of revenue, be taken into consideration. The report being read, the article of distilled spirits, Jamaica proof, came first in order.

Mr. Boudinot observed, upon the sum annexed to this article, of fifteen cents per gallon, that he thought it too high; it would produce smuggling, and defeat the purposes of government. The duty also proposed on Madeira wine, according to a calculation he had made on a cargo of two hundred pipes, would amount to twenty six hundred or three thousand pounds, a sum which gentlemen must be sensible would prove a most powerful stimulus to smuggling. To collect such heavy duties, there must be a great number of revenue officers, who must be very vigilant, too, and the collection would render them odious, and government unpopular. As an evidence of the bad policy of excessive or high duties, he begged to recite an instance; melasses, a few years since, in this port, was liable to a duty of six pence per gallon; the consequence was, that nothing was

collected; but when the duty was reduced to one penny, a large sum was realized in the treasury. He would, therefore, move, that three cents be struck off from the sum proposed.

Mr. Madison spoke in favour of the sum proposed. Rum, he observed, if any article, ought to bear an high duty. It was agreeable to the general ideas of the people; and though he was sensible that smuggling was the general consequence of excessive exactions upon trade, yet the sum proposed was not so high as to produce that effect to any considerable degree. He hoped to see a difference in the conduct of merchants, from the opinion now thrown out, and that they would combine to support the laws. He hoped to see the time, when it would become infamous to defraud the revenue, injure the fair trader, and pour contempt upon government.

Mr. Jackson was in favour of a diminution of the duty. He observed, that it would produce all the evils which had been mentioned; more especially in the state he had the honour to represent, (Georgia) which abounded in creeks and inlets, exceedingly favourable to the smuggling business.

Mr. Wadsworth was opposed to so high a duty: he thought twelve cents too much, and would propose striking off one half the original sum. There was not money in the hands of the merchants sufficient to pay such duties.

Mr. Fitzsimons asked, whether gentlemen had made a calculation of the amount of the duties proposed, for it ought to be considered, whether they were too much or not, before a reduction was made; for his part, he did not think they would be found to exceed the sum required. Gentlemen had observed, "that there was not money sufficient to pay these duties;" if that was the case, the duties might be collected in some other way. As to the practicability of collections, that was merely matter of opinion. The bill upon this part of the system would best explain that part of the business. There were few large cargoes of wine imported: it was easy to find a mode to adjust the payment of the duties; time must be given. As to the smuggling to the southward,

referred to by gentlemen, it was counteracted by a variety of considerations. He was opposed to a diminution.

Mr. Lawrence observed, that gentlemen appeared to have two objects in view, to be effected by a high duty on rum; if revenue was one, high duties operated against it; if the reformation of the people, smuggling was acknowledged to be unfavourable to morals; and on the contrary, had a powerful tendency to corrupt them. That no reliance could be placed but upon the efficacy of the laws, in the collection of the duties: he thought twelve cents too high; but if no gentleman proposed less, he would vote for that sum.

Mr. Tucker thought twelve cents too high; he therefore moved, that seven cents be struck off from the original sum: high duties had a tendency to reduce smuggling to a system, which would greatly add to the evil, and render the cure extremely difficult; besides it held out powerful temptations to the officers of the revenue to swerve from their duty, and become corrupt.

Mr. Madison observed, that he was not convinced by all that had been said, that fifteen cents were too much; the people expected that this article would pay a higher sum, than had been collected from it: a duty of one-sixth of a dollar had been laid by one the states, an evidence that the proposed duty was within their ideas. Corruption of morals had been mentioned as the consequence of smuggling; but it should be remembered, that other things had a similar influence; injustice and fraud had a powerful tendency, and these would be the necessary consequence of a deficient revenue; no substitute had been proposed for the defalcation this essential diminution would occasion. And it must be observed, that smaller articles would be smuggled with greater facility; and if we abandon the idea of realizing a considerable sum from obvious and bulky goods, such as rum, &c. there would a great deficiency ensue. We ought to suppose that the people will be actuated by better motives than to risk their fame, their honour, and justice by evading the duties. For his part, he expected a different conduct from the good sense of

his countrymen, and the united exertions of the great body of merchants to support the laws.

Mr. Fitzsimons, as there appeared a division of sentiment upon the subject, proposed an adjournment: the house accordingly adjourned.

SATURDAY, April 25.

ON the motion made yesterday for a reduction of the duty on rum of Jamaica proof from fifteen to twelve cents, the question was put, and carried in the negative.

The paragraph, proposing a duty on all other spirits, was read, and Mr. Smith moved a distinction in the duty between French brandy and other spirits.

Mr. Lee thought it would be proper to give a decided preference to our allies, without discriminating on particular articles.

Mr. Lawrence said, the high duties on spirits were intended to discountenance their importation; now it seemed that gentlemen wished to encourage the importation. He wished to know if brandy would not be as injurious to the health and morals of the people? He could see no difference. Why should we make a discrimination? He thought it actually impolitic, as it respected either morals or the revenue. In the first place, if brandy came cheaper into the country than other spirits, the consumption of it would be increased; and, in the second place, in proportion to the increase of its consumption, the revenue from rum would be reduced.

Mr. Fitzsimons thought the distinction in the tonnage duty between ships of our allies and other powers, was sufficient to manifest the good disposition of the united states towards the former—indeed, it was as favourable as commercial principles would warrant. He believed the trade to the islands was of as much importance as to any other country—not only spirits but money being obtained from those islands in return for our produce. He apprehended that the discrimination would lessen the revenue.

Mr. Page was in favour of a discrimination. He would rather encourage the importation of brandy than any other spirits, as it was more wholesome.

Mr. Fitzsimons observed, that the

French would have an advantage in their wines, the most valuable of which would pay no higher duties than the common wines of other countries.

Mr. Madison was in favour of a discrimination, however small; suppose it were only one cent. It would have a good political tendency. He differed widely in sentiment from the gentleman from New York. He conceived that we had a great deal in our power, if we made proper use of it. He wished that we might teach those, who had not formed treaties with us, that we could extend or withhold advantages, as they might shew a disposition to deserve them. If the situation of this country, and the necessities of the treasury, would allow, he would wish to interdict rum altogether, until we should be permitted to bring it in our own vessels. When we had made treaties which open all our ports to other nations, while only a part of theirs were open to us, he supposed it our duty to abide by them; but where we were under no obligations, he wished to afford them no advantages that were not reciprocal. He hoped we should begin with some manifestation of what we were able to do, and by that means induce foreign powers to respect us. He said the disposition of the united states corresponded with the language he used. The late revolution in the government originated in this sentiment. The states found, however, that their individual exertions, to enforce this sentiment, had no effect, and the general voice of America called for a new arrangement in the national system. The arrangement had taken place, and though we were not in a situation to make a full use of it, yet we might now shew a disposition and determination to exercise our powers, and this would have a good effect. But in making a discrimination, he did not wish to diminish the revenue, or encourage the consumption of ardent spirits.

It was then moved to insert this clause: "Upon all spirits of Jamaica proof, imported from kingdoms or states in alliance with the united states, per gallon; and on all other spirits, from the said kingdoms or states, per gallon."

Mr. Sherman wished, if any discrimi-

mination should be made in favour of any of our allies, it might be on some other article than spirits, the importation of which he thought ought not to be encouraged from any country whatever, and as he expected that the highest probable sum that could be raised by impost, would be inadequate to the public wants, he did not wish to see a discrimination which might materially affect the revenue.

Mr. Lawrence said it seemed to be agreed, that it would be difficult to raise a sum sufficient to answer the exigencies of the united states; and it was judged that the impost was the only proper mode, at present, by which any revenue at all could be raised. Arguments were used to prove that the duty on rum of Jamaica proof should not be lessened; but now the house were about to diminish the duty on rum in favour of our allies—would not the revenue from Jamaica rum lessen in proportion to the encouragement given to this article? would it not lessen the importation of Jamaica rum, an article from which so much was expected? Had the gentlemen any other article in view to supply the deficiency? we are going to encourage the importation and consumption of French brandy, and lessen that of Jamaica spirits: we are going to lessen our revenue, in order to pay a tribute to our allies; our good disposition was to be manifested at a great expense, and this, we are told, was the public sentiment of America. He believed, that when the united states were in a good condition to make such sacrifices, it would be more proper to do it—and he would not, at such a period, be wanting in a disposition to encourage acts of friendship, but he contended that our situation would not now admit of it—it was not our policy to war with regulations, and it was more than probable that the nations, against which these measures were calculated, would meet us with measures of more severity. He was impressed with as lively a sense of the obligations we owed the French as any man; yet it was his duty to consider the condition of his own country, and ask himself, whether it would possibly admit of these sacrifices, and these tributes to foreign interests? we possessed advantages in

the ports of Great Britain, with which those our allies afforded us, could not come in competition, and we were not only to sacrifice these, but to suffer a reduction in our revenue. We are told, that certain articles, such as lumber, &c. could be obtained no where but from this country; but these articles, imported into their ports from other quarters, paid high duties, and if the same duties were imposed upon us, it would more than counterbalance the advantages derived from our allies. It was true, we had a right to make regulations—but the question was, what was expedient? when the period arrived, in which our tonnage should be increased, and our manufactures greatly improved, we might be in a condition to war with those whom we considered our commercial enemies, and he should then be as willing to do it as the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. Madison replied that the object of these regulations was not merely to pay a tribute to our allies, though he was willing to acknowledge that we owed them a tribute. He thought they would have a good political effect. He was under no apprehensions that a discrimination of one or two cents would have any sensible effect on the revenue from rum. In the state of Virginia, brandy from France was admitted free from all duty whatever; while rum was subject to an imposition of six pence per gallon. There had not, however, been imported in any one year more than from ten to twelve thousand gallons of brandy, while of rum there had been brought into that state, in the same period, between five and six hundred thousand gallons. People were not, in commercial matters, suddenly carried from one object to another. Habits and prejudices were slow to be conquered, and it might happen that the transition from Jamaica spirits to brandy, would not in a century equal the apprehensions of the gentleman, or have any sensible operation on the revenue. He expressed himself particularly solicitous for a discrimination—He believed it would redound to the honour and to the interest of this country to give some early token of our capacity and disposition to do ourselves justice, to assert our rights, and to exercise

our powers, so far as to produce, in all our commercial transactions with foreign states, that reciprocity to which we were entitled. He begged gentlemen to consider for a moment the policy of Great Britain. Has she shewn any disposition to enter into equal regulations? has she not, on the contrary, by her temporising policy, declared, that until we are able and willing to redress ourselves, she will shut us from her ports, and make us tributary to her? have we not seen her taking one legislative step after another, to embarrass us, and giving her executive a discretionary power to take every advantage of our situation? and have we not reason to believe she will persist in this policy? while she is thus oppressing us, and accumulating in her own lap the benefits she draws from our misfortunes, shall we not do something to counteract her? Sir, will she not consult her own interest? will she not have additional motives to continue her hostile measures, when she perceives in us no disposition to correct our feeble policy? nay, we shall do worse. Most, if not all the states have endeavoured by some public symptom to manifest their disapprobation of her conduct. The states have now thrown the power out of their hands, and they have done it in full confidence that more effectual measures would be taken to do them justice, than they were competent to. Sir, if we are silent, if we are relaxed—nay, timid on this occasion, we shall disappoint our constituents—we shall disappoint the very nation against which the proposed regulation is aimed.

It has been said, that Great Britain receives the produce of this country. This is true, as it respects some articles. It is also true, that her ports in Europe are open to us. But the ports, into which we most want admission, are closed against us; and if we examine the principles, on which we are admitted to her European ports, we shall find that she acts on the most rigid calculations of her own interests. We shall find that a great part of the productions of Europe, which come through this channel into our country, pays tribute to the British treasury:—sir, this is a serious subject, and induces reflexi-

ons which every gentleman must consider as important. I am persuaded, after what has passed, that there is a disposition in this house to make a discrimination, in order to teach the nations not in alliance with us, that there are certain advantages which they cannot possess, while they continue so. Sir, I have no doubt in my mind, that, if it was not from the present wants of the treasury, we ought to carry on a commercial war with her; and that from the advantages we possess, we must accomplish our views.

The produce of this country is more necessary to the rest of the world, than the produce of the rest of the world is to this country—and if we were to hazard the experiment of cutting off all intercourse with them, we should soon have overtures made. Sir, we ought to let the world know, that we have the power and the disposition to do ourselves justice:—let us shew that we can discriminate between our commercial friends and commercial adversaries. Let us shew them, that if a war breaks out in Europe, and is carried to the West Indies, it is in the power of this country to countenance and supply the one or the other party with such succours as to give decided and important advantages. I am persuaded, that, in this point of view, our station is important, and that our friendship will be courted by the powers of Europe.

Mr. Fitzsimons made a comparison between the advantages Great Britain had in our ports, and those we had in hers, and said it was altogether in favour of Great Britain. That nation wanted nothing from us, which she could procure elsewhere; and on those articles which she took from us, there was little danger of her laying heavy duties, as they would fall on herself. Besides, the principal trade we wanted was that of the West Indies. It was the natural trade of this country, and was more desirable than any other.

The motion for inserting the clause of discrimination was then agreed to, and it was resolved, that a duty of twelve cents should be laid on spirits of Jamaica proof, imported from kingdoms or states in alliance with the

united states, and ten cents on all other spirits from the said kingdoms or states.

A motion was made for a reduction of the duty on Madeira wine, from thirty-three cents and one-third, to twenty-five cents per gallon, which was carried; and the duty of twenty cents, on other wines, was reduced to fifteen cents per gallon.

On motion, the articles of barley and lime were struck out of the report.

The duty on shoes was reduced from ten to seven cents.—Adjourned.

MONDAY, April 27.

THE impost business was resumed.

The duty on cables and tarred cordage, which had been fixed at fifty cents per 112 lb. was increased to seventy-five cents.

Untarred cordage was raised from fifty to ninety cents per 112 lb.

Twine and packthread were raised from one hundred to two hundred cents per 112 lb.

Hemp was raised from fifty to sixty cents per cwt. but a provision was made, that the duty should not take place until the 1st December, 1790.

The duties on steel, nails and spikes, salt, wool-cards, manufactured tobacco and snuff, were continued as reported by the committee.

Cotton-cards were also added, and taxed at the same rate as wool-cards.

The duties on teas were also continued as reported by the committee, except on bohea tea imported from any country other than India or China, or from India or China in foreign ships; the duty was raised from eight to ten cents per pound.

Millinary, which had been at seven and a half per cent. was increased to fifteen per cent.—Adjourned.

TUESDAY, April 28.

THE house took up the consideration of the report of the committee of the whole on the state of the union.

A motion was made to strike out the paragraph laying a duty of six cents on melasses. On this question, very animated debates took place. It was contended, on the one hand, that the tax was an unequal one: that there were certain parts of the union, in which melasses, from long habit, had become a necessary of life to the poor. That on these, consequently, the burden would principally fall. In an-

ther view, the tax would have a very unjust operation. In some states, particularly Massachusetts, melasses was a very important raw material for the supply of numerous distilleries. Distilled spirits were one of the capital staples of that state, and would suffer greatly from the imposition.

Its operation upon the fisheries, it was said, would be oppressive and ruinous. This trade was an object of the utmost importance, and one of the chief supports of the prosperity of this country. It was a national concern, and it was the true policy of the union to give it the utmost encouragement. The consumption of melasses among the fishermen, was great and necessary, and was the capital article for which our fish in foreign markets was exchanged.

These arguments were urged with great earnestness, and a warm picture was drawn of the distresses which would follow if this burden should be imposed.

On the other side was enforced the propriety of sacrificing local views to the general good. It was contended, that the tax, considered in connexion with the whole system, would operate in perfect justice; that the southern states would suffer most in their interests from the operation of other parts of the system, and it was just, that the northern should bear an equal share of the burdens.

It was insisted that this tax was necessary to constitute a perfect equality. The certainty and productiveness of the duty were mentioned, and the impolicy of letting escape to good a resource in the exhausted state of our treasury.

These topics were dilated upon largely on both sides, and the question being put, was lost by a small majority.

The house having proceeded thro' the remainder of the report, and agreed to the same, (except the duty on tonnage, which was postponed) appointed a committee to prepare and bring in a bill agreeably thereto.

Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, April 29.

A letter from Matthias Ogden, esq. of New Jersey, addressed to the speaker, (enclosing a petition and remonstrance of a number of citizens of New Jersey, alleging that certain ir-

regularities had prevailed at their late election, and that undue means had been used to bias the voters; also complaining of the return made by the governor, was read, together with the petition, and committed to the committee of elections.

A committee was appointed to prepare an estimate of the probable amount of the revenue on impost, agreeably to the duties lately agreed to; and to procure an estimate of the public debt. Adjourned.

FRIDAY, May 1.

A proposition for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration, what compensation shall be made to the president for his services, was, after some conversation, referred to a committee of the whole upon the state of the union.

Adjourned until Monday.

MONDAY, May 4.

A petition from the shipwrights of the town of Baltimore was presented by Mr. Smith, and being read, was referred to a committee of the whole on the state of the union.

Mr. Madison gave notice, that on the fourth Monday of the present month, he should introduce the subject of amendments to the constitution, agreeably to the fifth article thereof: he thought it necessary thus early to mention the business, as it was weighty and important; and, upon motion, the time proposed by the gentleman was assigned.

The remainder of the report of the committee, respecting tonnage, was taken up.

The first article was then read, viz. That all vessels belonging to a citizen or citizens of the united states, should pay a tonnage duty of six cents.

Mr. Bland proposed an amendment, which was seconded, viz. that these words should be added—excepting vessels bound from one port to another within the united states.

The gentleman observed, that as the article now stood, it was contrary to the express letter and meaning of the constitution, which provides, that vessels bound to or from one state, shall not be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Mr. Lawrence was opposed to the amendment: he thought, that the constitution fully warranted the laying a

tonnage duty ; that the article the gentleman referred to, was plain in its meaning, and ought to be construed only as referring to entrances and clearances at a third port ; coasting vessels were greatly benefited by light-houses, pilotage, &c. and it was but reasonable that they should pay for those advantages.

Mr. Madison was in sentiment with Mr. Lawrence, in his construction of the meaning of the clause in the constitution. The ideas of some gentlemen upon it were unreasonable and inconsistent with the constitution, and must materially affect the revenue ; for if vessels were not obliged to enter and clear at some port, the whole duties might be evaded : he thought the construction of the article simple, and easy to be comprehended.

Mr. Bland replied, that he was not convinced of the impropriety of his motion : the gentlemen's reasoning, he conceived, went too far—here was a plain, positive declaration, and if we were to suppose, that because the constitution gave congress necessary powers, it gave them every power, they would be absolute at once : the article was definite, he conceived ; but gentlemen have put different constructions upon it ; it was, however, well known, that the convention, in framing this article, designed to encourage the coasting trade.

Mr. Boudinot observed, that this amendment would deprive congress of all power to raise a revenue. The constitution had vested such power in congress, and they were sworn to support the constitution. When these powers were duly considered, he presumed, that it would not be contended, that they had not this in particular. The idea of the convention, in the construction of this clause, was, to preclude all partiality to any individual state. It moreover extends, he observed, to all vessels indiscriminately, so that the construction of the gentleman goes to exempt all from any obligation to pay duties. Sir, shall a vessel bound to Europe not pay tonnage, because she may collect her cargo at different ports on the continent ? this would entirely overthrow the whole system of revenue.

Mr. Bland replied, that the constitution was express, that no duty

should be imposed or paid by one state on the articles of another : tonnage was a duty of this description.

Mr. Madison said, it is expressly declared by the constitution, that congress shall have power to regulate trade : but if they cannot oblige vessels to enter and clear, to what purpose is this power given ? can they be said to regulate trade in any degree whatever ?

Mr. Sylvester observed, that the article was explicit as words could make it ; to his apprehension, these words, " in another," plainly indicated, that the duty had been paid at some one port, to entitle to an exemption from duties in another.

Upon the votes being taken, it passed in the negative, so that Mr. Bland's amendment was lost.

The first article was put and carried.

The second article was then voted, with this amendment, the insertion of the word *now*, before " owned."

The third article came next in course, viz. upon all vessels owned by the subjects of powers with whom the united states have formed treaties, &c.

Mr. Lawrence proposed, and was seconded, that the words " with whom the united states have formed treaties," should be struck out of the report.

Mr. Lawrence observed, that the present situation of the united states should lead her to observe a perfect neutrality, with respect to all foreign nations, whether in treaty with us or not ; that we had not shipping sufficient to export the produce of the country—consequently, we must employ foreign nations—nations in treaty could not furnish us, and therefore we were under the necessity to employ the British, those of our allies, and American, to transport our produce, or else it must perish on our hands. This necessity places us in the power of foreigners, and gives them every advantage. Freight will be enhanced in proportion to the tonnage, so that this discrimination operates as a bounty to foreigners, and a tax upon our own produce. He appealed to gentlemen whether our produce could bear any addition to its price ? With respect to rice and tobacco, gentlemen from the southward must determine. As to the produce of the

eastern and northern states, it was well known it could not. The eastern fisheries, it had been plainly proved, were in a declining situation already. This discrimination will be considered as a retaliating measure. It is fact, that no commercial treaties now exist between the united states and Spain, Portugal, and Britain. We carried on a great trade with those countries. We might form such treaties. But such regulations as were now proposed, would produce similar on their part: and in that case, our condition, bad as it was, would be changed for the worse—as the fish from the eastern states would be encumbered with duties in Spain and Portugal. As the measure respected Great Britain, he thought it much better to negotiate, than wage a war of regulations. It would be better to try this mode for the present: the other would always be in our power. This discrimination will have a disagreeable effect: Great Britain is rich, old, and powerful: we now derive many and great advantages in our intercourse with her. Her ports in India, he added, were open to us—a trade that was considered of immense importance, and which the influence of that nation in India could materially affect, either in our favour or against us. He hoped, therefore, negotiation would be tried before the proposed expedient.

Mr. Madison considered the subject as involving a general question—how far any discrimination should be made? Gentlemen had observed that our shipping was not sufficient; he believed that was the fact at present—and if we did not want a maritime power—if the united states did not need a navy, he should be for opening our ports to the whole world. But it is, sir, (the gentleman observed) necessary to provide for our security—and though we may be obliged to pay a temporary advance, and make some sacrifice to obtain it, yet it will prove a saving in the end, and may prevent the horrors of war.

Nothing essentially different, from what had before been offered, has been now said, I shall therefore reserve myself to make a motion, that time may be given for the operation of this duty.

It is evident, that the sentiments of

the people are in favour of a discrimination, evidenced by the separate attempts of the respective governments, and if, in the first act of congress, this distinction should be abolished, we shall certainly disappoint our constituents. The gentleman last speaking, contends, that we enjoy advantages in our connexions and trade with Great Britain. But, sir, it is evident, that the object of that nation has been an universal monopoly: selfish in her commercial regulations, we derive no benefits from her, but such as are extorted by her attention to her own necessities, and our peculiar advantages. There was a moment when Great Britain would have negotiated, but, reverting to her narrow policy, the want of power on our part was objected to. The executive of that country, have the power to regulate their commerce, as the state of things here may dictate, varying their systems so as to promote their own interest. I do not fear their retaliating—they have no new expedients to try: if necessary, the people will associate, and it is very certain, that since the resources of the country have been explored, and our capacity for manufactures ascertained, an association against their manufactures, will now produce a greater consternation than ever. I conceive we have nothing to apprehend: but supposing the worst, what grievous wound can Great Britain inflict? Restrictions on the trade to the West Indies would soon bring them to reason; they must depend for the necessities of life in those islands, on this country entirely, in a few years. What do we want from Great Britain?—We may make her depend upon us, and she would very soon sacrifice her pride rather than sacrifice the essentials of her trade and manufactures. Their islands depend upon us for subsistence—at this moment we hear of the cry of distress from one of them. We have nothing to fear, the fears are on their side.

Want of room unavoidably obliges us to omit the remainder of this speech.

Several other gentlemen spoke, and at length the motion was rejected.

Adjourned.

(To be continued monthly.)

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. MORSE is informed that dr. Franklin's chapter on toleration was published in the second number of this work.

Several essays intended for the present number, are unavoidably deferred.

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For JUNE, 1789.

O R I G I N A L P R O S E.

An enquiry into the utility of a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, as a branch of liberal education, with hints of a plan of liberal instruction, without them, accommodated to the present state of society, manners, and government in the united states. By a citizen of Philadelphia.

IT requires the recollection of escapes from a lion and a bear, to encounter the strong and universal prejudice, in favour of the Latin and Greek languages, as a necessary branch of liberal education. If, in combating this formidable enemy of human reason, I should be less successful than the Hebrew stripling was in contending with the giant of the Philistines, I hope it will be ascribed wholly to the want of skill to direct arguments, which, in other hands, would lay this tyrant in the dust.

I shall attempt to discuss this question, by first delivering a few general propositions. I shall afterwards apply these propositions, and answer such arguments as are usually urged in favour of the Latin and Greek languages as necessary parts of an academic education.

1. The great design of a liberal education is, to prepare youth for usefulness here, and for happiness hereafter.

2. The proper time for acquiring the necessary branches of knowledge for these important purposes, is in the first eighteen years of life.

3. From three to four years are usually spent in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages.

4. The knowledge of things always precedes the knowledge of words. Children discover the truth of this observation every day. They know all the objects around them, long before they are able to call them by their proper names, or even to articulate sounds of any kind. It is supposed that children acquire more ideas of

things in the first three years of their lives, than they acquire in any thirty years afterwards.

5. The acquisition of words lessens the ability of the mind to acquire ideas. That understanding must have uncommon strength, which does not contract the rickets, or some other obliquity, by being employed three or four years in learning the Latin or Greek languages.

6. The difficulty of acquiring those dead languages, and the little pleasure which accompanies the knowledge of them in early life, occasion the principal obstacles to teaching, in masters, and learning, in scholars.

The famous Busby is said to have died of "bad Latin;" that is, the ungrammatical versions of his scholars broke his heart. How few boys relish Latin and Greek lessons! The pleasure they sometimes discover in learning them, is derived either from the tales they read, or from a competition, which awakens a love of honour, and which might be displayed upon a hundred more useful subjects; or it may arise from a desire of gaining the good will of their masters or parents. Where these incentives are wanting, how bitter does the study of the languages render that innocent period of life, which seems exclusively intended for happiness! "I wish I had never been born," said a boy of eleven years old, to his mother: "why, my son?" said his mother. "Because I am born into a world of trouble." "What trouble," said his mother smiling, "have you known, my son?" "Trouble enough, mamma—two Latin lessons to get, every day." This boy was not deficient in genius nor in application to books. He often amused himself in reading natural and ancient history, was inquisitive after knowledge of every kind, and was never heard to ask a foolish or impertinent question.

7. Many sprightly boys of ex-

cellent capacities for useful knowledge, have been so disgusted with the dead languages, as to retreat from the drudgery of schools, to low company, whereby they have become bad members of society, and entailed misery upon all who have been connected with them.

8. The Latin and Greek languages are the first tests of genius in schools. Where boys discover a want of capacity for them, they are generally taken from school, or remain there the butts of their companions. Dr. Swift early discovered a want of taste for the dead languages. It would be unjust to mention this fact, without ascribing it to the voice of reason and nature speaking in this great man. He had no relish for the husks of literature. Truth and knowledge were alone commensurate to the dignity and extent of his mind.

9. The study of some of the Latin and Greek classics is unfavourable to morals and religion. Indelicate amours, and shocking vices both of gods and men, fill many parts of them. Hence an early and dangerous acquaintance with vice; and hence, from an association of ideas, a diminished respect for the perfections of the true God. Those classics which are free from this censure, contain little else but the histories of murders, perpetrated by kings, and related in such a manner, as to excite pleasure and admiration.

Hence the universal preference of the military character to all others—hence the early passion for a cockade in school boys; and hence the frequent adoption of the principles and vices of armies, by young men who are destined for other professions.

10. The study of the Latin and Greek languages is improper in the present state of society and government in the united states. While Greek and Latin are the only avenues to science, education will always be confined to a few people. It is only by rendering knowledge universal, that a republican form of government can be preserved in our country.

I shall hereafter mention other reasons why the study of these languages is improper in a peculiar manner in the united states.

11. The cultivation of the Latin and Greek languages is a great obstacle to the cultivation and perfection of the English language.

12. It is likewise one of the greatest obstructions that has ever been thrown in the way of propagating useful knowledge.

On each of these two last propositions, I shall treat more fully in another place.

I proceed now to consider the principal arguments that have been urged in favour of the Latin and Greek languages, as necessary parts of a liberal education.

1. A knowledge of the Latin or Greek grammar, it has been said, is necessary for our becoming acquainted with English grammar. There was a time when the authority of a great name imposed this opinion upon me, and even led me publicly to adopt it, but I am now satisfied that it is wholly destitute of truth. I have known many bachelors and masters of arts who were incorrect English scholars, and many persons of both sexes, ignorant of the dead languages, who both wrote and spoke English, agreeably to the strictest rules of modern grammar. Indeed I cannot help ascribing the late improvements in the English language chiefly to the neglect of the Latin and Greek language.

The Greek is supposed to be the most perfect language both in its construction and harmony, that has ever been spoken by mortals. Now this language was not learned through the medium of any other. Hence it was acquired and spoken with equal propriety by all ranks of people, and not less by a simple woman, than by the celebrated orators of Greece. In that highly favoured nursery of human genius, the avenues to knowledge were not obstructed by two or three dead, or even foreign languages; nor was the precious season of youth, when memory is most faithful, and curiosity most active, mis-spent in learning words. Hence the fame of ancient Greece in arts and sciences, and hence the sublimity of the orations of Demosthenes, and of the poems of Homer. There was nothing in the composition of the blood, or in the structure of the nerves of the ancient Greeks, which gave them a pre-eminence over

the rest of mankind. It arose entirely from their being too wise to waste the important years of education in learning to call substances, by two or three different names, instead of studying their qualities and uses. The construction of the English differs materially from that of the Latin and Greek languages; and the attempt to accommodate it to the Greek and Roman grammars has checked its improvement in many instances. I hope to prove hereafter, that a knowledge of grammar, like a knowledge of pronunciation, should be learned only by the EAR in early life. The practice of teaching boys English grammar, through the medium of a dead language, is as absurd, as it would be for a parent to force his child to chew pebbles or mahogany, in order to prepare its gums or teeth to masticate bread and meat.

2. We are told that the Roman and Greek authors are the only perfect models of taste and eloquence, and that it is necessary to study them, in order to acquire their taste and spirit. Strange language indeed! what! did nature exult herself in Greece and Rome? Are the ancients the only repositories of the great principles of taste and genius? I reject the supposition; and will venture to assert, in opposition to it, that we shall never equal the sublime and original authors of antiquity until we cease to study them.

Nature is always the same. Let us yield to her inspiration alone, and avail ourselves of allusions to the many discoveries which have lately been made in her works. Shakespeare owes his fame, as a sublime and original poet, to his having never read (as is generally believed) a Latin or Greek author. Hence he spoke from nature, or rather, nature spoke thro' him. But it should be remembered that art, as well as nature feeds the flame of genius. By neglecting the ancients, we may borrow imagery from the many useful and well-known arts which have been the inventions of modern ages, and thereby surpass the ancients in the variety and effect of our compositions. It is to this passion for ancient writers that we are to ascribe the great want of originality, that marks too

many of the poems of modern times. A judicious critic has observed that the descriptions of spring, which are published every year in England, apply chiefly to the climates of Greece and the neighbourhood of Rome. This is the natural effect of a servile attachment to the ancient poets. It insensibly checks invention and leads to imitation. The pleasure with which the poems of the shoemaker, the milk-maid, and the Ayreshire ploughman, have been read by all classes of people, proves that an acquaintance with the Greek or Roman poets, is not necessary to inspire just ideas, or to produce harmony in poetry. Dr. Swift, as an author, owes nothing to the ancients. He has attained to what Pope calls the "majesty" and what lord Shaftesbury calls the "divineness" of simplicity in writing. All his compositions exemplify his own perfect definition of style. They consist of "proper words, in their proper places." I have heard of a learned gentleman in Scotland, who, when any of his friends proposed to introduce a stranger to him, asked only, as a proof of his taste for composition, whether he admired Dr. Young's night thoughts? Were I to receive a visitor upon similar terms, my only question should be, "does he admire the style of Dr. Swift?"

Under this head I shall only add, that the most intimate acquaintance with the Roman and Greek writers will not produce perfection of style in men who are devoid of taste and genius. Hence we sometimes find the most celebrated teachers of the Latin and Greek languages extremely deficient in English composition. I acknowledge that Milton, Addison, Hume, Middleton, and Bolingbroke, were all Latin and Greek scholars. But they were at the same time men of genius and taste; and hence the purity and dignity of their writings. Had none of them ever read Homer, Livy, or Cicero, but drawn only upon their own stock of original feelings and ideas, I think it highly probable, that they would have far surpassed the ancients in their respective literary productions.

3. It has been said that we cannot know the use or meaning of those numerous English words which are de-

rived from the Latin and Greek, without a knowledge of those languages. To this I answer, that what proves too much, proves nothing at all. The argument that has been mentioned, proves that a knowledge of the Celtic, the Saxon, the German, the French, the Italian and the Dutch, is necessary to enable us to understand the use of many English words; for many thousands of them are derived from those languages. But I object further to this argument, that if a knowledge of the derivation of English words from the Greek and Latin languages, should be followed by a strict regard to their original meaning, it would lead us into many mistakes. The derivation of the word "angel" would lead us to contemplate a messenger, instead of a perfect finite intelligence. The derivation of the word "rebellion" would lead us to contemplate a war commenced by a conquered people; instead of a resistance to the just authority of government. Many other instances of similar incongruity might be mentioned between the meaning of certain English words, and their Roman and Greek originals. I conclude therefore that a knowledge of the derivation of words is not necessary to teach us their proper use and meaning. Custom, which is the law and rule of speech, and what *is*, instead of what *should be* common, will always govern the use of words. Where custom is unknown, modern English dictionaries will supply its place.

Here I beg leave to repeat that the study of the Greek and Latin languages by the English nation has been one of the greatest obstructions, that ever has been thrown in the way of the propagation of useful knowledge. By rendering our language unintelligible to the greatest part of the people who hear or read it, it has made it an improper vehicle of instruction. The orations of Demosthenes, we are told, were like earthquakes in ancient Greece. They moved whole nations. The reason of this is plain. He never used a single word in any of them, but what was alike intelligible to all classes of his hearers. The effect of Indian eloquence upon the wars and councils of the savages in

America, depends wholly upon its being perfectly understood and felt by every member of their communities. It has often been remarked that in England no play will succeed without action, while sentiment alone insures the loudest claps of applause, in the theatres of France. The reason of this is obvious. The English language requires action to translate it, to half the common audience of a theatre, whereas the French language, which is uniform and stationary, is understood, and, of course, the sentiment which is conveyed by it, is felt and enjoyed by all who hear it. The writings of Voltaire are quoted by the hairdressers and milliners of Paris, because they are written in the simple language of the country, while many of the most celebrated British authors cannot be understood by common readers, without the help of a dictionary or interpreter. Richardson and Fielding are an exception to this remark. They are alike intelligible and acceptable to the learned and unlearned, inasmuch as they have conveyed all their ideas in plain, but decent English words. The popularity of the methodist preachers may be ascribed in part to their speaking in a language that is intelligible to the common people. It is true, many of them are deficient in education, but this deficiency appears more in an ignorance of the construction of the English language, than in the proper use of English words, and perhaps this may be ascribed chiefly to their extempore mode of preaching. It is happy for some of those churches where the Latin and Greek languages are considered as necessary parts of education in their clergy, that part of the public worship of God is confined to reading the scriptures, and to forms of prayer, both of which are written in English, and are intelligible to every class of hearers. Such congregations are not left to the mercy of their preachers in every part of divine service. A pious woman in London who heard her minister speak of the Deity, by the name of the great Philanthropist, asked, when she came home, what heathen god Philanthropist was? There are few sermons composed by Latin and Greek scholars in which there are not many

hundred words, that are equally unintelligible to a majority of their hearers. Hence I cannot help thinking that were John the Baptist to appear again in our world, and to send to some of our doctors of divinity, or to many of our young preachers to enquire after the signs of their divine mission, few of them could adopt the answer of our Saviour and say that "to the poor the gospel was preached."

It will require a total ignorance of the Latin and Greek languages, or an uncommon mixture of good sense and piety in a preacher who is acquainted with them, to address an audience in such a manner as to be perfectly understood by the illiterate part of them.

I wish to press the considerations that have been mentioned under this head, home to the feelings of the friends of virtue and religion. It has been demonstrated, that the study of the ancient classics is hurtful to morals. It is equally plain that the corruption of our language by the constant substitution of words of Greek and Latin origin, to those which had become familiar and universal, from long usage, has greatly retarded the progress of knowledge of all kinds, but in a more especial manner, a great proportion of that species of it which is delivered from the pulpit. I appeal to the consciences of ministers of the gospel of all denominations, whether, instead of exposing their candidates for the ministry, to temptation from that kind of learning "which puffeth up, without edifying," it would not be better to direct them to employ the time which is usually mis-spent in acquiring it, in studying the scriptures, and in making themselves masters of the English language? It is impossible to tell what great improvements would be made by these means in moral happiness in the united states.

4. We are told that a knowledge of the Greek and Roman languages, is necessary to enable us to understand the frequent allusions that are made by English writers to the mythology of those ancient nations. To this I answer, that the less we know of this subject, the better; for what is the history of the ancient fables, but an agreeable description of frauds—rapes—and murders, which, while they please the imagination, shock the

moral faculty? It is high time to cease from idolizing the idolatry of Greece and Rome. Truth alone is knowledge, and spending time in studying Greek and Roman fictions, is only labouring to be more ignorant. If there is any moral contained in these fictions, it is so much involved in obscurity, as not to be intelligible to a young man at that time of life in which he usually becomes acquainted with them. Happy will it be for the present and future generations, if an ignorance of the Latin and Greek languages, should banish from modern poetry, those disgraceful invocations of heathen gods, which indicate no less a want of genius, than a want of reverence for the true God. I shall only add in this place, that the best writers in the English language seldom borrow allusions from the mythology of the Greek or Roman nations. Richardson and Fielding have passed them by, and hence arises another reason why the works of those authors are so universally intelligible and acceptable to all classes of readers.

5. It has been said, that the Latin language has become a necessary part of liberal knowledge, inasmuch as the European nations have by common consent made it the vehicle of their discoveries. This argument had some weight, while science consisted only in learning what was known; but since the enquiries of philosophers have been directed to new objects of observation and experiment, the Latin language has not been able to keep pace with the number and rapidity of their discoveries. Where shall we find Latin words to convey just ideas of the many terms which electricity—chemistry—navigation—and many other sciences have introduced into our modern languages? It is from experience of the insufficiency of the Latin language for this purpose, that most of the modern nations of Europe have been obliged to adopt their own languages, as the vehicles of their discoveries in science. If this argument had been acknowledged to have weight in Europe, it should, from local circumstances, have no weight in America. Here we have no intercourse with any part of Europe, except her commercial seaports, and in these, all business is transacted in modern languages.

America, with respect to the nations of Europe, is like the new planet, with respect to those, whose revolutions have long been described in the solar system. She is placed at too great a distance from most of them, to be within the influence of a reciprocal exchange of the rays of knowledge. Like a certain animal, described by the naturalists, she must impregnate herself. But while she retains a friendly intercourse with Great Britain, all the valuable discoveries which are published in Latin, in any part of Europe, will be transmitted to her through the medium of English translations.

6. It has been said that a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages is necessary to the learned professions of law—physic—and divinity. To this I answer, that the most useful books in each of these professions are now translated, or written in English, in consequence of which, knowledge in law—physic—and divinity has been greatly multiplied and extended. I see no use at present for a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, for a lawyer, a physician, or a divine, in the united states, except it be to preserve the remembrance of a few technical terms which may be retained without it. Two of the most eminent and successful lawyers in the united states, are strangers to the Latin language. An eminent physician, who spent several of the years of his youth in learning this language, has assured me, that he had not more than three times in his life found any advantage from it. Very few physicians, I believe, (professors of medicine only excepted, who are obliged to review Latin theses previously to their publication) retain their knowledge of this language, after they become established in business, and if they do, it is preserved less from necessity, than from vanity, or a desire of reviving, by reading the classics, the agreeable ideas of the early and innocent part of their lives.

I know that it is commonly believed, that a knowledge of the Greek language, is necessary to enable a divine fully to understand the New Testament. But I object to this opinion, that the most useful and necessary parts of this divine book are intelligible to

the lowest capacities in its present English dress: and I believe further, that there have been as many disputes among the critics, about the meaning of words, and about editions and translations of the New Testament, as there have been among unlearned christians about the meaning of its obscure and difficult passages. If a knowledge of the Greek language is necessary to enable a divine to understand the New Testament, it follows, that a knowledge of all the languages and dialects in which the different parts of it were originally composed, is equally necessary for the same purpose; and, if necessary to a divine, why not to the common people, for they are equally interested in all the truths of revelation? The difficulties and absurdities into which we are led by this proposition, are too obvious to be mentioned.

We are very apt to forget the *age* in which we live. In the fifteenth century, all the knowledge of Europe was locked up in a few Greek and Latin manuscripts. In this confined state of knowledge, an acquaintance with the Latin language was thought to be necessary to civilize the human mind—hence the teachers of it acquired the title of “professors of humanity” in the European universities. But we live in an age in which knowledge has been drawn from its dead repositories, and diffused by the art of printing, in living languages, through every part of the world. Humanity has therefore changed sides. Her gentleness is now altogether in favour of modern literature.

We forget not only the age, but the country likewise in which we live. In Europe many ancient constitutions—laws—treaties—official letters—and even private deeds, are written in Latin—hence the knowledge of it has sometimes been found useful for statesmen and lawyers—but all the constitutions, laws, treaties, public letters, and private deeds of the united states, are written in English; and of course a knowledge of the Latin language is not necessary to understand them. It is therefore as useless in America as the Spanish greatcoat is in the island of Cuba, or the Dutch foot-stove, at the Cape of Good Hope.

We forget further the difference of

occupation between the inhabitants of the present, and of the fifteenth century. Formerly public prayers and war were the only business of man: but since agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have afforded such different and profitable employments to mankind, there cannot be greater folly than to learn two languages which are no ways connected with the advancement of any of them.

"I once thought health the most precious thing in the world," (said Mr. Rittenhouse to the author of this essay) "but I do not think so now. There is one thing infinitely more precious, and that is time." This opinion of our excellent American philosopher, is true every where, but in a more especial manner in the united states. Here the opportunities of acquiring knowledge and of advancing private and public interest are so numerous, and the rewards of genius and industry so certain, that not a particle of time should be mis-spent or lost. We occupy a new country. Our principal business should be to explore and apply its resources, all of which press us to enterprize and haste. Under these circumstances, to spend three or four years in learning two dead languages, is to turn our backs upon a gold mine, in order to amuse ourselves in catching butterflies.

It is agreeable to hear of the progress of human reason in the gradual declension of the usual methods of teaching the Latin and Greek languages within the last forty years in Europe. Formerly boys were obliged to commit whole volumes of Latin and Greek poetry to memory, as the only means of learning those languages. Nor was this all, they were obliged to compose Latin verses, without the least regard being paid to genius, or taste for poetry. The last act of school tyranny, was to compel boys to read the ancient classics without the help of translations. All these methods of teaching the dead languages are now laid aside. The next ray of truth that irradiates human reason upon this subject, I hope will teach us to reject the Latin and Greek languages altogether, as branches of a liberal education.

The progress of human reason should likewise be acknowledged in

having banished Latin and Greek quotations from sermons, and other religious tracts, which are intended for the common people. Such quotations are now to be found only in books of science, addressed to the members of the learned professions, or to persons who are supposed to be acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages.

There are certain follies, like the objects of sight, which cannot be seen when the eye is placed too near them. We are struck with pity and horror in contemplating the folly discovered by our ancestors in their military expeditions to the holy land of Palestine. The generations which are to follow us, will probably view our partiality to the classic ground of Greece and Rome with similar emotions. We laugh at the credulity of those nations who worshipped apes and crocodiles, without recollecting, that future ages will treat our superstitious veneration for the ancient poets and orators with the same ridicule. Posterity, in reading the history of the American revolution, will wonder that in a country where so many exploits of wisdom and virtue were performed, the human understanding was fettered by prejudices in favour of the Latin and Greek languages. But I hope with the history of this folly, some historian will convey to future generations, that two of the most active and useful characters in accomplishing this revolution, were strangers to the formalities of a Latin and Greek education.

It would seem as if these great men had been chosen by heaven to enlighten and save a country, on purpose, among other reasons, to shew the superiority of practical useful knowledge, above technical and speculative learning. Read the correct and elegant letters and other publications of these great men, and say, is it necessary to study Latin and Greek, in order to acquire a knowledge of English grammar, or of the proper use of words? Trace them both through the various stages of their splendid and useful lives, and say, is it necessary to pore over the Greek and Roman authors, in order to arrive at the summit of fame, in mathematics, in philosophy, in war, and in government? Happy country of the united states!

in being blessed with men, who have at once rescued their fellow citizens and human reason from slavery.

It is high time to distinguish between a philosopher, and a scholar, between knowledge and learning. "He was educated at the college of ———," said a gentleman to his friend, speaking of a young man who was known to them both. "You mean, sir," (replied his friend) "he got his learning at the college of ———; but as to education, he appears to have received none any where." This young man was an excellent Latin and Greek scholar, but knew nothing of men, or things.

Let it not be supposed from any thing that has been here advanced, that I wish the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages to be extinct in the world. Far from it. My wish is to see it preserved, like the knowledge of law, or medicine, as a distinct profession. Let the persons, who devote themselves to the study of these languages, be called linguists, or interpreters, and let them be paid for their translations and explanations of Latin and Greek books, and other compositions in those languages. No more confidence will be placed by the public, in the members of this new profession, than is daily placed in lawyers and physicians, in matters of much greater importance; nor will more credit be given to them, than we are accustomed to give to travelers and historians. There can be no more reason why every man should be capable of translating or judging of a Latin or Greek book, than there can be why every man should be a lawyer or a physician, or why he should be obliged to visit Constantinople or Grand Cairo, in order to become acquainted with the situation of these two great cities. If this method of preserving and applying the dead languages should be adopted, young men will learn them as they do law and physic, by serving an apprenticeship, instead of going to school.

The following advantages would immediately attend the rejection of the Latin and Greek languages as branches of a liberal education.

1. It would improve, and finally perfect the English language, by check-

ing the increase of those superfluous words which are derived from the Latin and Greek languages. What use have we for festivity—celebrity—hilarity—amenity—and a hundred other duplicate words, with which Johnson and Harris have corrupted and weakened our language, and which are unintelligible to three fourths of common English readers? The rejection of the ancient languages, would further banish Latin and Greek words, such as, *exit, fecit, excudit, pinxit, acme, finis, bona fide, ipso facto, ad valorem*, and a hundred others, equally disgusting, from English compositions. It would moreover preserve our language from the encroachments of French and Italian words, such as *eclat—amateur—douceur—en passant—corps—dilettanti—con cuore—piano*—and many others, all of which impair the uniformity and dignity of the English language.

2. The rejection of the Latin and Greek languages from our schools, would produce a revolution in science, and in human affairs. That nation which shall first shake off the fetters of those ancient languages, will advance further in knowledge, and in happiness, in twenty years, than any nation in Europe has done, in a hundred.

3. It will have a tendency to destroy the prejudices of the common people against schools and colleges. The common people do not despise scholars, because they know more, but because they know less than themselves. A mere scholar can call a horse, or a cow, by two or three different names, but he frequently knows nothing of the qualities, or uses of those valuable animals.

4. It would be the means of banishing pride from our seminaries of public education. Men are generally most proud of those things that do not contribute to the happiness of themselves, or others. Useful knowledge generally humbles the mind, but learning, like fine clothes, feeds pride, and thereby hardens the human heart.

5. It would greatly increase the number of students in our colleges, and thereby extend the benefits of education through every part of our country. The excellency of knowledge would then be obvious to every

body, because it would be constantly applicable to some of the necessary and useful purposes of life, and particularly to the security and order of wise and just government.

6. It would remove the present immense disparity which subsists between the sexes, in the degrees of their education and knowledge. Perhaps one cause of the misery of many families, as well as communities, may be sought for in the *mediocrity* of knowledge of the women. They should know *more* or *less*, in order to be happy themselves, and to communicate happiness to others. By ceasing to make Latin and Greek a necessary part of a liberal education, we open the doors for every species of improvement to the female part of society:—hence will arise new pleasures in their company,—and hence, too, we may expect a general reformation and refinement, in the generations which are to follow us; for principles and manners in all societies are formed chiefly by the women.

It may be asked, here, how shall we employ those years of a boy, that are now usually spent in learning the Latin and Greek languages? I shall endeavour to answer this question by laying down a short plan of a liberal English education. In this undertaking, I shall be led by no authority, but that of nature. For this purpose, I shall strive to forget for a while all the systems of education I have ever seen, and suggest such a one as is founded in the original principles of action in the human mind.

1. Let the first eight years of a boy's time be employed in learning to speak, spell, read, and write the English language. For this purpose, let him be committed to the care of a master, who speaks correctly at all times, and let the books he reads, be written in a simple and correct style. During these years, let not an English grammar by any means be put into his hands. It is to most boys under even twelve years of age, an unintelligible book. As well might we contend, that a boy should be taught the names and number of the humours of the eye, or the muscles of the tongue, in order to learn to see, or to speak, as he taught the English language by means of gram-

mar. Sancho, in attempting to learn to read, by chewing the four and twenty letters of the alphabet, did not exhibit a greater absurdity, than a boy of seven or eight years old does in committing grammar rules to memory, in order to understand the English language. Did we wish to describe a ship, so as to have all its parts perfectly and speedily known, would we begin by describing its detached parts in a shipyard, or a repewalk; or would we not first fix every part in its proper place, and then explain the names and uses of those parts, by shewing their subserviency to each other? In like manner, I affirm, that the construction of our language should be learned by a careful attention to the places and uses of the different parts of speech in agreeable compositions, and not by contemplating them in a disjointed state in an English grammar. But I will add further, that grammar should be taught only by the ear. Pronunciation, which is far more extensive, and difficult, is learned only in this way. To teach concord in the arrangement of words, let the master converse with his pupils as well as hear them read, and let him distinctly mark and correct every deviation from grammatical propriety which they utter. This method of teaching grammar has been tried with success in the families of several gentlemen of my acquaintance. It is both rational, and practicable. It has, moreover, the authority of the wise Greeks to recommend it. Plomer, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Longinus, I believe, were all taught to speak—read—and write their native language, without the incumbrance of a Greek grammar. I do not mean by any thing that has been advanced, to insinuate that our pupil should not be instructed in the principles and laws of our language. I have reserved this part of knowledge to a much later period of his youth, at which time he will acquire it almost as soon as Moliere's "Citizen turned Gentleman," learned to distinguish between prose and poetry. He will find, that he is in possession of this knowledge, and that the business of his master will be only to give names to things with which he is already acquainted.

Under this head, I shall only add,

that the perfection of the ear, as an avenue of knowledge, is not sufficiently known. Ideas acquired through that organ, are much more durable, than those acquired by the eyes. We remember much longer what we hear, than what we see; hence, old men recollect voices, long after they forget faces. These facts are capable of great application to the business of education.

Having provided our pupil with a vehicle of knowledge, by teaching him to read and write, our next business should be to furnish him with ideas. Here it will be necessary to remark, that the human mind in early life first comprehends substances. From these it proceeds to actions, from actions to qualities, and from qualities to degrees. Let us therefore in education, follow this order of nature, and begin by instructing our pupil in the knowledge of substances, or things. For this purpose, let us initiate him into the knowledge of the globe on which he exists, by teaching him

2. Natural history. This study is simple and truly delightful. Animals of all kinds are often the subjects of conversation and disputes, among boys in their walks and diversions. But this is not all; this study is the foundation of all useful and practical knowledge in agriculture, manufactures and commerce, as well as in philosophy, chemistry, and medicine. By making natural history the first study of a boy, we imitate the conduct of the first teacher of man. The first lesson that Adam received from his Maker in Paradise was upon natural history. It is probable that the dominion of our great progenitor over the brute creation, and every other living creature, was founded upon a perfect knowledge of their names and qualities, for God appears in this, as well as in other instances, to have acted by the instrumentality of human reason.—Where a museum is wanting, all that is necessary for a boy to know of animals and fishes—insects—trees and herbs, may be taught by means of prints.

3. Geography, is a simple science, and accommodated to the capacity of a boy under twelve years of age. It may be perfectly understood by means of cards—globes—and maps; for each of these modes of convey-

ing instruction, seizes upon the senses and imagination. The frequent application which a boy is obliged to make of his knowledge in geography, in reading, and conversation, will soon fix it upon his memory, and from the *time* and *manner* in which he will acquire it, he will never forget it.

I allow four years to be employed in acquiring these two fundamental branches of knowledge. After our pupil has become tolerably well acquainted with them, he should be instructed in the

4. French and German languages. These will be equally necessary, whether commerce—physic—law—ordinance is the pursuit of a young man. They should be acquired only by the ear. Great care should be taken not to permit him to learn these languages before he is *twelve* years old, otherwise he will contract so much of the French and German accents as will impair the pronunciation of his native tongue.

5. Arithmetic, and some of the more simple branches of the mathematics should be acquired between the twelfth and fourteenth years of his life.

6. Between his fourteenth and eighteenth years, he should be instructed in grammar—oratory—criticism—the higher branches of mathematics—philosophy—chemistry—logic—metaphysics—chronology—history—government—the principles of agriculture, and manufactures—and in every thing else that is necessary to qualify him for public usefulness, or private happiness.

7. Along with these branches of literature, let our pupil be early and steadily instructed in the principles of the christian religion. I prefer the christian religion to all others, because I believe it to be the only true one; but it were better he should be instructed in the religions of Mahomet or Confucius, than in none at all. I am so fully satisfied of the necessity and advantages of teaching a religion of some kind in our schools, that were I an arbitrary prince, I would suffer no school to be established in my dominions, in which the duties of morality were not inculcated, from a principle of obedience to the will of God.

I shall conclude this enquiry by two remarks on the discipline and amusements of schools.

1. Let the government of our schools be strict, that it may not be severe, and let no corporal punishment of any kind ever be inflicted upon the boys. *Private* admonition should first be tried upon all offenders. If this fails of success, recourse should be had to solitude,—to low diet,—and, in extreme cases, to darkness. If all these prove unsuccessful, expulsion should be used. A boy, who cannot be reclaimed by the above means, will soon infect a whole school with his vices.

2. I have no objection to boys employing the intervals of their studies in healthy and useful exercises, such as swimming—scating, and the like. But it should be remembered that labour is the business and interest of man, and that the sooner boys become familiar with it, the better. It will preserve their health, and keep them from many of the hurtful accidents to which most of the sports of young people expose them. It will, moreover, preserve their tempers from those evil passions which competition even in play, often excites in the breaks of school boys. The care of a small garden has been found to seize powerfully upon their minds. It is the employment of the scholars of the methodist college at Abingdon, in Maryland, in the intervals of their school hours. The Moravians at Bethlehem wisely carry this idea of teaching their young people to work, so far, that they derive a considerable profit from their labour in several useful manufactures.

With these remarks I shall close this enquiry—but not without sincerely wishing that if I have advanced a single opinion in my part of it, that is contrary to reason, or the best interests of my country, it may make no impression upon any part of my readers. On the contrary, if my opinions are just, I have only to add my fervent wishes, that their opposition to established habits, may not prevent their becoming universal.

Philadelphia, June 11, 1789.



Remarks on duelling.—P. 432.

LET us now examine the practice of duelling, as it relates to the rules of reason, and the precepts of worldly wisdom. In all cases, where injuries have been sustained, redress is

required, as a right, which reason teaches us to expect and obtain. But is it not a very unreasonable mode of obtaining this redress, to expose ourselves to the hazard of much greater injuries? Is any thing more inconsistent with common sense, than the adopting a practice, which puts aggressor on an equal footing with the aggrieved? Surely, to give a chance to him who has already done you a violence, of adding to it the highest act of outrage, “in order to obtain satisfaction” for the first transgression, argues the highest degree of lunacy, and the most finished madness. Shall he, who has wantonly endeavoured to stab your reputation, to destroy your good name, and to render you an object of abhorrence among your fellow-men—shall he who has dishonoured your daughter, your sister, or your wife, be allowed the privilege of taking away your life, if possessed of superior skill in firing a pistol, or managing a sword? Shall he, after having done those base acts of injustice, have a chance given him to close the black catalogue, by the last triumphant act of villainy?—Let that custom be execrated, and forever branded with infamy, which puts it so much in the power of the abandoned aggressor, to triumph over the innocent injured man.—Were the world in a state of lawless anarchy—were there no legal methods of bringing offenders to justice, this custom might be, in some degree, pardonable. But in countries the most civilized, and well governed, where the law is open for the punishment of those who violate the peace, such a custom has not the shadow of an excuse to be urged in its favour. Even in a state of absolute anarchy, duelling would be an unreasonable method of obtaining redress: for it is much more consistent with natural propriety, to inflict a punishment adequate to the crime committed, without leaving to the person punished, the smallest opportunity of adding to his offence; than to put the guilty on a footing with the innocent. Thus, he who had destroyed what was thought more valuable than life, should, upon this principle, be punished without the least previous notice or the smallest means of defence.

But—there is a generous sentiment

in human nature, which forbids such bloody executions, and withholds men from executing, in this manner, what must be deemed by all the most rational kind of vengeance. But this generosity of nature degenerates into the worst of extremes, when it leaves the innocent and the oppressed at the mercy of the guilty oppressor. We are far from wishing to introduce the mode of vengeance above pointed out. But were it even to take place among mankind, it would of two evils be only choosing the less criminal and absurd.

But the divine admonitions of scripture, teach us, what methods to pursue, in all such cases of savage animosity. The Saviour of the world has set us a glorious example for the government of our hearts, when inflamed with rage, and shewn us how we are to act when we are offended by our fellow creatures. He has enjoined us to forgive our enemies, to pray for them, and to bless them! He has himself done it before us, and now sits at the right hand of his Father, soliciting forgiveness and mercy for those very persons, who put him to a cruel and ignominious death. And shall we not imitate this truly illustrious example? Shall we not strive to elevate our minds above the dominion of those dark, malignant, tempestuous affections of the soul, that we may in some degree resemble our great Preceptor, whose brightest ornaments, and most distinguishing characteristics, were mildness and peace? The greatest victory of Alexander and of every other conqueror since the creation of man, would be obscured by the effulgence of that victory, which gave such a conquest over ourselves!

Forgiveness of injuries is not only repeatedly inculcated as a duty by the divine benefactor of mankind; but is likewise necessary, in order to our enjoyment of the least tranquility in this life. He whose heart is torn with anger and blackened by revenge; who abandons himself to every transport of passion, and allows his bosom to be filled with rage and malignity, must already have a lively experience of future torments, and be given up, in a limited degree, to the excruciating pains of hell. But he, who banishes those noxious passions from

his heart,—who carefully watches against the sudden gust of rising anger, and quells the rude monster, before it has time to deform his soul,—who makes it a point, instantly to forgive, and never to resent an injury—not only quells the troubled commotion within him, and calms the discordant sea to rest—but likewise partakes, in a most interesting degree, of the elevated rapture and felicity of heavenly enjoyment. Excerations will pursue and mark the footsteps of the vindictive; whilst blessings, and wishes for prosperity and long life, in boundless profusion, will accompany the peaceable, righteous, upright man.

Mutual resentments are, of all things, the most unreasonable, and productive, generally, of very distressing and very fatal consequences. They destroy that amiable benevolence of mind, so becoming humanity, and gradually prepare it for the malignity of a devil. They root out of the heart those social feelings of friendship and affection, on which the happiness of human life so intimately depends, and substitute in their room, rancour, bitterness, and remorse. That pool which was originally transparent, becomes muddy with agitation, and is soon the source of nothing but pestilential and noxious vapours. In all animosities, carried to an excess, there is injustice on both sides; and amidst the fierce exchange of mutual injuries, there ever remains a balance of oppression and violence on one side, to be expiated by the other. The progress to this ultimate result of all dissensions, may be traced without difficulty. Pride, at first, will not allow the person injured, to put up quietly with the offence given—in the heat of anger, therefore, he resolves to retaliate the injury. Not being a proper judge in his own cause, and being animated with resentment, he carries his vengeance farther than the transgression deserved. His adversity now becomes more irritated than ever, magnifies, in his own eyes, the injustice he has met with, and abandoning himself to all the unjust fury of retaliation, repays the offence with redoubled interest. Mutual violence ensues; and their animosity is often terminated only by the most tragical disasters. The original transgression having been thus lost amidst a succe-

sion of ruder outrages, and the sense of it almost totally extinguished in the mind, by that of more recent and intolerable injuries, it is no wonder that the several acts of retaliation should take place without a due attention to justice. Amidst the confusion produced by the operation of the most violent passions of man, it is impossible but that justice should be violated, and consequently, there ever must remain a balance of vengeance due from the one side to the other. Thus, one party ultimately proves the greatest aggressor, the other, the greatest sufferer. When this state of things is deliberately considered, it will finally appear best, ever to remit an offence in time; for it is always easier to put up with the first indignity, which, comparatively speaking, is a slight one, than with a succession of insults and outrages. The anguish of fostering revenge in the heart, and the pleasure of getting clear of the apprehensions of such a situation, are likewise very powerful motives to regulate the conduct of a rational and immortal being. From these reflexions, it is evident, that in all cases where resentment is prosecuted with mutual violence and animosity, the innocent and original sufferer will at all events fare much worse, than if he had quietly acquiesced in the first act of injustice done to him. Hence the unreasonableness of mutual resentments.

There is another weighty reason, why we should early forgive any injury we suppose to be done to us. The most accurately just man on earth, is not allowed to be a proper judge in his own cause. The invincible attachment to self, will make him magnify into a wrong, what was never so intended. Thus, perhaps, by hastily resenting a supposed insult, he commits the first offence, and accordingly becomes the aggressor. Nothing, surely, can be more unhappy, or ought to be more industriously avoided, than a rupture with a fellow-creature, on such a foundation. In this instance, rash and inconsiderate resentment is productive of consequences more to be lamented, than in cases where the origin of the offence can be more clearly determined, and its degree of enormity more unequivocally delineated. We are concerned for the mistaken fury of those, who

abandon themselves to the dictates of what they suppose a just resentment;—and cannot help being deeply inter-elled in behalf of those, who suffer without having ever intended an ill.

But the highest and most exalted of all motives for remitting the offences of others, is, that it is made the express condition, on which our own offences are to be remitted. It is so necessary a part of our duty, that the Saviour of us all, has interwoven it in the body of our daily prayer—"Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," that we might thereby be perpetually reminded of our obligation to discharge it; and it is very wonderful, that any person capable of the least share of religious consideration, should overlook this stumbling-block to his salvation—for unless we can cheerfully pardon the offences of others, we, by our very prayers, stand condemned for our own.

Viewing the subject then in all the light, wherein it can be rationally considered, we are forced to confess, that it is at all times best to be slow to anger—to forgive our enemies before the sense of resentment has taken too deep root in our bosoms, lest the wound, not soon healed, should gangrene and become incurable.

"For every trifle, scorn to take offence, [little sense,
 "That always shews great pride, or
 "Good nature and good sense must always join; [vine!
 "To err, is human—to forgive, divine,
 May, 1789. CIVIS MUNDI.



Account of the culture of tobacco.

I HAVE great pleasure, in gratifying your desire of being informed of the culture of tobacco—an art, that every planter thinks he is a proficient in, but which few rightly understand. A man, who wishes to make fine tobacco, should be very particular in the choice of his seed. I mean as to the kind. I do not know a greater variety of any kind of vegetable than of tobacco; from the sweet scented, the best sort, to the thick-jointed, a coarse kind of tobacco; but of which I think the most can be made. I would recommend to a gentleman who would wish for the

reputation of a good planter, to cultivate the true sweet-scented.

When he has chosen his seed, let him prepare the beds in which he intends to sow it, very fine; when thus prepared, they must be burned with corn-stalks, in order to destroy the seeds of weeds and grass, which, even when he has done the best with his beds, he will find very troublesome and difficult to extirpate. The best time for sowing the seed, is as early after christmas as the weather will permit. When sown in beds, prepared as above directed, which should be done as soon as possible after they are burned, instead of raking-in the seed, the beds should either be patted with boards or gently trodden with naked feet. This being done, the next care is the covering them warmly with cedar or pine brush to defend the young plants from the frost.

After all his trouble and care, the planter's hopes are often blasted by a little fly, which frequently destroys the plants when they first come up, and very often when they are grown to a moderate size—no certain remedy against them has as yet been discovered. I have heard, indeed, that sulphur will destroy them; and I believe it will: but it must be often repeated, and will be too expensive—I have thought, altho' I never have tried it, that a pretty strong infusion of sassafras-root bark sprinkled frequently over the beds, would destroy those insects; and I judge so, because I have experienced its effects upon the lice, a kind of fly that infests cabbages. Drought will also destroy your plants, even where they are large in the beds; the planter should, therefore, before the drought has continued too long, water his plants night and morning, until he has a good rain—You will see then, from these enemies to plants, the necessity of having several beds differently situated, some convenient to water in swamps, and some on high ground well exposed—Those plants, at a proper size, as opportunity offers, are to be transplanted into hills at three feet distance.

Here it may be necessary to give some directions as to preparing the ground to receive the plants; and to inform you, what kind of soil is best adapted to tobacco. The same kind of

land, I think, that is proper for wheat, is so for tobacco, neither of them delighting in a sandy soil. I do not think a clayey stiff soil will suit tobacco; however, let the soil be stiff or light, it ought to be made very rich, by cow-penning it on the sward, or by spreading your farm-yard manure over it. I would recommend that the hills should be made in the autumn, and at about the distance of three feet or three and a half in the row and step: by this means it has a larger surface exposed to the frost, which will assist in the pulverising and fertilizing it—a good hand may very well tend from ten to twelve thousand hills of fresh light land; or from six to ten thousand of stiff land: and I believe where the planter depends upon manuring his land for a crop, he will find it difficult to get even five thousand hills properly manured.

If the planter has time to turn over, in the month of February, the hills which were made in the fall, he will find his advantage in it; but I scarce believe that time will be found.

If the tobacco seed has been sown early in good beds, and those beds properly attended to, you may expect to plant your hills from them in May. The earlier your tobacco is planted, the better, as it will not be fit to cut in less than three months; by planting early, your tobacco will be housed in August, a month, by far the best in the whole year to cut it, as it then cures of a fine bright nutmeg colour, and will have a much better scent than later tobacco. When you perceive your plants large enough to set out, you must prepare your tobacco hills by re-working them, breaking the clods very fine, and then cutting off the top of the hill, so as to have it broad and low; you then clap your hoe upon the top of it, which breaks the small clods.

Having turned as many hills as you think you can plant, with convenience, at one time, you are to wait until a rain comes, ever so little of which, at this season of the year, will be sufficient, provided you can draw your plants from the beds, without breaking. The plants will more readily extend their roots, if set out after a moderate rain, than if planted in a very wet season. Remember that you never prepare more hills than you can

plant the next season ; as fresh-turned hills are best for the plants. In this manner you are to proceed until the whole of your crop is planted. You may continue to plant every season, until the last of June ; but I think you have very little chance of making good tobacco, if you have not your whole quantity planted by that time. After your crop is pitched or planted, in the manner directed, it will require your closest attention. Your tobacco has at this period a very dangerous enemy in a small worm, called the ground-worm, which rises from the ground, and makes great havoc among the young and tender plants, by cutting off and eating the leaves quite into the hill. It sometimes happens that you will have your crop to replant five or six times, before you can get it to stand well. You are then to watch the first rising of the worm ; and every morning, your whole force is to be employed in searching round each plant, and destroying this worm. When your tobacco begins to grow, you must carefully cut down the hills shelving from the plants, and take every weed and wire of grass from around the plants, without disturbing the roots. They will, after this weeding, if the weather is seasonable, grow rapidly. When they have spread over the hills pretty well, and a little before they are fit to top, about four of the under leaves are to be taken off : this we call priming, and then the tobacco must have a hill given to it.

As soon as it can be topped to ten leaves, it must be done, and this by a careful hand well used to the business. He is to suffer his thumb nail to grow to a considerable length, and he may take out the small bud in the top without bruising, leaving ten leaves behind, in the first second topping, or until it grows late for the plant to support so many leaves ; then to fall to eight or even to six : but this the skilful grower will be the best judge of, as it can be only known from experience. You are now to be attacked by another enemy as dangerous and destructive as any : it is the horn-worm, of a green colour ; which grows to a large size, and, if suffered to stay on the plant, will destroy the whole. At first glut of them, as the planters

call it, will be when the tobacco is in the state above mentioned : and your hands must be almost constantly employed in pulling them off, and preventing their increase, but if you have a flock of young turkeys to turn into the field, they will effectually destroy these worms. You are again to hill up your tobacco and lighten the ground between the hills, that the roots of the tobacco may extend themselves with ease. Immediately after topping, your tobacco begins to throw out suckers between the leaves, where they join the stalk : these should be carefully taken off ; for if they are suffered to grow, they greatly exhaust the plant. Not long after the first glut of worms, comes a second, in greater quantities than the former, and must be treated in the same manner.

Tobacco, thus managed, will begin to ripen in the month of August, when it is to be cut, as it ripens, in order to be housed :—but you should have a very skilful set of cutters, who know well, when tobacco is ripe : for, if it be cut before it is full ripe, it will never cure of a good colour, and will rot in the hoghead, after it is prized. The tobacco, when ripe, changes its colour and looks greyish ; the leaf feels thick, and if pressed between the finger and thumb will easily crack ; but experience alone can enable a person to judge when tobacco is fully ripe.

I think the best time to cut tobacco, is the afternoon, when the sun has not power to burn it, but only causes the leaves to be supple, that they may be handled without breaking. It should then remain on the ground all night ; the next morning, after the dew is off, and before the sun has power to burn it, it must be picked up, but there should be no appearance of rain the preceding night : for should a heavy rain fall upon the tobacco, when lying on the ground, it will injure it greatly, by filling it with grit, and perhaps bruising it. Tobacco is indeed generally cut in the morning : but in this case it must be watched very narrowly, and picked up, and put in small heaps on the ground, before it begins to burn ; for if it be scorched by the sun, it is good for nothing.

There are different methods taken in the management of tobacco, immediately after being cut, and suffi-

ciently killed by the sun for handling. Some hang it upon fences until it is nearly half-cured, before they carry it to hang up in houses, built for the purpose: but this mode I do not approve of, as the leaves are too much exposed to the sun, and are apt to be injured. A much better method is, to have scaffolds made close to the house you intend to cure your tobacco in: and having a sufficient number of tobacco-sticks, of about four feet and a half long, and an inch thick—you bring in your tobacco from the field, and putting from ten to fourteen or fifteen plants upon a stick, you fix the sticks upon this scaffold, about nine inches one from another. There the tobacco remains until the leaves turn yellow. By this method you prevent the sun from coming to the leaves, and the rays only fall on the stalks. After remaining a sufficient time, you remove the sticks, with the tobacco on them, into the house, and fix them where they are to remain, until the tobacco be fully cured.

The houses, built for the tobacco, are from thirty to sixty feet long, and about twenty feet wide: the roof has wind beams about four feet distance, to fix the sticks on: and contrived at proper spaces, to receive the whole of the tobacco, until the house is full; so that there be a space of six inches between the tails of the upper plants and heads of the lower, for the air to pass through.

If a person has house-room enough, I would advise, that the tobacco should have no sun, but be carried into the house, immediately after it is killed, and there hung upon the sticks. But, in this case, the plants should be very few on the sticks, and the sticks at a greater distance from each other: for tobacco is very apt to be injured in the house, if hung too close in a green state. If a crop could be cured in this way, without sun, its colour would be more bright, and the flavour finer, the whole juices being preserved unexhaled by the sun.

When your tobacco is fully cured in the house, which may be known by the colour of the leaf, and the dryness of the stem, it may be then stripped from the stalk, when it is in a proper state, that is, in a season which moistens it, so as it can be handled. As soon as the tobacco is so pliant,

that it can be handled without breaking the leaves, it is to be struck from the sticks, put in bulk, until it is stripped from the stalk; which, in the earlier part of the year, should be immediately done, lest the stalks, which are green, should injure the leaf. If the tobacco is too high in case when it is struck, it will be apt to rot when it gets into a sweat. One thing should be particularly attended to, and that is, it should be struck as it first comes into case, for if it hangs, until it is too high, or moist, and you should wait until the moisture dries away to the state I advise it to be in when you strike it, it will most certainly, when in bulk, return to its full state of moisture: and therefore it should hang until it is perfectly dry; and you are to wait till another season arrives to put it in proper case.

The next thing to be done after the tobacco is struck, as I have said, is to strip it: and here you are to be particularly attentive. All the indifferer leaves are first to be pulled from the stalk, by sorters well acquainted with the business, and tied by themselves to be afterwards stemmed. The plan with the fine leaves, is to be thrown to the strippers: they are to strip off the leaves, and tie up five leaves in a bundle, with one of equal goodness. When you have got enough for a hoghead, which I advise not to be more than a thousand weight, it should immediately be packed up with very great care, and prized. Your hogheads should be made of staves not exceeding forty-eight inches long; and a head ought not to be more than from thirty to thirty-two inches in diameter. No directions can be given here for the picking; it can only be learned from practice. If more tobacco than I here recommend, be prized in a hoghead it will be apt to be spoiled—a circumstance which should carefully be avoided.

I am, with great respect,

RICHARD PARKER

To the president of the Philadelphia agricultural society.

Lawfield, (Virginia) May 29, 1791.

Published by order of the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture.

S. P. GRIFFITHS, sc

Extracts from an essay entitled, "national arithmetic, or observations on the finances of the commonwealth of Massachusetts." P. 473.

CHAP. V.

Bounties and rewards proposed on several articles which are, or may be raised and manufactured in the commonwealth. Encouragement to new settlers: to artists: to poor labouring strangers, and to the owners of such vessels as bring those into the state.

THE wealth of any country consists in its being able to produce every article of necessary consumption, and in its having an excess to export. Few are blessed with climate and advantages to afford these: those, therefore, that are the best adapted to these purposes, are the most favoured, and best calculated to support a large people.

A state, like Massachusetts, abounding in fertile plains, calculated by nature, for the culture of hemp and flax, above half of her surface pasture land, suitable for the raising of horned cattle and sheep—a great part mountainous, and hilly, well fitted for the grape vine—the whole secured by an extensive sea coast, sheltered by rocks, and those rocks covered with sea weed, fit for kelp, surely has advantages, which, if improved, would make her the first state in the union. Even our wildest rocky land yields something profitable, namely, the barrilla, or sweet fern, which, though a weed little esteemed amongst us, would, if collected and properly cured, be very valuable.

In order to give a spring to agriculture, it is necessary, that the government, or some society purposely established, should recompense the most industrious, adventurous, and patriotic in that art. Bounties and rewards have been given in Great Britain, for the encouragement of every branch of agriculture, and patents are daily granted by the king, for the most trivial discovery in the mechanic arts. These liberalities, and exclusive privileges, have advanced that nation, to that immense height to which she has arrived: and we, from policy, and good example, ought to follow her.

VOL. V.

When bounties have been proposed by the legislature, to be given to those who should be found to have raised the largest quantities of wheat, hemp, and other natural commodities, and to such as should have manufactured salt, &c. that pernicious, ever-intruding objection, has occurred, that there was no money to pay them; and, as granting bounties, without being able to discharge the same, rather tends to discourage than to promote the end intended, a delay or denial has ever happened, excepting in the case of the whale oil bounty, and in the clock jack manufactory; and it is certain, that the treasurer's certificates, which have been given for the oil bounty, have, in common with all his other securities, depreciated, from a defect in punctuality, and want of confidence in the government, to which he is an incessantly faithful officer.

As a remedy against the unwillingness to grant, and the want of ability in the legislature to pay, such bounties, it is proposed, in imitation of the society for promoting agriculture, &c. in Great Britain, that a similar society be established in this commonwealth, which shall consist of members, possessed of landed property, and of others engaged in branches of useful labour, but whose propensities are, to promote every branch of beneficial manufacture and husbandry; which may be divided into county societies; these to have liberty of sending one or more delegates to a general convention, of all the societies, who should communicate annually the discoveries and improvements made by each in the great art of husbandry and agriculture. Their approved experiments and knowledge may be published once a year for the immediate benefit of the members, and the general good of the community. Whoever should become a member of the society, should be bound to pay the small sum of one quarter of a dollar at each meeting, which should be once in three months; and this sum, though small, yet would be found to be infinitely more beneficial and effectual, than the mode adopted by the committee for encouraging agriculture, which is now operating under that of the American academy of arts and sciences, and is at

tempting to supply the want of such a society as that proposed; but the little progress they have made in collecting subscriptions the last year, (the whole not amounting to three hundred dollars) must prove the inefficacy of the plan. The proposed quarter of a dollar, every three months, it is supposed, would raise ten thousand dollars yearly. The ground of which supposition is, that in the commonwealth, there are upwards of sixty thousand families, a sixth part of whom, on a very moderate estimate, would become members of a society for promoting agriculture; a much greater number being freeholders, whose farms separately are worth one thousand dollars or upwards, and whose interest, and the interest of every member of the community it is, to see such a society flourish and increase. The sum of ten thousand dollars, paid yearly in rewards and bounties to those who should be found most deserving of them, would give such a spring to ambition for rivalry, as would introduce in a short time, the most ample supplies of hemp, and of every other article to which our soil and climate are congenial; which, when once introduced into the common mode of agriculture, would be found so profitable, that without any of the society's largesses, they would naturally be attended to, and be pursued afterwards.

This new society is proposed, from a sentiment generally entertained, that the plan of a committee under the academy, will not finally succeed; for if, as has been the case, men of the greatest fortunes, abilities, and influence, have been engaged in courting subscriptions during the year past, and have not collected three hundred dollars, surely no person can possess the thought, that any other set of men will succeed better hereafter.

It is not improbable, that the true cause of their failing of success, may be this, the people are impressed with an idea, that the academy cannot give that attention to agriculture, which the nature of it requires, since their views (as an academy of arts and sciences) comprehend universal investigation. Agriculture, in the minds of many persons, will of itself produce business enough to occupy the time

and attentions of a society: it is our greatest dependence, and if properly pursued, must be a fruitful source of good to us. And without meaning the smallest disrespect to the academy, it may reasonably be supposed, that most of its members must (indeed many of them have expressed it) judge, that to have that for the encouraging of agriculture by itself, would be best. Nay, the first report of the committee appointed by the academy, to consider this business, if misinformation has not been given, was to that effect. But this is by way of digression.

There are a number of articles, to the cultivation and production of which, this country is by nature adapted, and with respect to which we are greatly deficient, say, hemp, flax, the grape-vine, wheat, rye, and cider; and the manufacture of pot and pearl-aloes, kelp, barilla, or barilla, iron-work, salt and duck; and the raising of sheep.

For hemp, and duck, large quantities of specie are exported annually, whilst we are taught by experience, that hemp can be raised here with as much facility as on the cold plains of the Russian empire, and to much greater benefit, than any other article in the farming branch.

A calculation, in two lines, of the value of the produce of an acre of hemp and an acre of Indian corn (the raising which articles, are the most profitable of any of our present labours in agriculture) will most strikingly demonstrate the error in which we have so long dwelt; and here let it be observed, that the labour necessary to be bestowed on each, is very nearly equal; with this difference, that what little hemp requires more than corn, is overbalanced, by its being performed in winter, when but little other business can be done, and on that account alone, ought to be preferred to corn; it being better that a people should work for little, than be idle, and earn nothing.

An acre of corn, in the best prepared ground, and in the most favourable soil, is thought to yield a very great produce, when forty bushels are obtained in a crop, which at three shillings and four pence per bushel, is six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence.

An acre of hemp in very ordinary

ground, taking the disadvantage of our unacquaintedness with its cultivation, will yield eight hundred weight, which at six dollars per hundred weight, amount to fourteen pounds eight shillings.

Here note, that the corn has been calculated much above the average price, and the hemp much below the accustomed rates; and yet there is a difference of more than two to one, in favour of hemp.

In our long winters, duck could be manufactured by any person. The old and the blind might, for aught that is wanted, as to the exercise of strength or sight, spin the threads; being coarse, it requires but little art or care to form it, and of all ages, spinners might be employed in their leisure hours, or in their full employ, in making it either for sail, or other finer hemp cloth. The weaving of it is easily effected, as the web is very narrow, and no bleaching required.

Flax is natural to our soil, and has been raised to the greatest profit. To mention the method of curing, and value, when dressed, of this necessary article, is needless, as it is to be hoped every good husbandman raises some yearly, and employs himself, his men, and lads, in breaking and cleaning, and his wife, daughters, and girls, in spinning, and making it into cloth.

It is much to be wished, that a flax mill was erected, in order to do, with the attendance of one or two men, what possibly forty or fifty hands could not effect in the same space of time. In Europe, there are mills for breaking, hackling, and cleaning flax, which might be made here, to go by wind or water, at a trifling expense.

The grape, from experience, may be cultivated to very great advantage, from which, all our common wine might be expressed and prepared, to the saving of a very large sum now annually given to foreigners, for that article. The grape is peculiarly adapted to this commonwealth, as it thrives best in a hilly, hard, cold, chalky soil; much of which is to be found in every direction through the state: to have a southern aspect is best. A fine large, strong, sweet water vine, has been known to be killed by laying horse dung round the roots;

whilst chalk or sand, or lime, gravel, and mouldered bricks, taken from old buildings, have made another thrive and flourish. The inhospitable mountains of Switzerland, one would think, were not more friendly to nourishing the grape, than our more southern hills, and yet there every spot between the rocks, where apparently there is not soil to support any vegetation, is planted, and the most luxuriant vines, bending to their roots by the weight of the grapes they bear, are cultivated. In three years after the cuttings are set, grapes might be gathered in considerable quantities; and as the vine must be pruned every year, large numbers of sets are lopped off, which, if preserved, would be sufficient to supply the demand for them, even were this branch of agriculture generally to take. Indeed, any person who has grape vines in full growth, at this moment, could, from their trimmings every spring, supply thousands of layers to new planters. And here let it be observed, that in case any should neglect to prune his grape vines, till the sap has begun to rise, or vegetation to operate, and he then does it, (and without they are trimmed every year no fruit can be expected) every branch so cut, will bleed, and if not stopped, will destroy the vine; to prevent which, I would recommend brick dust* to be applied to the wounds until the bleeding ceases. To avoid any thing of the kind happening, it is best, in this state, to finish trimming the vines by the first of March; it is usually left till the tenth or twelfth. But in this, as in all other prunings, it may be best done, when most at leisure, during the winter; for no vine, or tree, will receive damage by being pruned when the sap is not rising, or not about to rise. Three joints of the last year's growth, ought to be left on every healthy branch, and the dead or withered branches cut off.

Wheat and rye are well known in some counties, to be almost the only productions of the farmer's labour, and may by proper encouragement be increased to such a quantity, as amply to supply the other parts of the com-

NOTE.

* See the complete gardener—article grapes.

monwealth, in which those articles, so necessary to furnish bread to the inhabitants, are not commonly raised. And whilst it would be a saving of great sums that are paid to our neighbours for flour, it would also secure us, in case of invasion by sea, from the want of the staff of life.

Cider might, by a little, a very little attention, be increased to any quantity. Apple trees thrive on any soil, grow in any situation (but it is, at first setting out, as easy to give them a good one, as a bad one) and may be cultivated with so little trouble, as is hardly worth naming. The West Indies, and the more southern states, which are too warm to produce apple in perfection, or great quantity, might, in a few years, be furnished with a sufficiency for their whole consumption, and that of the best kinds. This is proved by those who give themselves a little trouble in the choice of their fruit, in excluding, in the making of their cider, all that are rotten or fetid—in drawing it frequently from off the lees, and then in fining it. Such as follow this mode, have that which is superior, both in flavour and sweetness, to the best Herefordshire cider, which sells in London currently, at five pounds a pipe; nay, there are some of my neighbours, who have lately sold cider of three years old, at eight dollars per barrel, and this might, as has been hinted, be the case with every farmer, were he only to take a little pains. But luxury and ease being every man's pursuit, and the necessities and comforts of life being so easily had as they are in this state, and being possessed by almost every man, new method, if they occasion additional trouble or attention, will ever be rejected, until the people are taught to value the produce of their labour higher, by having more pressing and unavoidable calls upon them for it.

The raising of sheep should be an important object with the farmer. They are the most profitable part of his flock. A good store sheep will pay its cost in the first shearing; so that the lamb, and all the after advantages, are real gain. Besides, their summer maintenance may be in fields, which, after having been shorn bare by horned cattle, still afford sufficient sustenance

for them. An excess of wool, more than is wanted for home use, would soon appear at market, were every farmer to attend to the breeding of sheep; and it is astonishing, that so provident a set of men as the farmers, who, in most countries, are the most industrious in the community, should have neglected this so long. If many have not fields, whereon to support large flocks, yet every one can keep a few followers with his cows, and breed them up in his yard, which would probably be more than sufficient to supply wool for his family consumption.

Pot and pearl ashes are articles which once formed a very large export from this state, and might, again, were the people to apply themselves to saving the ashes made in their houses, and to preserving such as might be gathered from the wood burned in the forests, and newly cleared lands. If a new settler would be at the pains to collect the ashes, he might, in order to save the trouble of transporting them to the works, set leeches where the ashes lie, and carry the lees to the kettles. This attended to, would pay for a considerable part of the labour in clearing the land, and particularly so in the inland country, where most of the trees are burned, for want of a handy market for the timber and fire wood.

Kelp is what this state may be much benefited by, and what no individual has ever taken the advantage of. The extensive sea coast, and the numerous rocks and islands upon it, are covered with rock weed, which, by calcination, is reduced to kelp*, the salts of which are more valuable than those

NOTE.

* “ Kelp is made of the different
“ sorts of sea weeds thrown upon the
“ shore, or gathered upon the rocks,
“ which must be dried a little in the
“ sun, and afterwards burnt in a kiln,
“ built of stones found on the shore,
“ in a cylindrical form, and about two
“ feet or less in diameter. In this is
“ burnt a small parcel of the herb, and
“ before it is reduced to ashes, more
“ is thrown on till the kiln is full, or
“ the materials are expended. This
“ reduces the ashes to a hard and solid
“ cake, by the heat of the kiln and

of pot, and are of as high a rate as those of pearl ashes, in their most perfect state; and this is exhaustless, as the weed pulled this year, does not lessen the quantity the next.

Barilla is made from a weed, commonly called sweet fern, and is so generally produced in the commonwealth, that it is believed, there is not a proprietor of land, who does not own some of it. This pulled when ripe, and laid in the sun till completely dried, may be burned to ashes, and salts may be made from it, in the same manner as pot ash salts are made from wood ashes; and being in great estimation for making mirror or looking glass stones, may become a very valuable commodity, hitherto unknown to this country.

Iron articles and implements, as, nails, nail rods, spades, axes, scythes, and most kinds of edged tools, that are needed in this country, are manufactured in great perfection in this state, and found to be of better quality and more durable, than those imported. Many more could be made, and almost all kinds of rough iron ware, as hinges, latches, &c. was the importation of such prohibited, and this is strongly recommended, because the rough material is within ourselves; which, as all wise governments do, we should retain and manufacture, at least in such quantities, as to supply the inhabitants within the commonwealth.

Great Britain, a few centuries ago,

NOTES.

“quantity of salt in the herb.” Tucker, on commerce. Thus the kelp is reduced to a kind of pot ash, which is used for making allum, common glass bottles and hard soap.

+ “Barilla. “When this plant “is grown to its pitch, it is cut down, “and let dry, afterwards it is burnt “and calcined in pits, like lime kilns, “dug in the ground for that purpose, “which are closely covered up with “earth, so that no air may come at “the fire. The matter by this means “is not reduced into ashes only, but “is made into a very hard stone, like “rock salt, which is forced to be “broken with hammers to get it out.” Chambers, on glass and soap manufactory.

used to export most of her wool to Germany, to have it wrought into different kinds of cloth. Finding herself drained of cash to pay for the wool, when so manufactured, and to put an end to so ruinous a trade, she prohibited the exportation of wool, and continued the old, or granted new encouragement for the raising that staple, which created and now supports the principal part of her profitable trade; it consequentially brought into England those very men, who, before such restrictions, were maintained by the woollen manufactories in their own nation. The nice relation there is between political, as well as natural causes and their effects, and that one country cannot long be independent on another which supplies her with the necessaries of life—especially when those necessaries are grounded upon an article furnished primarily by the one so supplied, is sufficiently proved in the instance of Germany, which, before the prohibitory exportation mentioned, supplied England with woollen clothing, but now imports from Great Britain those very articles, which she so lately supplied her with.

Salt—by which is meant, that prepared by fire, and that made in bays, might be manufactured in such quantities, as fully to answer the demand of all the people in the commonwealth, if not in the neighbouring states, who have but little sea coast, and consequently small advantages for making salt. Every one may remember, that during the late war, foreign-made salt rose to the enormous price of four and five dollars a bushel, which might have been furnished by ourselves at one and four pence or one and six pence. The uncultivated lands, round the salt water rivers, and on the sea shore, afford much wood, not fit for market, and even that which is suitable, yields abundance of brush, or limbs, not proper for sale, or for any other purpose, than to burn on the spot. Such wood would answer very well to boil sea water into confirmed salt. The expense of clearing the land, where marine water may be easily had, as well as the first purchase of the land, might be paid for, by the brush and small wood being applied in this manner. The salt-pans might be removed

from place to place, on the shore, where fuel is most convenient, and the salt be manufactured under a light moveable covering or shed. Hence the country would be furnished with one of the most necessary articles in life, and the danger of a scarcity of it, in time of war, be provided against. Besides, a large source of opulence would be thus opened to all those who have, or may purchase lands in the eastern territory of this commonwealth.

Bay salt* (as is evident from actual experiments) might also be made in very large quantities, sufficient, if the making thereof is duly encouraged, to supply our fisheries.

Having enumerated a few of those articles, which, by a little attention of individuals, and by proper encouragement from the legislature, might be cultivated and manufactured within ourselves; it is earnestly recommended, in the first place, to all the citizens in the commonwealth, who follow the noble and healthy business of husbandry, to begin with small experiments, for fear of meeting with discouragement by failing in the first attempt; and to endeavour to raise such of those articles mentioned, as are most within their power, and as their soil and situation are best adapted to. They may all in common raise flax, hemp, the grape, and apple orchards.

The wisdom of the legislature will dictate what encouragement ought to be given to the above-mentioned la-

bours and manufactures, both as to mode and degree. Though it cannot but be hoped and ardently wished, that they may grant a charter, or act of incorporation, to a number of persons who shall form a society for the promotion of agriculture and the manufactures. This would, undoubtedly, in a considerable degree, remove those obstacles in the way of encouraging them, which arise from the poverty of the state treasury; as voluntary contributions might be obtained, for this purpose: those collected in small sums from the pockets of many, might be amply sufficient to reward, by adequate bounties, the industry and adventure of those, who should be found to have raised the largest quantity of hemp, flax, &c. or who should have for sale the largest quantity of sheep's wool, shorn from sheep of their own raising; or who should produce the first two or more pieces of duck of their own manufacturing; or who should produce the first barrel or largest quantity of wine, expressed from grapes of their own raising; or who should produce proper certificates of the largest quantities of wheat or rye, raised on one or more acres of ground; or who should produce like testimonies of the largest quantity of cider made from trees planted on a certain quantity of ground and of a certain age; or who should manufacture in one year, from an equal number of kettles, the largest quantity of pot-ash; or who should manufacture the first ton of kelp; or the first ton of barilla, or their salts.

An act ought to be passed, prohibiting the importation of, or laying a duty on, fine salt imported, to be applied as a bounty on that which should be manufactured in the commonwealth; as well as on nails, farming tools, and other coarse iron work imported.

In order effectually to encourage the raising of sheep, it would be well for our legislature to interdict for some years, the killing of ewe lambs, and ewes under a certain age; and to exclude from taxation, the value and all the profits arising from the breeding of sheep, and the cultivation of hemp, flax, and the wine grape, as well as from the manufacturing of duck, kelp, and barilla.

NOTE.

* "The common method of making bay salt, is, by extracting the salt from sea water during the hottest months of the year, by receiving the salt water into ponds, and suffering its aqueous parts thence to exhale by the heat of the sun and the operation of the air and winds." Tucker on salt. Several ponds of different depths might be made, into the deepest of which the sea water may be drawn, and when it has evaporated in that for some time, it may be drawn into the next, and so continued till it forms crystals or grains like the French salt; or, after being made into a strong brine by this process, it may very easily be granulated by boiling. Care must be taken to prevent rain from falling into the ponds.

A reward of some other kind than a pecuniary one, might operate with many, more powerfully than money, and at the same time cost the state nothing; for instance, as in China, which is the only government on earth as yet known, where merit is the criterion of office, and where agriculture is held as the most honourable employment, and the true riches of the country, where the emperor, in order to set an example, and to shew how much the cultivation of the soil is esteemed by him, thinks it no derogation of royalty to hold the plough before his people, which he does on a day set apart for the sole purpose of celebrating the memory of him who first tilled the land; in this country, certain titles and offices of honour, might be conferred on those who should be found most industrious in promoting agriculture and manufactures; it would likewise tend greatly to give a taste for farming, were our governors and officers of state to set an example, as the Chinese sovereign does—whose pattern makes the plough the most honourable profession.

Every wise government has encouraged mechanics, labourers, and new settlers, to emigrate into it: it is particularly the interest of a young country like America, so to do. Whether the policy which this commonwealth, since it has been an independent state, and when it was a province of Great Britain, has adopted, of discouraging the importation of servants into it, is wise or not, I shall not take upon me to say; but thus much may be ventured to be advanced, that Pennsylvania, which was settled a long time after the Massachusetts, has increased in agriculture and in numbers, which are the most durable riches, in a much greater ratio, than we have; and this is conceived to arise from the great encouragement given to settlers from every country. Since the late peace she has received above twenty thousand good subjects from Germany, Ireland, and Scotland; and this state possibly not one hundred. The Pennsylvania laws very wisely excuse for a number of years (and it would surely be sound policy in this state to establish a similar exemption) all new settlers from public contributions; thus, giving them time

to get so fixed, as, from their labour in clearing and cultivating the ground, to be able to pay taxes without feeling them. The farmer in that state can much better afford to pay assessments, and can carry his produce much cheaper to market, than those in this state can, from the single circumstance, of his being able to hire foreigners, who have emigrated to that state, at a quarter part of what we can hire equal help in this; and were we to adopt similar measures, doubtless similar effects would be produced, and thus the weighty and numerous complaints of inability to discharge public and necessary calls for money, would be removed, and the greatest security and riches insured to the commonwealth, by an increase of useful, honest, laborious citizens. It was astonishing to see, some years ago, a motion tending to so happy a consequence, rejected in the lower house. The wretched narrow policy that governed the decision of that question, if persisted in, will keep the commonwealth in constant poverty, and must eventually force them to be slaves or rebels. On sober reflexion, it cannot be a matter of doubt with any member of the legislature, whether it is most for the interest of the people to pay five or ten guineas for three years help, or sixty or seventy dollars for one year, and thus widely different is the farmer's help in Pennsylvania from that of Massachusetts. Hence it comes to pass, that that state is able to maintain her public payments and credit. Every one, therefore, must declare an earnest and unceasing desire, that our legislature may repeal all laws restricting the emigration of foreigners into the commonwealth, and make a new one, excusing for a certain number of years, all industrious labourers and servants, or artists and mechanics, who may come and settle amongst us, from paying any kind of tax whatever.

Further, as an encouragement to the owners of ships, it is proposed, that every one who may bring any such persons into the state, shall have, for each one so brought in, two tons of the vessel's burden excused from the tonnage duty, laid by a late act of the general assembly.

Domestic servants and labourers

are so much wanted, that almost any number of such would meet with ready employment; and if the restrictions were taken off, and the proposed encouragement allowed, many loads of such passengers would doubtless come here instead of going to those parts, where the climate is more unhealthy, and the purchasers of indentures fewer. And as so great a saving in point of interest, would be made with respect to the farmer and every house-keeper, by their being able to hire a good labourer for three years, at the same rate they are obliged to hire a lazy, impudent one, for one year, it is not doubted, but that a general voice will be heard, in favour of the proposal made; and that the legislative body will soon open that door, which might give so much relief to the people.

(To be continued.)

A series of letters on the establishment of the worship of the Deity, as essential to national happiness.
P. 458.

BY AN AMERICAN.

*Quid leges sine moribus
Vanæ proficiunt? Hor. Car.*

LETTER VI.

Dear sir,

THERE were about seven hundred clergymen in the New England states, at the commencement of the late war, who were gentlemen of a regular and public education. It has been thought, that this class of men had a very considerable share in those exertions, by which, under providence, the late revolution so gloriously terminated; at least the British on all occasions, both in Great Britain and America, did them the honour to place them nearly at the head of the rebellion, as they were pleased to term it; and their mercenary troops on this continent, every where, made them the mark of their bitterest execrations; and by their hands, some of the clergy, taken unarmed, fell martyrs to the glorious cause of liberty. Where their persons were not in their power, those edifices, in which they with their congregations, worshipped the God of their fathers, and to which the enemy had access, felt the effects of that rage, which had the clergy prin-

cipally for its object. Neither were the several classes of people throughout these states, divested of all idea of the importance of their influence, and the weight which they bore of the public burden. They have been often called upon, and freely gave their aid in the line of their profession. It has been thought, but perhaps it may have been no more than fancy, that, had the body of the clergy of this country resisted the public measures, or refused to lend their aid to rouse the people to an opposition to Great Britain, our politicians might have harangued on the blessings of liberty to this day, and not have raised a single regiment of troops. Whether this supposition is probable or not, I will not undertake to determine; neither will I be so uncharitable as to say, that our wise statesmen and illustrious patriots, having accomplished their purposes, (thanks be to heaven!) and found themselves comfortable in their seats, have suffered the clergy, as the reward of their wisdom and perseverance in the cause, to share the fate of the poor wise man, whom Solomon mentions, who, by his wisdom, saved a city, and was forgotten. I shall not take up your time to enquire, what effect this disposition, in the higher class, towards the clergy, may have had upon the body of the people, who soon catch the manners of the great; or, whether it may be considered as one cause of the present general neglect, shewn by the latter, of the duties of religion, and that contempt poured upon the ministerial character, by no inconsiderable number, in all parts.

One state is pleased, in its new constitution, to mention the clergy; but it is to let them and the world know, that they are never to have a seat in its legislature; these are its words; and this was well enough, had but a word been said in their favour, either under that or any other article of its constitution: but as it stands without qualification or explanation, one would conclude that the clergy were a very dangerous sort of people.

In another of the states, those towns and parishes which are so unfortunate as to have ministers, whom they settled before the new constitution took place, will be under the ne-

cessity of effecting a revolution which must terminate in the dismissal of such ministers, in order to be on equal terms with those towns and parishes, if any such there shall be, who shall settle such sort of people among them after the constitution began its operation: for before the new constitution, every man in a town or parish, unless he belonged to some other denomination of religious, was obliged to pay to the support of the minister of the place; but the constitution gives freedom in this respect, after June 1784, from which time it appears, that if any individuals in a town shall choose to put themselves to the expense and trouble of settling a minister, they may take care of him who shall so choose. It is presumed that the number of such as shall have a sufficient stock of zeal to go on to settle and support public worship in their respective towns, will be very small. Happy days for those who have long wished for such a favourable opportunity to shake off the burden of the support of the clergy! In that state, and other states where the regulation in this respect is similar, the ministers of religion must be supported by subscription, that is, if there shall be any such sort of men to provide for.

Before the late war, about one-third of all the youth of public education entered into the ministry; but now, whether it be owing to these and similar causes, or to the want of religious zeal, and willingness to submit to mortifications and self denials like those to which the primitive preachers of christianity submitted, but without their miraculous supports—or to whatever cause, the young gentlemen from our colleges (although those colleges were originally designed principally to qualify young men for the church) now steer clear of this calling, with the caution with which a pilot shuns a sunken rock or a dangerous shoal.

I am, &c.



LETTER VII.

Dear Sir,

THE plan proposed in these letters, as it contains many and great advantages derived to society at large, does not take away a single iota of either the civil or religious liberties

VOL. V.

or privileges of individuals or societies. It calls for nothing more than is now paid: it proposes a more equitable mode of payment, by which those societies, which now support the ministers of religion by rates, or subscription, will have less to pay, because every taxable person or estate in the community will throw into the public treasury its proportion. The mode of payment will also be as easy for the parishioner; for an order from his minister, drawn on the treasurer or collector in his favour, will be accepted for his tax equally with so much money.

This plan interferes not with the powers of ecclesiastic bodies. Synods, associations, conventions, and presbyteries, will still retain all their jurisdiction and authority; and the people the same power of calling, settling, and dismissing their minister, which they now have. None but themselves (so many as are desirous to unite in a congregation) will choose their own teachers.

The civil authority will, on this plan, have nothing to do with the religion of the subject; he may be of any religion, which is outwardly peaceable, or of no religion; paying his proportion to the support of an institution necessary to the existence and happiness of society, is all which the civil authority will require of him*.

This plan establishes no creed or formula of worship, or discipline; it gives perfect freedom to sentiment and speculation; it invites to its protecting wings all peaceable and good men of all denominations on the globe; it gives equal liberty to a virtuous congregation, emigrating hither from Persia, headed by a bramin, or of Mussulmen from Constantinople. It treats all mankind, as the genius of the gospel treats them, with mildness and friendship.

Such a plan appears most consonant to the benevolent spirit of genuine christianity, as well as of good policy, neither of which claim justifi-

NOTE.

* Those towns or societies which have established funds for the support of public worship, some instances of which there are in the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, will of course be exempted from the tax.

dictation over the religious sentiments of men.

Should these states adopt such a catholic and liberal system, they would merit and receive the applause of the wise and good of all nations on the earth. Such universal religious liberty, so well guarded, and calculated to promote the ends of good government, the happiness of the people, would be a new and glorious phenomenon in this western world, giving to our nation a lustre, brighter, if possible, than that which it hath, through the divine benignity, already acquired, to the admiration, and perhaps, happily, to the imitation of the now enslaved nations of the earth.

May heaven honour our nation by permitting us to take the lead in these divinely benevolent walks, as the prelude to the opening scenes of future felicity and glory which we trust are hastening on.

I have, sir, given you my thoughts on the necessity of our paying, as a nation, some regard to the Deity. May some abler pen or tongue do justice to the subject, and give an universal impression of its importance!

It is now a time of peace; a proper season for cool reflexion, and for adopting such regulations as shall secure the smiles of heaven in the continuance of national prosperity. It was at such period as this, that the benevolent and divine founder of our religion appeared and left us a system calculated to diffuse harmony, concord, and happiness through our disordered world.

To obtain our highest happiness as a nation, public virtue is indispensable, and the only means to that end. In order to this, mankind must be taught the knowledge of God, their duty, and their happiness. Without a remedy from the hand of authority, the threatening dangers will probably increase. If it is in the power of a few mercenary individuals to prevent the means of public instruction in towns and parishes—if the support of the ministers of religion is withheld, or their scanty subsistence rendered precarious, and esteemed the greatest burden a people groan under—if, when persons devote themselves to the work of the ministry, “they court poverty, and

entail penury and dependence on their families*,” while the road to affluence lies open to other professions—it will not be long before there will be a total want of persons qualified to enlighten mankind, or they will have only such as, in point of knowledge and every other necessary qualification, will be the lowest of the people. Our happy days will be lost in a dreadful night of darkness; the body of the people will be infidels and fanatics; the cheapest religion will be sought; or no religious worship be found; or in those places where we were once charmed to the love of virtue, by the simple majesty of truth, adorned with the energy of a persuasive eloquence, will then, alas! be heard nothing but the noise of doleful creatures.

Vox et praeterea nihil.

I am, &c.



Observations relative to a commercial treaty with Great Britain, &c. &c. written in 1784. By James M^r Henry, esq.—P. 467.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

NUMBER III.

BUT the following statement is superior to all general reasonings, and must convince the candid and unprejudiced mind, that America is justly entitled to concessions from Great Britain, equivalent to the advantages we must forego by a renewal of former trading connexions. We shall begin with Spain.

Articles which America can import cheaper from Spain than from Great Britain:

Black cravats and silk handkerchiefs of all kinds from Barcelona; silk velvets, and other wrought silks, at the ports within the Straits; some wines, such as sherry and malaga; brandy; fruits—lemons, oranges, figs, raisins, currants, almonds, capers, olives; salad or eating oil from Cadiz and St. Ubes, with anchovies and other products of Italy and the Levant.

Our usual exports to Spain, are

White oak pipe slaves, with some barrel and hoghead slaves, wheat, In-

NOTE.

* Pemberton's sermon.

dian corn, rice, flour, bees wax, some tobacco, dried cod-fish, and fish oil, masts and spars, naval stores, viz. pitch, tar, turpentine, resin, &c. Spain also purchases American built ships in her ports, and these chiefly of the greatest burden.

Articles which America can import cheaper from Portugal than from Great Britain.

All the fruits and oils abovementioned, together with all the productions of Italy and the Levant; salt from Lisbon, wines, brandy. America can also have from Lisbon, teas and nankeens much cheaper than from England, and several East India manufactures.

Our exports to Portugal the same as to Spain. Portugal also purchases American built ships, chiefly of the largest size.

Articles which America can import cheaper from France than from Great Britain :

Wrought silks of all denominations, (perhaps gauze excepted) superfine broadcloths, particularly those made at Abbeville; calicoes and chintz; printed goods; linen handkerchiefs; linens, a great variety, especially those of a middling quality, among which are, sheeting and house linen, britannias, rovalles, platillas, pontivy linens, &c. &c. cambricks, lawns, kentings, sewing threads, particularly white threads, thread lace, fine and common; blond and black silk lace, leather gloves and mits, particularly the kid and dogskin; cotton fabrics; of these, France manufactures a great variety, and in considerable quantities, some of them cheaper, some not quite so cheap, as the English, but all of them of a superior quality; a few manufactures of iron, particularly large nails; salt, writing paper, brandy, wines of various kinds: at Marseilles, and the ports of France in the Mediterranean, may be had, fruits, oils, and the products of Italy and the Levant.

L'Orient is the great East India market, and furnishes teas and several kinds of East India goods, cheaper than we can get them from England. We can also import from thence, silk, cotton, and thread men and women's hose.

Our exports to France are chiefly

Tobacco, rice, indigo, dried cod fish, fish oil, slaves, bees wax, flour, wheat, Indian corn, peltry, naval stores, masts and spars, pot and pearl ashes, shipping.

Articles which America can import cheaper from Germany than from Great Britain.

Among these we may reckon several kinds of linen, cotton, and woollen manufactures, glass, copper, and some iron manufactures.

Our exports to Germany will consist chiefly of tobacco, indigo, naval stores, spermaceti candles, bees wax, peltry, slaves, and particularly shipping. The trade to Germany will be very advantageous to this country.

Under the articles which America can import from Holland, or the united Netherlands, cheaper than from Great Britain, we shall comprehend, in order to save time, those articles also which we can import directly from several of the northern nations. These are, viz.

Superfine broadcloths made at Leyde, kerseymers or caseymers, some fabrics of coarse woolen, Russia sheeting, brown and white; drillings or drabs, brown, white, or coloured; ravensduck, ticklenburgs, oznaburgs, flaxen and hempen; dowlasses and creas, huckabacks and diapers, towellings (a plain narrow linen), hessians and brown rolls; Silesia linens and hollandes, brown and white; long lawns, cambricks and lawns, bag hollandes, tandem silesias, damask and diaper table cloths and napkins, ditto and ditto in pieces, trolly lace, thread lace and edging, fine and coarse; Dutch, Dresden or beggar's lace, cap and apron-string tapes, plain and twisted, and all kinds of wrought incle, bobbing or bandstring twill, bed-ticken and Flanders bed bunts, Haerlem stripes, writing paper and quills, sealing wax and wafers, toys for children, a great variety; copper in sheets, wire, iron and brass of all sorts, Dutch scythes and cutting knives, German steel (for springs and edge tools) gun powder, drugs and medicines, painters' colours, Geneva, arrack; wines, rhenish and old hock, cordage of all kinds, untarred yarns, packing, sewing and seine twines and fishing lines, bolting cloths, tobacco pipes, dressed hog skins, Leghorn or straw and chip

hats; black and white pepper, nutmegs, mace, cloves and cinnamon; hylon, fouchong, congo, green, and bohea teas; muslins, plain, striped, checked and wrought; nankeens plain and worked, dimothy and Dutch cord; china ware, East India, Dresden, &c. bandano, lungce, romal and Chinese silk handkerchiefs, taffeties, Persians, damasks, and a variety of East India goods; to these may be added, looking glasses, calicoes, chintz, brass kettles in nests, and brushes of all kinds.

Every export from this country comes to a ready market in Holland, and many of them bring a better price than we can get for them elsewhere; it is therefore unnecessary to go into their particular enumeration.

I would observe, on this statement, that it is not complete; that more articles could have been added; and that some may have crept in, which may be had on as good terms from England. It is, however, clear and extensive enough, to shew us our natural weight, and how little Great Britain is entitled to our exclusive custom on the principle of *cheapness*. It now remains to do justice to that country by a similar statement of its advantages over other countries.

Great Britain can furnish America with the following articles, cheaper than we can import them from Holland or elsewhere, viz.

Buttons, buckles, and all kinds of Birmingham wares, knives, scissors, and Sheffield wares, a variety of edge tools, hardwares, and ironmongery, several coarse woollens, calamancoes, durants, tammies, shalloons, and most kinds of worsted piece goods, checks, worsted and yarn stockings; the whole of which scarcely make one fifth of our imports.

Charged with these facts, our commissioners may hold a candid but decisive language with the British administration. "The prosperity of your islands," they may say, "depends absolutely upon American supplies, and the American consumption of their productions. The commodities of the French islands are cheaper than yours; America can sell to other countries all her exports, without consulting your markets, and can get in return four fifths of her imports on

better terms than your merchants can afford them; it is therefore not only reasonable, but just, if America should put her trade in a train of returning to your markets, that you should grant an equivalent for the concession."

But it may be said, that this country will naturally prefer British manufactures under every disadvantage of dearth; for that the taste of America is in their favour. This is a shewy argument, but deceptive; for admitting the taste or prejudice to exist, it could only operate in favour of a few articles; inasmuch as a considerable part of our imports from England was neither of her own growth or manufacture. She imported them from other countries, and sold them out to this country; the pretended taste, therefore, will be against England, generally speaking, instead of being in her favour; unless its advocates can shew that an article acquires some precious quality by passing through her hands. But prejudice or false taste will in vain contend against self-interest; for we know very well, that it is not an English store, but a cheap store, that is most frequented. It is true, we traded with Great Britain, grew rich, were happy, and minded not whether by a trade with others we could have become richer; but the shifting scenes of this world have dissolved our partnership; have opened our eyes; have made us an independent people; estranged us from former interests; and bound us by the most forcible policy to prefer our own prosperity. But did prejudices really prevail in favour of some English manufactures, the rivals of Great Britain, the manufacturing nations of Europe, are too wise not to turn them to their advantage. They will, if they have not already, send into this country agents properly instructed to consult our taste, to know how broad or narrow they ought to make their cloths or linnens to please us, and what colours or stripes they ought to give them. It is well known that this was one of the means by which France attracted from the English the woollen trade of the Levant. The houses I mentioned in my last paper, from Holland, Germany, and France, that are established throughout these States will have it est

fectually in their power to collect this information.

But what is more than all to be dreaded by Great Britain is the establishment of manufactures in America, for which she is so happily gifted; and which must gradually take place and succeed, till at length she will find little occasion for the manufactures of Europe. Nothing but a commercial treaty, on the most liberal principles, can check the progress of things in America, which is approximating to this independent, desirable, and respectable situation.

There is yet a more plausible argument in favour of Great Britain. Cincinnatus, a writer we have quoted more than once, states our dependence on Europe to be the difference between the imports and exports of the last year*, the former of which he makes precisely ten times greater than the latter. If this is true, we are indeed in a dependent and deplorable condition: there is, however, a species of consolation in reflecting, that this cannot hold, because the funds of the richest merchants in Europe will not enable them to supply America with ten times more goods than she can pay for. Cincinnatus is unfortunate in having chosen the imports and exports of the last year to support the doctrine of American dependence. Those nations that must sell, are as dependent as those who must buy; but such reasoning aside, several causes operated to augment the imports of last year over the exports. Foreigners and adventurers thought this country exhausted of goods by the war, and poured them in upon us in an unusual quantity. The great sinking, also, of the prices of goods in Europe, in consequence of the peace, and the idea that prevailed of goods being scarce in this country, induced those who had large stocks on hand to send consignments to these markets. To all which importations were added those made by our own provident merchants. Last year, therefore, cannot be taken as the scale of our exports and imports, being a singular case, and one which may not occur again in our day; of course, the proposition and conclu-

sions founded on it must be treated as fallacious and illusive.

Those who ought to understand this subject better than this writer, do not proceed to the same lengths. They tell us, "that the capital part, or at least four-fifths of the importations from Europe into the American states, were at all times made upon credit; and that nearly as many fifths of the American importations must be made from Great Britain†." This statement is less humbling though not more true than that given by Cincinnatus. A little reflexion, however, and a recurrence to experience will teach us the falsity of such speculative calculations. Previous to the non-importation agreement, the operation of which brought this country considerably in debt to Great Britain, our exports were on a level with our imports; or, in other words, the one paid for the other. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the merchants of the united states, to declare, whether their exports did not one year with another pay for their imports. The trade with England was against America, but with other countries, it was in our favour, and with the balances we received from these, we acquitted the balance we owed to Great Britain. But ministry themselves will support me in this fact. In the second edition of their pamphlet, where they undertake to satisfy the English merchants, how America is to pay them for their goods, they are constrained to acknowledge, "that if the exports from the united states to this country are not sufficient to pay for the British manufactures they may want, they must pay the difference as they used to do formerly, in bills of exchange upon Spain and other countries, which they will get for their salted fish, flour, and other articles of export to those places‡." This I conceive to be decisive that our exports equalled our imports in past years; and may we not, for instance, pay to Holland and other countries for the goods we may want, the difference that our exports to these countries leaves unpaid, as we used to do formerly to England in bills of exchange?

NOTES.

* Observations before quoted.

† *Ibid.*

But I imagine the change in our situation will increase our ability beyond past years. 1st. Because we shall get more for the sum total of our exports than we used to do formerly, when the British market engulfed nearly the whole. 2dly. We shall have more articles to export, having a greater commerce and greater country. 3dly. We shall be richer by the establishment of manufactures; a beginning, as it were, but an endless source of wealth. And lastly, we shall pay less for the aggregate of our imports than when we were obliged to take them from Great Britain. What America must save under these four heads will be very considerable; although it would not be easy to calculate. Take for the sake of an example, a single article of import; see how many pounds of tea are annually consumed, then estimate the difference between its price in England and Holland or China, or those places we have mentioned in our statement where it can be had cheaper, and you will be astonished at the greatness of the sum this country will save upon this single article.

To conclude. Let no reasoning persuade you that you ought to leave the accomplishment of a commercial treaty entirely to your commissioners. They are anxious that you should assist their labours, by giving a proof to Europe, that you are united and can act as a nation. You are advised by some not to give this proof, and the resolutions of those states that display it, are made the object of censure. Do not suffer yourselves to sink into a state of quietism on a point so interesting, nor believe those preachers who argue in favour of doing nothing. I would not have you shew resentment, but dignity; this will make you admired, another conduct despised. Be assured that Great Britain in particular is more anxious to sell her manufactures than you are to buy them; and that it is more her interest to gain your trade than yours to give it. An increasing and prosperous people without manufactures are to her what South America is to Spain. How greatly is her prosperity connected with our consumption! Only think, were three millions of people to resolve to do without her manufactures,

what must be the event? Maryland is proceeding in this great business with caution: she has laid some light duties upon goods imported in British bottoms, but I presume she expects the other states will follow her example; as remaining singular, would not answer the intention of these duties. She has also, in the same act laying the duties, proposed a new article for the confederation; but this cannot be operative till every state agrees to one substantially the same. The power it contains is pointed at no kingdom; and in its fullest effect, must increase our navigation: and we may reasonably expect, that under this power, congress would devise a navigation act suited to the circumstances of this country. If my memory serves me right, when Great Britain passed her navigation act, she had little more than eighty thousand tons of shipping, she has now about eight hundred thousand, said to be the fruit of this celebrated act.

March 14, 1784.



An address, (read the second of February, 1789) to the Philadelphia county society for the promotion of agriculture, and domestic manufactures. Containing a short, comprehensive view of the united states of America, particularly Pennsylvania; and observations on the effects which agriculture, manufactures, industry, and economy have on government, morality, and human happiness: together with some remarks on the use and advantage of establishing societies throughout the country, for the advancement of these objects. P. 464.

By ENOCH EDWARDS, *esq.*
(Published by particular request of the society.)

IN short, for there would be no end to an enumeration of all its glorious advantages, I must therefore conclude this part of my enquiry with just observing, that in whatever country agriculture, manufactures, industry, and economy prosper, there riches, peace, morality, and human happiness must prevail—They are those noble majestic pillars on which must be supported every moral and political structure—they are the vitals of commerce, the genuine parents of wealth, the fo-

cial friends of virtue, and the enemies only of vice and immorality.

Having thus taken a small survey of such circumstances as obviously affect the condition of any community or individual, it must, by a comparative view of events, I think, clearly appear to every reflecting mind, that the present state of this country requires the most serious attention of its citizens; for notwithstanding all those natural advantages which we are most certainly possessed of, there are still many considerable changes and revolutions to be brought about in the minds and conduct of the people, before we can take that rank and station in the world, or enjoy all the blessings which a proper use of those means that providence has endowed us with, would give a right to claim.

The present decline of our trade, the deranged state of our finances, the melancholy propensity we discover for the productions of other countries, the distressing and visible rush, that most foreign articles rise in their prices, while all the productions of our farms bring less at market than formerly, are so many alarming and unceasing calls with the powerful voice of reason, to effect such a reformation among ourselves, as shall check these growing evils.

In order to accomplish this great and magnanimous design, many virtuous citizens in this and the neighbouring states, have formed themselves into societies; some agricultural, some manufacturing, and some of other kinds, which appear to be attended with the most unexpected success; and it is a circumstance, on which I can with great pleasure pause for a moment, to congratulate you on the fortunate event of its having fallen to our lot, from our local situations, our daily employments, and our interests too, to lend aid to this grand undertaking, by thus, with our united efforts, endeavouring to promote agriculture and domestic manufactures. I shall now, by a few remarks, agreeably to the plan I have chalked out, endeavour to shew the use and advantage of establishing societies throughout the country for the advancement of those objects.

1st. As countrymen, and as farmers, we are necessarily thrown at a

considerable distance from each other, and into a very diffused state of society, which renders all our communications difficult and uncertain; of course, every useful and valuable thought or improvement, which either necessity, reflex on, accident, or ingenuity suggests, is generally confined to a man's own breast, his family, or his near neighbours. Whereas, by such a society, each improvement in husbandry or domestic manufactures would profit the individual, his associates, and the country at large. Here we may communicate to each other, and from thence with ease and dispatch to the eye of the public, the event of all enterprizes and experiments; as it is equally interesting to know both the success and failure of every attempt out of the common road; for what one cannot accomplish, it frequently happens that another may; besides it will excite and encourage comparative trials, from whence will result great efforts and unexpected instruction, even though we should not accomplish the particular ends we have in view.

2dly. The spirit of activity and vigour with which collective bodies, in search of knowledge, are inspired, has a mighty influence on the minds of men. It is productive of, and brings forward that generous and manly emulation, which, unlike every other species of strife, unites each competitor in social friendship. Every disinterested person, who belongs to such a society, must feel an anxious call to distinguish himself in some way or other, as an active and useful member, and to contribute his share of knowledge to his companions; from whence it would not fail of penetrating to every corner of his county; which, like the borrowed light of a candle, would diminish not that flame of illumination from whence it has been imparted.

3dly. In such a society as this, the observations, the remarks, and the reasoning of one, may be caught and improved by others, more capable, than even he who suggests, of turning them to considerable advantage; for nothing is more certain (and of course nothing shews the necessity more of pursuing knowledge in this way) than that there are many judicious and sensible men, who can both think and reason well, and even sug-

gest the most valuable hints and improvements, and yet, that not one of these useful members of society possesses the least talent in nature, for carrying his own ideas into execution; for the "human mind" is so strangely "combined in" such "an infinite variety of ways," that nothing short of the wise ordination of the mixed and different understandings of men, could ever have obtained the complete knowledge of any art or science, or formed any great or stupendous structure, that should be so proportioned, and nicely organized in all its different parts, as to insure success in the grand objects of its pursuit or institution.

By this association, we shall not only possess the combined knowledge of, but have the advantage of owning a property, as it were, in the practice and superior skill of every individual, whereby the habits of activity, industry, economy, and public spirit, would be generally inculcated and greatly promoted. But a circumstance, that will tend infinitely more, than any thing else, to insure success in all our laudable endeavours is, that the efforts of every one, will not, as at present, be the efforts of an unsupported individual, but of the public.

4thly. The objects of this society would be greatly promoted, by a correspondence with other societies, public or private bodies, or any gentlemen who are in pursuit of the same, and by publishing such information as may be approved of; by which means we shall soon, in the most general and extensive manner, be able to receive and impart knowledge.

Should this society be so fortunate as to improve the great system of agriculture, or promote useful manufactures, to the encouragement of industry and frugality, and thereby diffuse instruction by our communications, the natural consequence will be, that the neighbouring counties will, from interest; soon follow our footsteps, and hand forward all those improvements to every corner of the state. As an instance, I would mention, that we have as yet published but one of our communications; since which in an excursion, which I made into a neighbouring county, on a visit to a farmer of the first rank, I saw several stacks

of buckwheat straw near his barn, and asked him, what use he assigned them for? His answer was—"Sir, that came from your society. They are the provender for my sheep, and I am making the experiment, agreeably to your publication." I have also lately been informed, that many other gentlemen are making the same experiment in different parts of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester counties.

Now, without any farther observations on that head, I can fairly draw from the premises this conclusion, viz. that whether, on a general and fair trial, that mode will, or will not exactly answer the expectations either of this society, or even the gentlemen who favoured us with the information, we shall at least derive one advantage from it, which is, that it will be either fully established, or completely confuted, in less than six months from the publication.

5thly. By means of such a social intercourse, as this society will produce, where free, open, liberal, and friendly communications prevail, we shall be enabled to counteract the powerful influence, which prejudice, that poisonous bane and pernicious pest of society, subjugates the human mind to. The making sudden and effective inroads on old establishments, and ancient customs, rivetted by prejudice, and sanctioned by time, cannot be attended with success. The independent dispositions of freemen, accustomed to think on matters of the utmost consequence, nay, taught as a duty to analyze the very powers which govern them, will not brook such arbitrary innovations. Every one cannot see the same thing at the same time: their reason, therefore, must be applied to, and their judgments convinced before any considerable changes, even for the better, can be effected.

Ancient habits have the most astonishing and unaccountable influence on the whole human race. I am clearly of opinion that the reason why agriculture, as well as most other employments, have made such dilatory progress and improvements in the world, is owing to this cause—many of the instruments of husbandry and models of farming were little improved in Europe, since the eighth century, un-

til about an hundred years ago, when happily for that quarter and the world in general, a spirit of serious enquiry into this most useful business, seized, with unabating ardour, the studious, the ingenious, and the patriotic, of almost all those nations. The consequence was, that it soon became (especially in England) an honourable profession, and a well established system, which has now the utmost attention paid to it, in every country, except America, where it has been cramped in all its stages by our legislatures, and neglected by those who ought to be its more immediate votaries; I mean the farmers themselves. In Europe, it is now cherished, patronized, and fostered, as it were, under the kind hand of an indulgent parent, by every government. Societies are every where established, for the promoting and advancing this art; and their universities have regular professors of it, as the most useful science, who receive honourable emoluments in re-ward for their services.

Ancient habits, and long established customs, in the natural order and course of human events, take not only years, but ages, to wear away, so effectually, as to give place to more useful ideas and improvements. In Normandy, where fish is the daily food, and fishing the constant employment of so many thousand inhabitants, I am told, that the seine cannot, to this day, be introduced into general use, and for no other reason, than, because the hook and line were the only instruments practised by their ancestors; and so it is in this country—Many thousand farmers here go plodding on in the old beaten paths of their ancestors, and think, because they made fortunes, that we must do so too, without ever considering that in those days a real estate naturally grew into value, without the nursing hand of its owner; nor do they consider, that formerly they paid scarcely any tax; that a small quantity of land would, with a slight cultivation, raise a great deal of grain; or that every farmer then had plentiful pasturage, large outlets, and many other favourable circumstances, which we, at this time, do not or cannot enjoy.

I have observed some few in the world, who add to their prejudices

and self sufficient knowledge of farming, a degree of obstinacy, that resembles the most inveterate fullness, and who are so coolly determined not to be open to, or rather troubled with conviction, that they will scarce look into the fields of a man seized with the spirit of improvement, unless it be to condemn what they think his folly, or, (if a smile could be extorted) to deride what they denominate new fashions. I have even heard some object to sowing clover seed for pasture, and assign for reason, that had it answered any great purpose, it would long since have been thought of, and practised more generally by our ancestors.

The great improvement the county of Norfolk, in England, has undergone in this last century, ought to be a lesson to every unimproved country. In England, after agriculture had arrived to considerable perfection in its other parts, this county, from prejudice, habit, and custom, stayed behind all the rest, inasmuch, that in the beginning of this century, an eminent English farmer complains of the husbandmen of Norfolk, in the following words, “their husbandry is precisely that of their great grandfather’s grandfather, nor will they be persuaded to quit a course, by which they can hardly subsist, to take up one, by which they see that their neighbours have made estates.” Whereas, since that time, the farmers in Norfolk have caught the same spirit of improvement, which before had been practised by their neighbours, to such a degree that this county is now spoken of, as being in a high and wonderful state of cultivation, and even as a model of great perfection.

On the other hand, there is too great a propensity in some, for running into the very extreme of alterations, or supposed improvements, and who reject every mode that has not the appearance of novelty, however well recommended by method or grave experience.

The fact is, they often reason very plausibly, but then it is too often from false premises, and they frequently do not pay proper attention to times, season, and other circumstances, and thereby, although their intentions are very good, and even laudable, yet

they unfortunately mislead many, who place implicit confidence and dependence in their judgments. The consequences are, that those who have been thus misguided, although they feel some spirit of enterprize, yet they may not be in circumstances to throw away the labour of a whole season, or to make such farther experiments, as to discover where the mistake lay. They therefore grow discouraged, and often suspect the integrity of him who first recommended the innovation, and return, soured by disappointment, to their old habits and mode of farming, more prejudiced than ever, and generally conclude that "the good old fashion, when all is said and done, is the best;" for as a burnt child dreads the fire, so a prudent man, that has once been deceived in this way, and suffered in his interest by his credulity, is very apt to be shy, cautious, and (if a little advanced in age) incorrigible ever afterwards.

Gentlemen cannot be too accurate, or attend too closely to the many little minute and apparently trivial circumstances attending experiments in agriculture, before they venture confidently to recommend innovations that may be the result of their own observations, otherwise their good intentions may prove fatal to the laudable designs they wish to promote.

Now by such an institution as this, amidst social reasonings and friendly investigations, we shall be able to moderate and correct both of those excesses, by recommending and promoting a spirited degree of enterprize, which will introduce, without waiting, as some say, for time to do it, all useful innovations and improvements, and at the same time to place in full view the inconveniencies of such as are not adapted to our circumstances and situations.

Sixthly and lastly. Here would be the proper place to introduce and encourage by example—the maxims of frugality, economy and industry. It is certain, that all our efforts will be vain and idle if we do not put into practice those things which we would recommend to others, and cherish into a flame that spark of true patriotism, which I hope and believe is beginning to dawn upon this country.

It will be of infinite advantage to us, if some of the most respectable characters in each county, would encourage as much as possible the custom of making their own farms produce the most part of their necessary demands, both as to food and apparel, and convince their neighbours, and such part of the world as they mix with, not by calculations on paper, but by example, that it is to be done. For instance, let each family make home-spun linens and cloths, sufficient, or more than is necessary, for their yearly supply. And let them no longer, as formerly, compose only the slighted apparel of our servants, but the fashionable dress of the farmer, and the respectable badge of his honourable profession—thus by these and such other prudent steps as this society can, and I trust will, from time to time take and recommend, we can be instrumental in checking the wanton and luxurious consumption of foreign goods, and thereby cast off in a prudent way: load of taxes* in future from the galled shoulders of farmers, who have long since, unpitied and unthought of, sorely winced under the unsupportable burden they have been compelled to sustain—examples of this kind would certainly have the happiest effects on society at large; they would most rigorously, though smoothly, enforce those salutary doctrines of economy, which have hitherto made but creeping progress; they would come with a weight and an authority far superior even to laws or precepts, and they would in a particular manner give to this country strength, wealth, and independence—serious and deeply interesting objects themselves to men of landed property!

Example, like prejudice, has a powerful effect on the human mind, and may by prudent and discreet measures produce to mankind the greatest advantages, especially when the object it has in view, is connected with

NOTE.

* It is expected the new government will adopt an indirect taxation to the great relief of landed property whereby the farmer will pay in proportion to what he consumes of the articles taxed and no more.

moral obligations: for virtue bears a strong resemblance to vice, its natural enemy, in one of the striking traits of its character; like the latter, it is contagious, as the least spark of vice will by example impart, from one to another, with the rapidity of a pestilence, its noxious taint, and corrupt a whole neighbourhood. So virtue, like this and every other habit, can be propagated by imitation. By example it will travel and insinuate itself from the highest to the lowest order of human beings, for in the composition of every rank and degree, even from the greatest king on his throne, down to the meanest beggar in the street, enter the same principles of nature.

Thus, gentlemen, in taking leave of my subject, I feel an unfeigned pleasure in anticipating the satisfaction I hope ere long we shall experience, in being able joyously to congratulate each other on the happy rewards the virtuous citizens of America will be entitled to receive, for their united efforts in effecting the great revolution we are now in eager pursuit of. But above all, I feel a more sincere and interested pleasure in thinking, that our young institution may deserve at least a small share of the merit of performing some part of that noble work. By our industry, by the vigour of our exertions, and by all the other means this society can furnish, promote, and encourage, and in a particular manner by the prudent examples of its members individually, I make not the least doubt, but that we shall be able not only to attain the more perfect knowledge of agriculture and the useful arts of manufacturing, which are the natural employment of man, especially in this country; but that in our respective neighbourhoods we shall assist others to lay the solid foundations of all those political and national virtues, which must endure for ages to come, as so many illustrious monuments of the triumphant and glorious reign of wealth, strength, morality, and human happiness, over the ignominious misfortunes of luxury, indolence, vice, poverty and misery.

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An enquiry into the relation of tastes and aliments to each other: and into the influence of this relation

upon health and pleasure. From medical enquiries and observations. —By Benjamin Rush, M. D. professor of chemistry in the university of Pennsylvania.—Printed and sold by Prichard and Hall.

I N entering upon this subject, I feel like the clown, who, after several unsuccessful attempts to play upon a violin, threw it hastily from him, exclaiming at the same time, that “there was music in it,” but that he could not bring it out.

I shall endeavour, by a few brief remarks, to lay a foundation for more successful enquiries upon this difficult subject.

Attraction and repulsion seem to be the active principles of the universe. They pervade not only the greatest but the minutest works of nature. Salts, earths, inflammable bodies, metals, and vegetables, have all their respective relations to each other. The order of these relations is so uniform, that it has been ascribed by some philosophers to a latent principle of intelligence pervading each of them.

Colours, odours, and sounds, have likewise their respective relations to each other. They become agreeable and disagreeable, only in proportion to the natural or unnatural combination which takes place between each of their different species.

It is remarkable, that the number of original colours and notes in music is exactly the same. All the variety in both proceeds from the difference of combination. An arbitrary combination of them is by no means productive of pleasure. The relation which every colour and sound bear to each other, was as immutably established at the creation, as the order of the heavenly bodies, or as the relation of the objects of chemistry to each other.

But this relation is not confined to colours and sounds alone. It probably extends to the objects of human aliment. For example: bread and meat, meat and salt, the alkalescent meats and acescent vegetables, all harmonize with each other upon the tongue: while fish and flesh, butter and raw onions, fish and milk, when combined, are all offensive to a pure and healthy taste.

It would be agreeable to trace the an-

alogy of sounds and tastes. They have both their flats and their sharps. They are both improved by the contralt of discords. Thus pepper, and other condiments, (which are disagreeable when taken by themselves) enhance the relish of many of our aliments, and they are both delightful in proportion as they are simple in their composition. To illustrate this analogy by more examples from music, would lead us from the subject of the present enquiry.

It is observable that the tongue and the stomach, like instinct and reason, are, by nature, in unison with each other. One of these organs must always be disordered, when they disagree in a single article of aliment. When they both unite in articles of diet, that were originally disagreeable, it is owing to a perversion in each of them, similar to that which takes place in the human mind, when both the moral faculty and the conscience lose their natural sensibility to virtue and vice.

Unfortunately for this part of science, the taste and the stomach are so much perverted in infancy and childhood by heterogeneous aliments, that it is difficult to tell what kinds and mixtures of food are natural, and what are artificial. It is true, the system possesses a power of accommodating itself both to artificial food, and to the most discordant mixtures of that which is natural; but may we not reasonably suppose, that the system would preserve its natural strength and order much longer, if no such violence had been offered to it.

If the relation of aliments to each other follows the analogy of the objects of chemistry, then their union will be influenced by many external circumstances, such as heat and cold, dilution, concentration, rest, motion, and the addition of substances which promote unnatural, or destroy natural mixtures. This idea enlarges the field of enquiry before us, and leads us still farther from facts and certainty upon this subject, but at the same time it does not preclude us from the hope of obtaining both; for every difficulty that arises out of this view of the subject, may be removed by observation and experiment.

I come now to apply these remarks to health and pleasure. I shall select

only a few cases for this purpose; for if my principles are true, my readers cannot avoid discovering many other illustrations of them.

1. When an article of diet is grateful to the taste, and afterwards disagrees with the stomach, may it not be occasioned by some other kind of food, or by some drink being taken into the stomach, which refuses to unite with the offending article of diet?

2. May not the uneasiness, which many persons feel after a moderate meal, arise from its having consisted of articles of aliment which were not related to each other?

3. May not the delicacy of stomach which sometimes occurs after the fortieth or forty-fifth year of human life, be occasioned by nature recovering her empire in the stomach, so as to require simplicity in diet, or such articles only of aliment, as are related? May not this be the reason why most people, who have passed those periods of life, are unable to retain or to digest fish and flesh at the same time, and why they generally dine only upon one kind of food?

4. Is not the language of nature in favour of simplicity in diet, discovered by the avidity with which the luxurious and intemperate often seek relief from variety and satiety, by retreating to spring water for drink, and to bread and milk for aliment?

5. May not the reason why plentiful meals of fish, venison, oysters, beef, or mutton, when eaten alone, lie so easily in the stomach, and digest so speedily, be occasioned by no other food being taken with them? A pound, and even more, of the above articles, frequently oppresses the system much less than half the quantity of heterogeneous aliments.

6. Does not the facility with which a due mixture of vegetable and animal food digests in the stomach, indicate the certainty of their relation to each other?

7. May not the peculiar good effects of a diet wholly vegetable or animal, be occasioned by the more frequent and intimate relation of the articles of the same kingdoms to each other? and may not this be the reason why so few inconveniencies are felt from the mixture of a variety of vegetables in the stomach?

8. May not the numerous acute and chronic diseases of the rich and luxurious, arise from heterogeneous aliments being distributed in a diffused, instead of a mixed state, through every part of the body?

9. May not the many cures which are ascribed to certain articles of diet, be occasioned more by their being taken alone, than to any medicinal quality inherent in them? a diet of oysters in one instance, of strawberries in another, and of sugar of roses in many instances, has cured violent and dangerous disorders of the breast*. Grapes, according to doctor Moore, when eaten in large quantities, have produced the same salutary effect. A milk diet, persisted in for several years, has cured the gout. I have seen many cases of dyspepsia cured by a simple diet of beef or mutton, and have heard of a well attested case of a diet of veal alone having removed the same disorder. Squashes and turnips likewise, when taken by themselves, have cured that distressing complaint in the stomach. It has been removed even by milk, when taken by itself in a moderate quantity†. The further the body, and more especially the stomach, recede from health, the more this simplicity of diet becomes necessary. The appetite in these cases does not speak the language of uncorrupted nature. It frequently calls for various and improper aliment; but this is the effect of intemperance having produced an early breach between the taste and the stomach.

Perhaps the extraordinary cures of obstinate diseases, which are sometimes performed by persons not regularly educated in physic, may be occasioned by a long and steady perseverance in the use of a single article of the materia medica. Those chemical medicines which decompose each other, are not the only substances which defeat the intention of the prescriber. Galenical medicines, by combination, I believe, frequently produce effects that are of a compound and contrary nature to their original and simple qualities. This

NOTES.

* Vanswieten, 1200. 3.

† Medical observations and enquiries, vol. 6. p. 310, 319.

remark is capable of extensive application, but I quit it as a digression from the subject of this enquiry.

10. I wish it to be observed, that I have condemned the mixture of different aliments in the stomach only in a few cases, and under certain circumstances. It remains yet to determine by experiments, what changes are produced upon aliments by heat, dilution, addition, concentration, motion, rest, and the addition of uniting substances, before we can decide upon the relation of aliments to each other, and the influence of that relation upon health. The olla podrida of Spain, is said to be a pleasant and wholesome dish. It is probably rendered so, by a previous tendency of all its ingredients to putrefaction, or by means of heat producing a new arrangement, or addition new relations of all its parts. I suspect heat to be a powerful agent in disposing heterogeneous aliments to unite with each other; and hence a mixture of aliments is probably less unhealthy in France and Spain, than in England, where so much less fire is used in preparing them than in the former countries.

As too great a mixture of glaring colours, which are related to each other, becomes painful to the eye, so too great a mixture of related aliments oppresses the stomach, and debilitates the power of the system. The original colours of the sky, and of the surface of the globe, have ever been found the most permanently agreeable to the eye. In like manner, I am disposed to believe that there are certain simple aliments which correspond, in their sensible qualities, with the intermediate colours of blue and green, that are most permanently agreeable to the tongue and stomach, and that every deviation from them is a departure from the simplicity of health and nature.

11. While nature seems to have limited us to simplicity in aliment, is not this restriction abundantly compensated by the variety of tastes which she allows us to impart to it in order to diversify and increase the pleasure of eating? it is remarkable that salt, sugar, mustard, horse-radish, capers, and spices of all kinds, according to Mr. Coſſe's experiments, related by

abbe Spallanzani*, all contribute not only to render aliments savoury, but to promote their digestion.

12. When we consider, that part of the art of cookery consists in rendering the taste of aliments agreeable, is it not probable that the pleasure of eating might be increased beyond our present knowledge upon that subject, by certain new arrangements or mixtures of the substances which are used to impart a pleasant taste to our aliment?

13. Should philosophers ever stoop to this subject, may they not discover and ascertain a table of the relation of sapid bodies to each other, with the same accuracy that they have ascertained the relation of the numerous objects of chemistry to each other?

14. When the tongue and stomach agree in the same kinds of aliment, may not the increase of the pleasure of eating be accompanied with an increase of health and a prolongation of life?

15. Upon the pleasure of eating, I shall add the following remarks. In order to render it truly exquisite, it is necessary that all the senses, except that of taste, should be as *quiescent* as possible. Those persons mistake the nature of the appetite for food, who attempt to whet it by accompanying a dinner by a band of music, or by connecting the dining table with an extensive and delightful prospect. The excitement of one sense, always produces collapse in another. Even conversation sometimes detracts from the pleasure of eating; hence great feeders love to eat in silence, or alone; and hence the speech of a passionate Frenchman, while dining in a talkative company, was not so improper as might at first be imagined. "Hold your tongues," said he, "I cannot taste my dinner." I know a physician, who, upon the same principle, always shuts his eyes, and requests silence in a sick chamber, when he wishes to determine by the pulse the propriety of blood letting, in cases where its indication is doubtful. His perceptions become more distinct, by confining his whole attention to the sense of feeling.

NOTE.

* Desertations, vol. 1. page 326.

It is impossible to mention the circumstance of the senses acting only in succession to each other in the enjoyment of pleasure, without being struck by the impartial goodness of heaven, in placing the rich and the poor so much upon a level in the pleasures of the table. Could the numerous objects of pleasure, which are addressed to the ears and the eyes, have been possessed at the same time, with the pleasure of eating, the rich would have commanded three times as much pleasure in that enjoyment as the poor; but this is so far from being the case, that a king has no advantage over a beggar, in eating the same kind of aliment.



Extracts from "observations on a variety of subjects, literary, moral and religious; in a series of original letters." By the rev. dr. Duchoe.—P. 501.

LETTER III.

To lord viscount P—

IN my last†, I furnished your lordship with as particular an account as I have been able to obtain of the many astonishing improvements, which a very few years have produced in this elegant and growing city. Common justice calls upon me to inform you, that some of the best institutions, that regard its internal police, are under the direction and management of the people called quakers, whose general disapprobation of all fashionable amusements and diversions, gives them leisure and opportunity of embarking in and prosecuting such schemes as are useful, as well as ornamental to human society. This sober, virtuous people generally engage with caution, but execute with the most persevering firmness and assiduity. The hospital and house of employment are standing monuments of their labours—and the period seems to be fast approaching, when the cause of literature will receive no small services from their attention and zeal. A philosophical society for the encouragement of science, arts and manufactures, hath been lately instituted in this city, which numbers many

NOTE.

† See letter I.

of the most sensible of this denomination among its fellows. My friend the merchant assures me, that the thirst of knowledge increases much among them; that they begin to discover the subserviency of human learning to many valuable purposes; and now think it no more a crime to send their children to school to learn Greek and Latin, mathematics and natural philosophy, than to put them to merchants or mechanics, to be instructed in the several arts and mysteries, that are become necessary for the support of the present temporal life; wisely judging, with respect to the spiritual life, which comes from, and is to be supported by another world, that human learning has no more to do with it, and can no more awaken or promote it, than the art of making clocks and watches. If I remember right, Baker, who has written so ingeniously upon the uses of learning, seems to put it upon the same footing; and our tutor at Magdalen-hall has frequently told us, that all the acquirements of human knowledge, though highly necessary for the improvement and embellishment of civil society, can never impart to us one single ray of that which is truly divine.

I am no stranger to your lordship's sentiments upon this interesting subject. You well know when to pronounce the "hitherto shalt thou go, and no further." As a citizen of heaven, and a traveller through this world, you know what is necessary not only to make your journey pleasing and comfortable, and to furnish you with proper accommodations on the road, but to secure to yourself an happy reception among your fellow-citizens, when your pilgrimage shall be at an end. A liberal education, under the direction of an heaven-taught mind, has flood your lordship in good stead on many important occasions. It gives the christian scholar a free access into circles of conversation, where the illiterate would never be admitted, and furnishes him, when he is there, with a becoming confidence and manly freedom of speech. It enables him to fight the infidel with his own weapons, and to avail himself of the whole magazine of ancient and modern learning in

the defence of religion. For the very same armour that is weak and ineffectual in the hands of the unbeliever, becomes strong and of heavenly temper, when worn or wielded by the champion of gospel truth.

Upon these principles, my lord, I cannot but look upon it to be the duty of the real christian to patronize and encourage every well-formed scheme for the advancement of literature; and I was particularly pleased to hear from my friend, who is himself a fellow of the philosophical society, that the quakers had stepped forth, and joined the votaries of science; for their well-known industry and application cannot fail, in all human probability, of insuring it success.

What I have here said of the quakers, your lordship must not consider as the least disparagement or diminution of the other religious societies. The members of our communion, as well as those of the presbyterian and other dissenting denominations, have engaged warmly in every scheme that has been proposed for the general good; though they all candidly confess, that no institutions have been carried on with so much spirit, and crowned with so much success, as those in which the quakers have had the lead and direction. Penn engrafted an excellent policy upon their religious principles—and Barclay has given these principles all the advantages, which can be derived from throwing them into the form of a system. These authors your lordship has carefully read—and I remember once to have heard you drop an intimation, that Barclay's book had never been answered in such a manner as to weaken the force of his arguments.

I dined the other day with an eminent physician of this place, who professes himself a presbyterian. There was a mixed company; and the conversation turned upon religious subjects. A clergyman of the established church, who appeared to be very infirm and much advanced in years, undertook to reconcile the seeming differences that prevailed among the professors of christianity. He very ingeniously distinguished the things essential, from those which are not

essential to salvation: and, with a truly benevolent christian spirit, declared, that as religion was a life, manifested by good tempers and dispositions within, and correspondent actions and offices without; as it did not depend upon any particular set of doctrines or opinions, much less upon any particular modes of worship or outward church discipline, so he found his own heart intimately drawn to, and united with, good men of every denomination. You, sir, said he (turning to the physician) are a presbyterian. Thou art a quaker, (addressing himself to another of the company)—and I am a churchman. Suppose now, whilst we are disputing about religious principles, a servant should rush into the room, and eagerly inform us, that a neighbour's house was on fire, that the master of the family was abroad, that the poor wife with two or three little ones were screaming out for help, and that all their goods must perish, if they could not have immediate assistance. My quaker friend there, and myself, unmoved at the melancholy tidings, keep our seats and gravely continue the debate. My presbyterian friend forgets all his zeal about opinions and doctrines, starts from the table in an instant, and hastens to the scene of distress. Pray now, gentlemen, continued the venerable old man, which of us, in such a case, would be the christian?—I, most assuredly, cried out the physician; and though I really find myself much attached to Calvin's system, yet I am sure, in the case you mention, or any other similar one, neither Calvin's opinions, nor the opinions of any other man could rouse my compassion and urge me to the benevolent act. Nothing but a power superior to all opinion, which carries its own evidence and motive along with it, and which, I trust, is "the divinity that stirs within me"—could accomplish this—and if I should resist its powerful call, merely to indulge my own humour in an idle and unprofitable debate, what would it be but throwing away my proper and natural food, to live upon the wind; nay, losing heaven for the sake of a syllogism?

I think your lordship, had you been present, would have pronounced this

to be good divinity: and for the honour of the Philadelphians, I do assure you that these sentiments generally prevail among them; and that there is less religious bigotry here, than in any place I have yet visited. The only circumstance in which the presbyterians seem to be less catholic than others, is their violent opposition to the proposed establishment of a bishop or bishops in America: but indeed I cannot think they are so much to blame in this matter, as our church friends would insinuate; for, was I to settle in America, I should never say a word in favour of an established episcopate, till the powers of the intended bishop were accurately defined, and a satisfactory security given by act of parliament against any future encroachments. Could this be done, I think no reasonable dissenters, upon their own principles, would promote any further opposition.

The quakers have three places of worship in this city, the English presbyterians three, the Scotch presbyterians two, the German Lutherans two, (one of which is very large and elegant) the German Calvinists one, the baptists one, the Roman catholics two, and the methodists one. I have visited most of these places, and have been introduced to many of the clergy, and find them generally moderate, quiet, and charitable. They are all warmly attached to the British constitution, and whilst their civil and religious liberties are secured to them, will remain as affectionate and obedient subjects, as any in his majesty's dominions.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's most sincere friend,
And devoted servant,
T. CASPIPINA.
Philadelphia, Sept. 4. 1771.



The friend. No. IV.—Written by the reverend Timothy Dwight, under the signature of James Littlejohn, esq.—P. 447.

AMONG the prejudices which are entertained by the mind, none has a more powerful influence, than reverence for the opinions and practices of those who have lived before us. This prejudice reaches all classes of men, and extends its dominion

over every method of thinking and acting. Great men observe, and laugh at it, in the conduct of little ones; every sect perceives it in every other sect; and every individual, in the conduct of every other. In agriculture, at least in this country, it decides every practice; in the mechanical arts, in the liberal arts, and even in science, it has a very extensive influence. Thus the nature of the subject to be considered, or pursued, is little attended to, the force of arguments, pleaded in vain; and men live not by reason, but by precedent. This folly has been often exploded by philosophy, and caricatured by satire; yet its power, either in extent or degree, is little abated. The reason is obvious: every man sees the defect in another, but not in himself; and while he wonders that his neighbours are so deaf to reasoning, and so slow of reformation, never reflects that himself is equally diseased, and equally needs the benefit of the cure.

The man, who, upon his shoulders, carried weekly to the mill, a stone of sufficient weight to balance a bushel of wheat, and who refused to rid himself of the burden, because his father and grandfather had carried the same stone, forty years, before him; was, in the eye of reason, a less ridiculous object than the person, who is voluntarily burdened with a load of errors and follies, because others, who have preceded him, chose to carry them. Yet we daily see multitudes, whose shoulders are humped higher than their heads, laughing heartily at the awkward figure, their fellow Hudibrasses make around them.

Homer, some thousand years since, with great force and beauty, formed the *Iliad*, an epic, or narrative poem. It was the first poem of the kind, and written with the first degree of human abilities. Accordingly, the pleasure it gave mankind was very great, and the praises they heaped upon it were without measure. Aristotle, a shrewd and curious investigator, examined the structure of this poem, and the *Odyssey*, and having satisfied himself what were the means of the pleasure they afforded, ventured to form, from the practice of Homer, general rules for the conduct of the epic

poem. From the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, regarded by their countrymen with similar applause, he formed other rules for the conduct of tragedy. This code of criticism has partly escaped the depredations of time, and is now a law less disputed, even by most persons of taste, than either of the two fundamental rules of moral rectitude. Had these three poets been moderns—had Milton written *Paradise Lost*, when the *Iliad* was written, and the best tragedies of Shakespeare been exhibited on the Athenian stage, Aristotle would doubtless have consulted their writings, for the source of the pleasure derived from them, and formed his maxims of criticism on their authority. How different a system would these events have produced; and how many rules would have then been received, with the same implicit faith, with which every age has now swallowed their opposites? Many of Aristotle's present laws would then have been considered as the lunacies of Zoilus. All epic poems must have had an unfortunate issue; all tragedies five acts; and the inferior parts been written in prose. A chorus would have been railed at as a modern absurdity; simplicity of plot been deemed the effusion of dullness; and a new cluster of great ancients moved down the tide of ages, with undisputed glory and perfection. The dispute would then have been, whether the *Iliad* and *Æneid* were entitled to the name of epic poems; and whether their fortunate issues were not such a trespass on the established rules of criticism, as to preclude them from a rank in this high class of productions. Homer's machinery would have been the grossest of all absurdities; and the wonder of all men of taste would have been excited, at the groveling relish of such persons as were capable of enduring in dignified performances, the heathen mythology. Thus the face of the critical world would have been essentially altered, and the propriety of every maxim would have been as questionless as of those, at present adopted.

To those persons who never questioned the authority of the received system of criticism, these remarks will appear ill founded; for the prejudice above mentioned, which produced

their implicit faith in it, will prevent them from discerning their propriety. In the view of candour, the justice of them will scarcely be doubted. Yet how much of the common reverence for Aristotle, for all the ancients, and for many of the moderns, will the acknowledgedness of them destroy?

I would not here be understood to condemn the generality of precepts in the present critical code, or to think disrespectfully of its author. Aristotle was an excellent, a wonderful critic, for the advantages he possessed; and many of the acknowledged critical maxims are undoubtedly just. But Aristotle's ideas of criticism were taken from a few performances: and had he lived in the present age, with the same independence of mind, he would have altered many of them for the better. As criticism, like the science of healing, forms all its precepts from facts, the more numerous the collection of facts is, the fairer opportunity is furnished for reducing it to the standard of truth. Milton and Shakespeare have added, every original genius adds, to the stock of critical ideas, and exhibits means of pleasure, the knowledge of which is true criticism. Hence criticism will advance towards a higher perfection, as the varieties of the human mind open new views of poetical objects, and peculiarity of genius furnishes new springs and meanderings of delight. The stock of poetical images is as infinite, as the diversities of infinite workmanship, in the natural and moral creation; and the modes of exhibiting them as various, as the endlessly various modes of perception in intelligent beings. All these constitute the field of criticism, and concerning them all just and valuable remarks in the progress of things will probably be made.

A few specimens of the influence of the above prejudice, on this branch of human knowledge may perhaps be advantageously subjoined to these observations.

The question, whether *Paradise Lost*, the *Jerusalem Delivered*, and various other poems, are epic poems, has often agitated the critical world. To decide this question with propriety, or even at all, one would naturally imagine it necessary to have previously decided the nature of the epic

poem. Yet this article is hitherto totally undecided. It has indeed been often defined, but that definition has been as often contested. It would be not a little surprising—if any human folly were surprising—to see grave and learned men seriously and warmly debate, whether a poem belongs to a certain class, before they have agreed upon the characteristics of that class.

The word epic signifies merely narrative, and according to its plain meaning, every narrative poem is epic. But the phrase epic poem has been appropriated to such narrative poems, as concerned a dignified subject, were written in an elevated style, and contained noble images, and interesting sentiments. In this sense, also, the poems referred to are as truly epic, as any hitherto written. But if an epic poem must be exactly like the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, or *Æneid*, or if it must rehearse the actions of a warrior, *Paradise Lost* will be excluded from the number.

The truth is, such is the reverence for Homer and Virgil, and such the submission to Aristotle's idea of this subject, that in deciding this question, we recur to Aristotle's ideas of the example, and not to the nature of the subject at large, nor to any definite principles of our own. Thus a single specimen is, by this prejudice, erected into a class, and while we make that a species, as a logician would say, which is no more than an individual of that species, in endeavouring to reduce other individuals of the species to the exact characteristic of the individual, an article necessarily impossible—we debate much with ourselves, and with others, where a little freedom of mind would at once dispel the cause of our doubts.

Indeed the general applause given to *Paradise Lost*, has almost forced the reluctant critics of the present age to silence, on this subject: but it has been long and warmly contested by eminent writers, and is even now scarcely reduced to a certainty.

Pastoral poetry has also suffered from this prejudice, in the highest degree. Theocritus, a Sicilian, wrote a number of pastoral poems of a particular character. Virgil copied after him, with less nature, and more art. From their examples, pastoral poetry

try has been defined; and to their modes of writing, succeeding pastoral writers have been limited. Hence a poem, however abounding in rural images and ideas, and however adorned in its style, is denied the name, because it is not copied from Virgil, or Theocritus, as if all the scenes of rural life were not pastoral subjects, and all the pleasing modes of exhibiting them to the mind in verse, did not belong to this species of poetry.

The misfortunes of this mode of judging are great. Writers are fettered by it within such limits, as to prevent every genuine adventure of genius, and degraded to the humble character of copyers; and readers are precluded from that diversity of pleasure rationally to be expected from the perpetually variegated roving of imagination. Poems, by the manner of forming them, are necessitated to be stale and trite, and innumerable beauties of nature are locked up from the enjoyment of mankind. From this prejudice arose most of that sterility and tastelessness, complained of in the pastorals of Pope, pardonable in a youth of sixteen, but foolishly defended by the author when grown to manhood, and more foolishly praised by doctor Warburton.

In our own happy state of society, disjointed from the customs and systems of Europe, commencing a new system of science and politics, it is to be ardently hoped, that so much independence of mind will be assumed by us, as to induce us to shake off these rusty shackles, examine things on the plan of nature and evidence, and laugh at the grey-bearded decisions of dotting authority. There is ever a propensity in the mind, when forming a class, species, or genus, to form it from the knowledge of a few individuals. Hence it is of necessity imperfectly formed, and all conclusions based upon it, must be erroneous. This is the great imperfection of theories and systems, and the chief cause of their failure in a practical application; classes ought never to be erected but from the knowledge of many individuals belonging to them, and to be accurately just from the knowledge of all. Perhaps even with this knowledge, they would be constituted with

difficulty in the poetical world. Most poems are of such a nature as to blend and harmonize, in several characteristics, with the kinds bordering on them; and can be no more exactly limited or separated than the hues of the rainbow.

For these reasons every definition intended to be just on this subject, ought to be general and liberal; nature ought to be consulted in preference to Aristotle; and other approved writers, as well as Homer and Virgil, Sophocles and Theocritus. On this plan, the wings of genius would be no longer clipped, and its flight, taking the natural direction, and using the natural strength of opinion, would be free and elevated; on this plan, the writer who produced pleasing selections of images and sentiments from the widely extended and endlessly diversified paradise of nature, would be assured of regaling the taste of his readers; and on this plan, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* would hold the first rank in pastoral poetry, and *Paradise Lost* be clearly seen to be superior to every other epic production.



Physical and meteorological observations, conjectures, and suppositions, by Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. and F. R. S.

THE particles of air are kept at a distance from each other by their mutual repulsion.

Every three particles, mutually and equally repelling each other, must form an equilateral triangle.

All the particles of air gravitate towards the earth, which gravitation compresses them, and shortens the sides of the triangles, otherwise their mutual repellency would force them to greater distances from each other.

Whatever particles of other matter (not endued with that repellency) are supported in air, must adhere to the particles of air, and be supported by them; for in the vacancies, there is nothing they can rest on.

Air and water mutually attract each other. Hence water will dissolve in air, as salt in water.

The specific gravity of matter is not altered by dividing the matter, though the superficies be increased.

Sixteen leaden bullets, of an ounce each, weigh as much in water, as one of a pound, whose superficies is less.

Therefore the supporting of salt in water is not owing to its superficies being increased.

A lump of salt, though laid at rest at the bottom of a vessel of water, will dissolve therein, and its parts move every way till equally diffused in the water; therefore there is a mutual attraction between water and salt. Every particle of water assumes as many of salt as can adhere to it; when more is added, it precipitates, and will not remain suspended.

Water, in the same manner, will dissolve in air, every particle of air assuming one or more particles of water; when too much is added, it precipitates in rain.

But there not being the same contiguity between the particles of air as of water, the solution of water in air is not carried on without a motion of the air, so as to cause a fresh accession of dry particles.

Part of a fluid, having more of what it dissolves, will communicate to other parts that have less. Thus, very salt water coming in contact with fresh, communicates its saltiness, till all is equal, and the sooner, if there is a little motion of the water.

Even earth will dissolve, or mix with air. A stroke of a horse's hoof on the ground, in a hot dusty road, will raise a cloud of dust, that shall, if there be a light breeze, expand every way, till perhaps near as big as a common house. It is not by mechanical motion, communicated to the particles of dust by the hoof, that they fly so far, nor by the wind, that they spread so wide. But the air near the ground, more heated by the hot dust struck into it, is rarified, and rises, and, in rising, mixes with the cooler air, and communicates of its dust to it, and is at length so diffused, as to become invisible. Quantities of dust are thus carried up in dry seasons. Showers wash it from the air, and bring it down again. For water attracting it stronger, it quits the air, and adheres to the water.

Air, suffering continual changes in the degrees of its heat, from various causes and circumstances, and consequently changes in its specific gra-

vity, must therefore be in continual motion. A small quantity of fire mixed with water, (or degree of heat therein) so weakens the cohesion, of its particles, that those on the surface easily quit it, and adhere to the particles of air.

A greater degree of heat is required to break the cohesion between water and air.

Air, moderately heated, will support a greater quantity of water invisibly, than cold air; for its particles, being by heat repelled to a greater distance from each other, thereby more easily keep the particles of water, that are annexed to them, from running into cohesions that would obstruct, refract, or reflect the light.

Hence, when we breathe in warm air, though the same quantity of moisture may be taken up from the lungs as when we breathe in cold air, yet that moisture is not so visible.

Water being extremely heated, *i. e.* to the degree of boiling, its particles, in quitting it, so repel each other, as to take up vastly more space than before; and by that repellency, support themselves, expelling the air from the space they occupy. That degree of heat being lessened, they again mutually attract, and having no air particles mixed, to adhere to, by which they might be supported, and kept at a distance, they instantly fall, coalesce, and become water again.

The water commonly diffused in our atmosphere never receives such a degree of heat from the sun, or other cause, as water has when boiling; it is not, therefore, supported by such heat, but by adhering to air.

Water being dissolved in, and adhering to air, that air will not readily take up oil, because of the natural repellency between water and oil.

Hence cold oils evaporate but slowly, the air having generally a quantity of dissolved water.

Oil being heated extremely, the air that approaches its surface, will be also heated extremely; the water then quitting it, it will attract and carry off oil, which can now adhere to it. Hence the quick evaporation of oil heated to a great degree.

Oil being dissolved in air, the particles, to which it adheres, will not take up water.

Hence the suffocating nature of air impregnated with burnt grease, as from snuffs of candles, and the like. A certain quantity of moisture should be every moment discharged and taken away from the lungs. Air, that has been frequently breathed, is already overloaded, and, for that reason, can take no more, so will not answer the end. Greasy air refuses to touch it. In both cases, suffocation for want of the discharge.

Air will attract and support many other substances.

A particle of air, loaded with adhering water, or any other matter, is heavier than before, and would descend.

The atmosphere supposed at rest, a loaded descending particle must act with a force on the particles it passes between, or meets with, sufficient to overcome in some degree their mutual repellency, and push them nearer to each other.

A

o o o

fo bo co co

o bo o

o o o o

E

Thus, supposing the particles A B C D, and the others near them, to be at the distance caused by their mutual repellency (confined by their common gravity) if A would descend to E, it must pass between B and C. When it comes between B and C, it will be nearer to them than before, and must either have pushed them nearer to F and G, contrary to the mutual repellency, or pass through, by a force exceeding its repellency with them. It then approaches D, and, to move it out of the way, must act on it with a force sufficient to overcome its repellency with the two next lower particles, by which it is kept in its present situation.

Every particle of air, therefore, will bear any load inferior to the force of these repulsions.

Hence the support of fogs, mists, and clouds.

Very warm air, clear, though supporting a very great quantity of moisture, will grow turbid and cloudy on the mixture of a colder air—as foggy, turbid air will grow clear by warming.

Thus, the sun shining on a morning fog, dissipates it. Clouds are seen to waste in a sunshiny day.

But cold condenses and renders visible the vapour. A glass, or decanter, filled with cold water, will condense the moisture of warm clear air, on its outside, where it becomes visible as dew, coalesces into drops, and descends in little streams.

The sun heats the air of our atmosphere most near the surface of the earth; for there, besides the direct rays, there are many reflexion. Moreover, the earth itself being heated, communicates of its heat to the neighbouring air.

The higher regions having only the direct rays of the sun passing through them, are comparatively very cold. Hence the cold air on the tops of mountains, and snow on some of them all the year, even in the torrid zone. Hence hail in summer.

If the atmosphere were, all of it (both above and below) always of the same temper, as to cold or heat, then the upper air would always be rarer than the lower, because the pressure on it is less; consequently lighter, and therefore would keep its place.

But the upper air may be more condensed by cold, than the lower air by pressure. The lower more expanded by heat, than the upper for want of pressure. In such case, the upper air will become the heavier, the lower the lighter.

The lower region of air, being heated and expanded, heaves up, and supports, for some time, the colder, heavier air above, and will continue to support it, while the equilibrium is kept. Thus, water is supported in an inverted open glass, while the equilibrium is maintained by the equal pressure upwards of the air below; but the equilibrium by any means breaking, the water descends on the heavier side, and the air rises into its place.

The lighted, cold, heavy air over a heated country, becoming by any means unequally supported, or unequal in its weights, the heaviest part descends first, and the rest follows impetuously. Hence gulls after heat, and hurricanes in hot climates. Hence the air of gulls and hurricanes cold, though in hot climes and seasons; it coming from above.

The cold air descending from above, as it penetrates our warm region, still

of watry particles, condenses them, renders them visible, forms a cloud thick and dark, overcalling sometimes at once, large and extensive; sometimes, when seen at a distance, small at first, gradually increasing; the cold edge, or surface, of the cloud, condensing the vapours next it, which form smaller clouds, that join it, and increase its bulk, it descends with the wind, and its acquired weight, draws nearer the earth, grows denser with continual additions of water, and discharges heavy showers.

Small black clouds thus appearing in a clear sky, in hot climates, portend storms, and warn seamen to hand their sails.

The earth, turning on its axis in about twenty-four hours, the equatorial parts must move about fifteen miles in each minute. In northern and southern latitudes, this motion is gradually less to the poles, and there nothing.

If there was a general calm over the face of the globe, it must be by the air's moving in every part, as fast as the earth, or sea, it covers.

He that sails, or rides, has insensibly the same degree of motion, as the ship, or coach, with which he is connected. If the ship strikes the shore, or the coach stops suddenly, the motion continuing in the man, he is thrown forward. If a man were to jump from the land into a swift sailing ship, he would be thrown backward (or towards the stern) not having at first the motion of the ship.

He that travels, by sea or land, towards the equinoctial, gradually acquires motion; from it, loses.

But if a man were taken up from latitude 40 (where suppose the earth's surface to move 12 miles per minute) and immediately set down at the equinoctial, without changing the motion he had, his heels would be struck up, he would fall westward. If taken up from the equinoctial, and set down in latitude forty, he would fall eastward.

The air under the equator and between the tropics, being constantly heated and rarified by the sun, rises. Its place is supplied by air from northern and southern latitudes, which coming from parts where the earth and air had less motion, and not suddenly ac-

quiring the quicker motion of the equatorial earth, appears an east wind, blowing westward, the earth moving from west to east, and slipping under the air.

Thus, when we ride in a calm, it seems a wind against us. If we ride with the wind, and faster, even that will seem a small wind against us.

The air, rarified between the tropics, and rising, must flow in the higher region, north and south. Before it rose, it had acquired the greatest motion the earth's rotation could give it. It retains some degree of this motion, and descending in higher latitudes, where the earth's motion is less, will appear a westerly wind, yet tending towards the equatorial parts, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the air of the lower regions flowing thitherwards.

Hence our general cold winds are about northwest, our summer cold gusts the same.

The air, in sultry weather, though not cloudy, has a kind of haziness in it, which makes objects at a distance appear dull and indistinct. This haziness is occasioned by the great quantity of moisture equally diffused in that air. When, by the cold wind blowing down among it, it is condensed into clouds, and falls in rain, the air becomes purer and clearer. Hence, after gusts, distant objects appear distinct, their figures sharply terminated.

Extreme cold winds congeal the surface of the earth, by carrying off its fire. Warm winds, afterwards blowing over that frozen surface, will be chilled by it. Could that frozen surface be turned under, and a warmer turned up from beneath it, those warm winds would not be chilled so much.

The surface of the earth is also sometimes, much heated by the sun; and such heated surface not being changed, heats the air that moves over it.

Seas, lakes, and great bodies of water, agitated by the winds, continually change surfaces: the cold surface in winter is turned under by the rolling of the waves, and a warmer turned up; in summer, the warm is turned under, and colder turned up. Hence the more equal temper of sea water, and the air over it. Hence, in win-

ter, winds from the sea seem warm, winds from the lands, cold. In summer, the contrary.

Therefore the lakes northwest of us*, as they are not so much frozen, nor so apt to freeze as the earth, rather moderate than increase the coldness of our winter winds.

The air over the sea being warmer, and therefore lighter in winter, than the air over the frozen land, may be another cause of our general northwest winds which blow off to sea at right angles from our North American coast: the warm, light, sea air rising, the heavy, cold, land air pressing into its place.

Heavy fluids descending frequently form eddies, or whirlpools, as is seen in a funnel, where the water requires a circular motion receding every way from a centre, and leaving a vacancy in the middle, greatest above, and lessening downwards, like a speaking trumpet, its big end upwards.

Air descending, or ascending, may form the same kind of eddies, or whirlings, the parts of air acquiring a circular motion, and receding from the middle of the circle by a centrifugal force, and leaving there a vacancy, if descending, greatest above, and lessening downwards; if ascending, greatest below, and lessening upwards, like a speaking trumpet, standing its big end on the ground.

When the air descends with violence in some places, it may rise with equal violence in others, and form both kinds of whirlwinds.

The air in its whirling motion receding every way from the centre, or axis, of the trumpet, leaves there a vacuum, which cannot be filled through the sides, the whirling as an arch preventing; it must then press in at the open ends.

The greatest pressure inwards must be at the lower end, the greatest weight of the surrounding atmosphere being there. The air entering rises within, and carries up dust, leaves, and even heavier bodies that happen in its way, as the eddy or whirlpool passes over land.

If it passes over water, the weight of the surrounding atmosphere forces up the water into the vacuity, part of which, by degrees, joins with the whirling air, and adding weight, and receiving accelerated motion, recedes still farther from the centre, or axis, of the trumpet, as the pressure lessens, and at last, as the trumpet widens, is broken into small particles, and so united with air, as to be supported by it, and become black clouds at the top of the trumpet.

Thus, these eddies may be whirlwinds at land, waterspouts at sea. A body of water so raised, may be suddenly let fall, when the motion, &c. has not strength to support it, or the whirling arch is broken so as to let in the air; falling in the sea, it is harmless, unless ships happen under it. But if in the progressive motion of the whirl, it has moved from the sea over the land, and there breaks, sudden, violent, and mischievous torrents are the consequence.

NOTE.

* In Pennsylvania.

June 3, 1756.



SCHEDULE of the FRENCH and DUTCH LOANS, shewing the periods of their redemption, with the annual interest payable thereon until their final extinction: as published by congress in 1785 or 1786.

1786.					Dolls. 90.
Jan. 1.	To 2 years' int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	111.111.	10
	From which deduct, being already provided,			90,000.	
					<hr/>
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,050,000 flo. D. I.	at 4 p. cent	21.111.	10
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	32.800.	
Nov. 5.	1 ditto	10,000,000 liv. F. L.	4 p. cent	100.000.	
					<hr/>
Total payments for 1786,					74.971.
					<hr/>
					227,985. 10
					<hr/>

				Dolls. 90.	
1787.					
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	55,555. 50	
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,050,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	32,800.	
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	100,000.	
Sept. 3.	4 ditto	18,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	666,666. 60	
	First payment of the	18,000,000 do. capital	is	277,777. 70	
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	10,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent	74,074.	
	First payment of the	10,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17	

Total payments for 1787, 1,392,059. 17

				Dolls. 90.	
1788.					
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	55,555. 50	
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,110,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	33,760.	
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	100,000.	
Sept. 3.	1 ditto	16,500,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	152,777. 70	
	Second paymt. of the	18,000,000 do.	is	277,777. 70	
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	9,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent	66,666. 60	
	Second payment of the	10,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17	

Total payments for 1788, 871,622. 87

				Dolls. 90.	
1789.					
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	55,555. 50	
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,110,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	33,760.	
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	100,000.	
Sept. 3.	1 ditto	15,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	138,888. 80	
	Third payment of the	18,000,000 do. capital	is	277,777. 70	
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	8,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent	59,259. 23	
	Third payment of the	10,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17	

Total payments for 1789, 850,226. 60

				Dolls. 90.	
1790.					
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	55,555. 50	
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,180,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	34,880.	
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	100,000.	
Sept. 3.	1 ditto	13,500,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	125,000.	
	Fourth payment of the	18,000,000 do. capital	is	277,777. 70	
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	7,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent	51,851. 76	
	Fourth payment of the	10,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17	

Total payments for 1790, 830,250. 33

				Dolls. 90.	
1791.					
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	55,555. 50	
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,180,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	34,880.	
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	100,000.	
Sept. 3.	1 ditto	12,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	111,111. 10	
	Fifth payment of the	18,000,000 do. capital	is	277,777. 70	
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent	44,444. 40	
	Fifth payment of the	10,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17	

Total payments for 1791, 808,954. 7

				Dolls. 90.	
1792.					
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	55,555. 50	
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,270,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	36,320.	
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	100,000.	

Carried over, 191,875. 50

					Dolls. 90.
1792.					191,875. 50
Brought over,	-	-	-	-	97,242. 20
Sept. 3.	1 year's int. on	10,500,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent		277,777. 70
Sixth payment of the		18,000,000 do. capital	is		37,037. 17
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	5,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent		185,185. 17
Sixth payment of the		10,000,000 do. capital	is		
Total payments for 1792,					789,097. 67

					Dolls. 90.
1793.					55,555. 50
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent		36,320.
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,270,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent		100,000.
June 1.	1 ditto	5,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent		400,000.
First payment of the		5,000,000 do. capital	is		83,333. 30
Sept. 3.	1 year's int. on	9,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent		277,777. 70
Seventh payment of the		18,000,000 do. capital	is		29,629. 56
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	4,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent		185,185. 17
Seventh payment of the		10,000,000 do. capital	is		
Total payments for 1793,					1,167,801. 43

					Dolls. 90.
1794.					55,555. 50
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent		37,920.
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,370,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent		80,000.
June 1.	1 ditto	4,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent		400,000.
Second payment of the		5,000,000 do. capital	is		69,444. 40
Sept. 3.	1 year's int. on	7,500,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent		277,777. 70
Eighth payment of the		18,000,000 do. capital	is		22,222. 20
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	3,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent		185,185. 17
Eighth payment of the		10,000,000 do. capital	is		
Total payments for 1794,					1,128,105. 17

					Dolls. 90.
1795.					55,555. 50
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent		37,920.
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,370,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent		60,000.
June 1.	1 ditto	3,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent		400,000.
Third payment of the		5,000,000 do. capital	is		55,555. 50
Sept. 3.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent		277,777. 70
Ninth payment of the		18,000,000 do. capital	is		14,814. 73
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	2,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent		185,185. 17
Ninth payment of the		10,000,000 do. capital	is		
Total payments for 1795,					1,086,808. 55

					Dolls. 90.
1796.					55,555. 50
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent		39,840.
Feb. 1.	1 ditto	2,490,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent		40,000.
June 1.	1 ditto	2,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent		400,000.
Fourth payment of the		5,000,000 do. capital	is		41,666. 60
Sept. 3.	1 year's int. on	4,500,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent		277,777. 70
Tenth payment of the		18,000,000 do. capital	is		7,407. 36
Nov. 5.	1 year's int. on	1,000,000 do. F. L.	4 p. cent		185,185. 17
Tenth payment of the		10,000,000 do. capital	is		
Total payments for 1796,					1,047,422. 53

1797.				Dolls. 90.
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	6,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	55,555. 50
	First payment of the	6,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,490,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	39,840.
June 1.	1 ditto	1,000,000 do. ditto	5 p. cent	20,000.
	Fifth payment of the	5,000,000 do. capital	is	400,000.
Sept. 3.	1 year's int. on	3,000,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	27,777. 70
	Eleventh paymt. of the	18,000,000 do. capital	is	277,777. 70

Total payments for 1797,

1,006,135. 27

1798.				Dolls. 90.
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	5,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	46,296. 27
	Second paymt. of the	6,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,670,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	43,040.
Sept. 3.	1 ditto	1,500,000 liv. F. L.	5 p. cent	13,888. 80
	12. 12th paymt. of the	18,000,000 do. capital	is	277,777. 70

Total payments for 1798,

566,188. 10

1799.				Dolls. 90.
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	4,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	37,037. 40
	Third payment of the	6,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,690,000 flo. D. L.	at 4 p. cent	43,043.

Total payments for 1799,

265,262. 20

1800.				Dolls. 90.
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	3,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	27,777. 70
	Fourth payment of the	6,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,690,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	43,043.

Total payments for 1800,

256,005. 20

1801.				Dolls. 90.
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	18,518. 40
	Fifth payment of the	6,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,690,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	43,043.
	First payment of the above capital,			124,800.

Total payments for 1801,

371,546. 60

1802.				Dolls. 90.
Jan. 1.	1 year's int. on	1,000,000 liv. F. L.	at 5 p. cent	9,259. 20
	Sixth payment of the	6,000,000 do. capital	is	185,185. 17
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,390,000 flo. D. L.	4 p. cent	38,240.
	Second paymt. of the	2,690,000 do. capital	is	130,200.

Total payments for 1802,

363,884. 40

1803.				Dolls. 90.
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	2,080,000 flo. D. L.	at 4 p. cent	33,280.
	Third paymt. of the	2,690,000 do. capital	is	135,680.

Total payments for 1803,

168,960.

					Dolls. 90.
1804.					
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	1,760,000 flo. D. L.	at 4 p. cent		28,160.
	Fourth payment of the	2,690,000 do. capital	is		145,520.
Total payments for 1804,					173,680.
1805.					Dolls. 90.
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	1,420,000 flo. D. L.	at 4 p. cent		22,720.
	Fifth payment of the	2,690,000 do. capital	is		151,200.
Total payments for 1805,					173,920.
1806.					Dolls. 90.
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	1,070,000 flo. D. L.	at 4 p. cent		17,120.
	Sixth payment of the	2,690,000 do. capital	is		161,320.
Total payments for 1806,					178 440.
1807.					Dolls. 90.
Feb. 1.	1 year's int. on	700,000 flo. D. L.	at 4 p. cent		11,200.
	Seventh payment of the	2,690,000 do. capital	is		308,000.
Total payments for 1807,					319,200.

It is to be observed, that the sum of 50,000 out of 90,000 dollars (which is stated in this schedule, as applied for the payment of interest on the French loans) has been appropriated as a provision for a payment of interest on the Dutch loans: this does not affect the aggregate sum of interest for 1786, as carried out in the schedule.



Address of governor Sullivan to the freemen of New Hampshire.

Brethren and fellow-citizens,

CONSCIOUS of having had too small a share of military experience, I can only urge my late appointment to the command of the militia, in this state, in excuse for addressing you, upon a subject of such importance to the public, and of which my knowledge is so imperfect. But, were my talents even equal to those of a Frederic, I could do but little, towards forming a well-regulated militia, without the countenance and aid of the people at large. You will permit me to observe, that, under a constitution, calculated to render people free and happy, the mutual consent, and joint efforts of all, are requisite, in some instances, to bring about that reform, which, in a less happy country, may be accomplished by the arbitrary dictates of a despotic prince.

With us, at this day, a slender excuse, a defect in the militia law, or, at the worst, a small fine, may exempt a person during life, from appearing

in the field: but the despot issues his orders, and punishes the breach, according to his own caprice; and as no person can conjecture the penalty, every subject fears to hazard the consequence of disobedience. Perhaps this may be one reason for the great success, tyrants have had, in enslaving so great a part of the human race.

In republican governments, people often turn their thoughts to that part of the constitution, which bequeaths them their liberties; but too frequently forget, that they ought to pursue measures, for securing them.

We have already bravely purchased liberty and independence, and now make part of an empire, where freedom reigns without controul. But, what will our late struggles avail, if we suffer the military skill, which we have acquired, to expire, and ourselves to sleep in seeming safety, till the avarice, the jealousy, or the ambition of some foreign prince, rouses us from our slumber, and convinces us of our mistake?

We often please ourselves, by observing, that this country is calculated

for freedom and commerce; not for war. I sincerely join in that opinion, and most ardently wish, it may ever remain such: but I have long since been convinced, that the only way to keep peace, is to be prepared for the worst events. If we mean to keep our neighbour's sword in the scabbard, we must whet our own.

The citizens of every country, however desirous of peace, should always be prepared for war—and this never can be the case, without a well-regulated militia, or a standing army: the latter, I am fully persuaded, is more dangerous to the liberties of any country, than a foreign force, and what I most ardently pray may never be established in the American states, in time of peace.

If we approve not of a standing army, our militia must be taught the use of arms; or our safety will depend upon the peaceable disposition of our neighbours, and not upon any precautions or preparations of our own.

As I flatter myself further arguments are not requisite to prove the necessity of disciplining and keeping up a regular and formidable militia, I shall proceed to offer some remarks for your consideration—It is not my province to dictate—I can only recommend. All important regulations must be ordered, or approved of, by the commander in chief; and even those orders must be consistent with the laws of the state. I shall, therefore, only urge upon field officers, already appointed, to lose no time, in nominating their captains and subalterns; and that, in the choice of them, they avail themselves as much of military talents and experience, as possible.

I am far from wishing, that no persons should be appointed, but such as have had military experience: on the contrary, I am persuaded, that some gentlemen, who have never seen service, have naturally excellent military talents, and bid fair to make great and good officers. But where one person has military experience, another none, all other things being equal, it requires no uncommon share of sagacity, to determine, who should be preferred. I wish no person to be in office, who is not likely to answer the purposes of his appointment.

Formerly, the man of wealth and family was sought after, without the least attention to capacity.

I readily grant, that officers, of every rank, ought to be gentlemen and men of honour; if men of family, their advantages of education are generally greater; and if they are possessed of wealth and fortune, it is a most agreeable circumstance—but these alone can have but little weight, without other qualifications still more essential.

The merchant will not hazard his ship to be navigated by a man, merely because he is a man of wealth and family; nor the gentleman his watch, in the hands of a person unskilled in the business of watchmaking, barely because he possesses a large estate. And it is really surprising, that the most unbounded, and the most important science, should be so lightly esteemed, as to entrust the teaching of it to persons totally uninstruited, and who have not even capacity, to acquire a knowledge of it themselves.

But, whatever appointments the field officers may think proper to make, I earnestly recommend, that they be made as soon as possible; and that the officers appointed, of every rank, use their utmost efforts, to have the militia disciplined, in small parties, without delay.

And here let me intreat the influence of every gentleman, who wishes well to his country, to lend his aid, in promoting a business so essential, as the preservation of his own rights, and those of his fellow-citizens.

The law of the state enacts, that every soldier shall be provided with a gun, bayonet, cartouch-box, &c. but an uniformity of arms is much to be wished; and I cannot think it impossible to procure such, as were used by the late American army: many of them are now in the country, and many, I believe, for sale, in the public magazines; and if arms are to be purchased, I can see nothing, but a little attention, requisite, in order to have them of the same kind.

An uniformity of dress will be allowed by every person, who has the least military taste, to add lustre to the troops, to inspire them with military ambition, and make them appear respectable in the view of spectators,

and formidable in the eyes of their enemies ; and this, in my opinion, is more easily attainable, than an uniformity of arms.

I would only propose, for consideration, a dress almost similar to that worn by the troops of the German empire : a short coat of white woolen, and waistcoat of the same, of our own manufacture ; the coat faced, and half cuffed with blue, red, crimson, or any other colour ; the cape of the coat, and the front of the waistcoat, bound with lace of the same colour with the facing ; and then a pair of linen overalls complete the dress. A single minute, spent in calculation, will prove this a much cheaper dress than the militia now appear in. If a person keeps a suit for public days, I can see no good reason, why he should refuse the cheapest ; and if he is able to keep but one, I believe a moment's reflexion will convince him, that he can appear more decent in one, which he may wash as often as his shirts, than in a suit, which, by a single washing, would be ruined. If it should be objected, that it is not the fashion, my answer is, that if officers and men once begin to come into it, it will soon become as fashionable here, as it is now in Germany and Turkey, where the best troops almost in the world are clad with it.

If it should be objected, that this kind of clothing cannot be kept clean, the answer is, that even without washing, they are more easily kept so than any other—whiting, flour, wheat-bran, and chalk, used in the French army, and even in our own, kept white uniforms decent and clean, which would not admit of washing, and gave them a better and neater appearance, than clothing of any colour.

The operation, which this must have, respecting the balance of trade, ought to be a powerful motive for adopting it, as almost the whole, if not all the materials, for this uniform, may be manufactured among ourselves. If we allow twenty thousand militia in this state, and that this dress will cost each man five dollars, and that each suit will last a year, there will be one hundred thousand dollars kept among us, which, if we clothed in foreign manufactures, must be drawn out of the country. If we reckon so,

for ten years, a million of dollars will be saved to this single state. I am well aware of the argument, too often opposed to this, viz. that, if a man can purchase foreign manufactures cheaper, than those of his own country, it is better for him as an individual. If I were to admit this argument to be just, it would only prove, that people may sometimes adopt a conduct, to serve themselves, which tends to ruin the society, to which they belong ; and that this, if granted in its full force, must have that operation, will soon be discovered, by reflecting on the fatal consequences, if every member in the community were to adopt it.

Our own manufactures would cease, idleness be introduced, and all our circulating cash drawn away, to pay for the labour and materials of other nations. No great force of reasoning is requisite, to prove, that any country, which imports three millions annually in foreign articles, and exports only two, will be one in arrear—this balance must either remain unpaid, or the circulating medium of the country be drawn away to discharge it.

This balance of trade against a nation, like a whirlpool, draws off the circulating cash, and leaves the people “ poor indeed.” This among others (which it is not my province to name) is a great cause of the scarcity of money among us at this day ; and is one principal foundation of our present distress : we feel the evil, and complain, though very few attempt to discover its source. But I will now endeavour to demonstrate, that it not only tends to impoverish a nation, but even those individuals, who conceive they are saving their interest, by purchasing foreign manufactures at a cheap rate.

If this conduct has a tendency to distress the nation at large, to drain it of cash, and to leave the poor debtors, with their effects, at the mercy of the rich and powerful, or rather in the hands of foreign merchants, or their agents here, how much will the pretended saving avail them ? Their real and personal estate will be reduced in value ; and in order to raise the cash, to pay for articles which (they fondly conclude) are purchased upon advantageous terms, double the

quantity of either of these articles will be requisite for raising money to pay the demand.

If, therefore, a great saving might be made to the state, by clothing in uniforms of our own manufacture—if individuals must feel the advantages—and if the corps would appear much more respectable, would not the militia of New Hampshire do themselves the highest honour, by adopting a measure, which, while it added brilliancy to them as troops, would contribute so largely towards enriching their country?

Having proposed this subject for your consideration, I shall now address myself to the gentlemen of talents and capacity, who may have the offer of commissions. Some perhaps may decline, because they have ample fortunes, and wish to enjoy life in ease and tranquility; others will allege their having held equal, or even superior commissions in the army, or elsewhere; and many may urge the expense attending an office, as a sufficient objection against holding it.

If the first of these arguments had been adopted at the commencement of the late war, we should not at this moment have even the shadow of liberty, to contend for; if the second were to prevail, I think no person could urge it with more propriety, than myself.

The third objection is only rendered formidable, by a practice too common in America, under former constitutions, which, I trust, will never take place under the present.

Formerly, in many of the united states, a muster-day often presented a scene of feasting, and not of military exhibitions: the principal officers, instead of attending to the duties of the day, were employed in preparing and ordering an expensive entertainment, for spectators and officers, while the soldiers were left to burn powder to no purpose; to march without order; to be the spectators of an untimely feast; and to return home, without acquiring any other knowledge, than that, which arose from seeing the near resemblance between a general muster and a riot.

I am far from wishing muster days to be considered as days of feasting,

either for officers, soldiers, or spectators: they are days for exhibiting military skill; for acquiring a knowledge of manœuvres, and not for feasting and revelling. Judicious spectators will be better pleased with a cold collation, provided at little expense, with a display of military acquirements, than with a regular feast, without having a sight of the performances they came to view. Officers will have less trouble, and be able to perform their duty with more ease, and less confusion. Soldiers can be more regaled by having refreshments provided for them, to partake of, at proper intervals, than by seeing the most luxuriant tables spread with costly food, of which they can have but little, if any share; and will undoubtedly be better pleased to have their time taken up in the proper business of the day, than in that which has no relation to it. If the militia mean to become soldiers, they must act the part of such, in acquiring the necessary knowledge: if they wish to become the strength and safety of their country, they should avoid every practice, however ancient, which has a tendency to prevent their obtaining the object in view.

If the plan, herein recommended, should be adopted, the objection relative to expense will in a great measure lose its force.

Many people suppose a militia can never be equal to troops in a regular standing army: and therefore will not hazard an attempt, which they suppose to be vain: but stubborn facts destroy the supposition. The militia of the Swiss cantons are equal, if not superior, to the standing forces of their neighbours. And the Prussian army, so formidable in Europe, is nothing more than a well regulated militia: the voice of the prince calls them to the field; three months are taken up in disciplining them, and in passing their reviews; they are then furloughed for nine months of the year, during which time they work at their respective occupations, without being called upon, unless in case of invasion, or actual war.

I know, so much time of the yeomanry, in this country, cannot be spared; but much more, than has ever yet been spent, might be devoted

ed to a business so important, without being sensibly felt; and I cannot avoid urging this in the most pressing terms, at a time, when, however desirous we may be of a lasting peace, war does not in my view appear at a great distance. If any gentleman should differ from me in sentiment, and can assign a satisfactory reason, for the British refusing to give up the important posts on our frontiers, ceded to us by treaty, I shall then with pleasure change by opinion; and my fears on that head will be at an end.

In order to prepare for every event, if, in each neighbourhood, the officers and soldiers were to assemble one or two hours in a week, to practise the use of arms, and regularly attend on the proper muster-days, they would soon become expert in the art of war; be a terror to every ambitious power; and render themselves able and skilful guardians of those liberties, purchased by the blood of their brethren, and the treasures of their country.

J. SULLIVAN, major-general.
Durham, January 27, 1785.



Inaugural address of the hon. John Adams, esq. vice president of the united states, to the senate thereof.

Gentlemen of the senate,

INVITED to this respectable situation by the suffrages of our fellow-citizens, according to the constitution, I have thought it my duty, cheerfully and readily to accept it. Unaccustomed to refuse any public service, however dangerous to my reputation, or disproportionate to my talents, it would have been inconsistent to have adopted another maxim of conduct, at this time, when the prosperity of the country, and the liberties of the people, require, perhaps as much as ever, the attention of those, who possess any share of the public confidence.

I should be destitute of sensibility, if, upon my arrival in this city, and presentation to this legislature, and especially to this senate, I could see, without emotion, so many of those characters, of whose virtuous exertions I have so often been a witness—from whose countenance and examples I have derived encouragement and animation—whose disinterested

friendship has supported me, in many intricate conjunctures of public affairs, at home and abroad—those celebrated defenders of the liberties of this country, whom menaces could not intimidate, corruption seduce, nor flattery allure—those intrepid assertors of the rights of mankind, whose philosophy and policy have enlightened the world, in twenty years, more than it was ever before enlightened in many centuries, by ancient schools or modern universities.

I must have been inattentive to the course of events, if I were either ignorant of the same, or insensible to the merit of those other characters in the senate, to whom it has been my misfortune to have been, hitherto, personally unknown.

It is with satisfaction, that I congratulate the people of America, on the formation of a national constitution, and the fair prospect of a consistent administration of a government of laws—on the acquisition of a house of representatives, chosen by themselves—of a senate, thus composed by their own state legislatures—and on the prospect of an executive authority, in the hands of one, whose portrait I shall not presume to draw. Were I blessed with powers to do justice to his character, it would be impossible to increase the confidence or affection of his country, or make the smallest addition to his glory. This can only be effected by a discharge of the present exalted trust, on the same principles, with the same abilities and virtues, which have uniformly appeared in all his former conduct, public or private. May I, nevertheless, be indulged to enquire, if we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations, whether they have been denominated presidents, or consuls, kings, or princes, where shall we find one, whose commanding talents and virtues, whose over-ruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and all voices in his favour—who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations, and fellow citizens, with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon, are no common blessing to the country, that possesses them. By those great qualities, and their benign effects, has providence marked out the head of this nation,

with a hand so distinctly visible, as to have been seen by all men, and mistaken by none.

It is not for me, to interrupt your deliberations, by any general observations on the state of the nation, or by recommending, or proposing any particular measures. It would be superfluous, to gentlemen of your great experience, to urge the necessity of order. It is only necessary to make an apology for myself. Not wholly without experience in public assemblies, I have been more accustomed to take a share in their debates, than to preside in their deliberations. It shall be my constant endeavour to behave towards every member of this most honourable body, with all that consideration, delicacy, and decorum, which become the dignity of his station and character. But if, from inexperience, or inadvertency, any thing should ever escape me, inconsistent with propriety, I must intreat you, by imputing it to its true cause, and not to any want of respect, to pardon and excuse it.

A trust of the great magnitude is committed to this legislature—and the eyes of the world are upon you. Your country expects, from the results of your deliberations, in concurrence with the other branches of government, consideration abroad, and contentment at home—prosperity, order, justice, peace, and liberty: and may God Almighty's providence assist you to answer their just expectations.

JOHN ADAMS.

April 21, 1789.

*An act of the state of Rhode Island,
for levying and collecting certain
duties.*

WHEREAS eleven of the states, belonging to the late confederation of the united states, have organized themselves into a new confederacy, and are preparing, by their general legislature, to levy and collect sundry duties and imposts, on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported from foreign parts; and whereas it hath become necessary for this state to take some effectual measure, for the levying and collecting similar duties within this state, to be placed in the treasury thereof; for similar purposes;

Be it enacted by this general assembly, and by the authority thereof, it is hereby enacted, that the same duties and imposts, whether by *per cent. ad valorem*, or on specified articles, or otherwise, be levied and collected upon all goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into this state, whether by land or water, as may be ordered to be levied and collected upon similar goods, wares, and merchandize, imported, either by land or water, into any of the said eleven states, by and under the authority of the said eleven states, by their said general legislature, by any laws, acts, or ordinances, made and passed, or to be made and passed, by the said general legislature: and that the several officers, appointed for collecting the impost, heretofore levied in this state, be authorized, directed, and required, to carry this act into effectual execution, at and from the same time appointed, or to be appointed, by the said general legislature of the said eleven states, for beginning to collect the said duties and imposts in the said states, and on the principles and terms of the acts and ordinances of the said eleven states, *mutatis mutandis*.

Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the duties and imposts, hereby required to be levied, as aforesaid, within this state, shall be paid in the same kind of monies, or other things, in which the said duties and imposts, to be levied and collected in the said eleven states, shall be payable, under the laws and ordinances by them passed, or to be passed, for collecting the same

(A true copy) Witnesses,

Henry Ward, sec.

May, 1789.

A Negro servant being asked what colour he believed the devil was? Why, replied the African, the white men paint him black, we say he is white; but from his great age, and being called Old Nick, I should suppose him grey.

UPON the flight of the British from Lexington, a major of their army received a wound in the cheek with a goose shot. General Robertson told him the Yankees must have certainly mistaken him for a goose, or they would not have used him so ill.

A speech delivered by dr. Benjamin Rush. March 16. 1773, in Carpenters' hall, before the subscribers towards a fund, for establishing manufactures of woollen, cotton, and linen, in the city of Philadelphia.

Gentlemen,

WHEN I reflect upon the extent of the subject before me, and consider the small share of knowledge I possess of it, I confess, I rise with timidity, to speak in this assembly; and it is only because the requests of fellow-citizens, in every laudable undertaking, should always operate with the force of commands, that I have prevailed upon myself to execute the task, you have assigned me.

My business, upon this occasion, is, to lay before you the necessity, possibility, and advantages of establishing cotton, woollen, and linen manufactures, among us.

The necessity of establishing these manufactures, is obvious, from the association of congress, which puts a stop to the importation of British goods, of which woollens, cottons, and linens always made a considerable part. So large has been the demand for these articles, and so very necessary are they in this country, that it is impossible for us to clothe ourselves, without substituting some others in their room. I am far from thinking, that the non-importation agreement will be so transitory a thing, as some have supposed. The appearance of a change of measures in England, respecting the colonies, does not flow from a conviction of their injustice. The same arbitrary ministers continue in office, and the same arbitrary favourites continue to abuse the confidence of our sovereign. Sudden conversions should be trusted with caution; especially, when they have been brought about by interest or fear. I shall think the liberties of America, established at an easy price, by a two or three years' non-importation agreement. By union and perseverance, in this mode of opposition to Great Britain, we shall afford a new phenomenon in the history of mankind, and furnish posterity with an example, to teach them, that peace with all the rights of humanity and justice, may be continued, by the exertion of economical as well as military vir-

ties. We shall moreover demonstrate the fallshood of those systems of government, which exclude patriotism from the list of virtues; and shew that we act most sincerely for ourselves, when we act most disinterestedly for the public.

The possibility of establishing woollen, cotton, and linen manufactures among us, is plain, from the success, which has attended several attempts, that have been made for that purpose. A great part of the inhabitants of several of the counties of this province, clothe themselves entirely with woollens and linens, manufactured in their own families. Our wool is equal in quality to the wool of several European countries; and, if the same pains were bestowed on the culture of our sheep, which are used in England and Spain, I have no doubt, but that in a few years, our wool would equal the wool of Segovia itself. Nor will there be a deficiency in the quantity of the wool, which will be necessary for us, if we continue to adhere to the association of the congress, as strictly as we have done. If the city of Philadelphia consumes twenty thousand sheep less this year, than it did last, how many twenty thousand sheep may we suppose will be saved throughout the whole province? according to the ordinary breed of sheep, and allowing for the additional quantity of wool, which a little care will produce, I think I could make it appear, that, in five years, there will be wool enough raised in the province, to clothe the whole of its inhabitants. Cotton may be imported, upon such terms, from the West Indies, and southern colonies, as to enable us to manufacture thickets, calicoes, &c. at a much cheaper rate, than they can be imported from Britain. Considering how much these stuffs are worn by those classes of people, who constitute the majority of the inhabitants of our country, the encouragement of the cotton manufactory appears to be an object of the utmost consequence. I cannot help suggesting in this place, although it may appear foreign to our subjects, that the trade to the West Indies and the southern colonies, for cotton, would create such a commercial union with the middle and northern colonies, as would tend greatly to

strengthen that political union, which now subsists between them. I need say nothing of the facility of cultivating flax, nor of the excellent quality of the linens, which have been already manufactured among us. I shall only add, that this manufactory may be carried on, without lessening the value of that trade, which arises from the exportation of our flaxseed to Ireland.

I cannot help laying a good deal of stress upon the public spirit of my countrymen, which places the success of these manufactures beyond a bare possibility, and seems to render it in some measure certain. The resolves of the congress have been executed with a fidelity, hardly known in any country, and that too, without the assistance of fire and sword, or even of the civil magistrate, and in some places, in direct opposition to them all. It gives me the utmost pleasure to mention here, that our province is among the foremost of the colonies, in the peaceable mode of opposition, recommended by the congress. When I reflect upon the temper we have discovered in the present controversy, and compare it with the habitual spirit of industry and economy, for which we are celebrated among strangers, I know not how to estimate our virtue high enough. I am sure, no objects will appear too difficult, nor any undertaking too expensive for us, in the present struggle. The sum of money, which has been already subscribed for the purpose of these manufactories, is a proof, that I am not too sanguine in my expectations from this province.

I come now to point out the advantages we shall derive, from establishing the woolen, cotton, and linen manufactories among us. The first advantage I shall mention, is—we shall annually save a large sum of money in our province. The province of Pennsylvania is said to contain four hundred thousand inhabitants. Let us suppose, that only fifty thousand of these are clothed with woollens, cottons, and linens of Great Britain; and that the price of clothing, for each of these persons, upon an average, amounts to five pounds sterling a year. If this computation be just, then the sum, saved

annually in our province, by the manufactory of our cloths, will amount to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Secondly, manufactories, next to agriculture, are the basis of the riches of every country. Cardinal Ximenes is at this day remembered in Spain, more for the improvement he made in the breed of sheep, by importing a number of rams from Barbary, than for any other service he rendered his country. King Edward IV. and queen Elizabeth, of England, are mentioned with gratitude by historians, for passing acts of parliament, to import a number of sheep from Spain. And to this mixture of Spanish with English sheep, the wool of the latter owes its peculiar excellence and reputation, all over the world. Louis XIV. of France, knew the importance of a woolen manufactory in his kingdom; and, in order to encourage it, allowed several exclusive privileges to the company of woolen drapers in Paris. The effects of this royal patronage of this manufactory, have been too sensibly felt by the English, who have, within these thirty or forty years, had the mortification of seeing the trade up the Levant for woolen cloths, in some measure monopolized by the French. It is remarkable, that the riches, and naval power of France, have increased in proportion to this very lucrative trade.

Thirdly. By establishing these manufactories among us, we shall employ a number of poor people in our city, and that too in a way most agreeable to themselves, and least expensive to the company; for according to our plan, the principal part of the business will be carried on in their own houses. Travellers through Spain inform us, that in the town of Segovia, which contains sixty thousand inhabitants, there is not a single beggar to be seen. This is attributed entirely to the woolen manufactory, which is carried on in the most extensive manner in that place, affording constant employment to the whole of their poor people. Fourthly, By establishing the woolen, cotton, and linen manufactories in this country, we shall invite manufacturers from every part of Europe, particularly from Britain and Ireland, to come

and settle among us. To men, who want money to purchase lands, and who, from habits of manufacturing, are disinclined to agriculture, the prospect of meeting with employment, as soon as they arrive in this country, in a way they have been accustomed to, would lessen the difficulties of emigration, and encourage thousands to come, and settle in America. If they increased our riches, by increasing the value of our property, and if they added to our strength, by adding to our numbers only, they would be a great acquisition to us. But there are higher motives, which should lead us to invite strangers to settle in this country. Poverty, with its other evils, has joined with it, in every part of Europe, all the miseries of slavery. America is now the only asylum for liberty in the whole world. The present contest with Great Britain, was perhaps intended by the Supreme Being, among other wise and benevolent purposes, to shew the world this asylum, which, from its remote and unconnected situation with the rest of the globe, might have remained a secret for ages. By establishing manufactories, we stretch forth a hand from the ark, to invite the timid manufacturers to come in. It might afford us pleasure, to trace the new sources of happiness, which would immediately open to our fellow-creatures, from their settlement in this country. Manufactories have been accused of being unfriendly to population. I believe the charge should fall upon slavery. By bringing manufacturers into this land of liberty and plenty, we recover them from the torpid state, in which they existed in their own country; and place them in circumstances, which enable them to become husbands and fathers; and thus we add to the general tide of human happiness. Fifthly, the establishment of manufactories in this country, by lessening our imports from Great Britain, will deprive European luxuries and vices of those vehicles, in which they have been transported to America. The wisdom of the congress cannot be too much admired, in putting a check to them both. They have, in effect, said to them, "Thus far shall ye go, and no farther." Sixthly, By esta-

blishing manufactories among us, we erect an additional barrier against the encroachments of tyranny. A people, who are entirely dependent upon foreigners, for food, or clothes, must always be subject to them. I need not detain you, in setting forth the misery of holding property, liberty, and life, upon the precarious will of our fellow-subjects in Britain. I beg leave to add a thought in this place, which has been but little attended to, by the writers upon this subject; and that is, that poverty, confinement, and death, are trifling evils, when compared with that total depravity of heart, which is connected with slavery. By becoming slaves, we shall lose every principle of virtue. We shall transfer unlimited obedience from our Maker, to a corrupt majority in the British house of commons; and shall esteem their crimes the certificates of their divine commission to govern us. We shall cease to look with horror upon the prostitution of our wives and daughters to those civil and military harpies, who now hover around the liberties of our country. We shall cheerfully lay them both at their feet. We shall hug our chains. We shall cease to be men. We shall be slaves.

I shall now consider the objections, which have been made to the establishment of manufactories in this country.

The first and the most common objection to manufactories in this country, is, that they will draw off our attention from agriculture. This objection derives great weight, from being originally made by the duke of Sully, against the establishment of manufactories in France. But the history of that country shews us, that it is founded more in speculation, than in fact. France is become opulent and powerful, in proportion as her manufactories have flourished; and if agriculture has not kept pace with her manufactories, it is owing entirely to that ill-judged policy, which forbade the exportation of grain. I believe it will be found, upon enquiry, that a greater number of hands have been taken from the plough, and employed in importing, retailing, and transporting British woollens, cottons, and linens, than would be sufficient to manufacture as much of

them, as would clothe all the inhabitants of the province. There is an endless variety in the geniuses of men; and it would be precluding the exertion of the faculties of the mind, to confine them entirely to the simple art of agriculture. Besides, if these manufactories were conducted as they ought to be, two-thirds of the labour of them will be carried on by those members of society, who cannot be employed in agriculture, namely, by women and children.

A second objection is, that we cannot manufacture cloths so cheap here, as they can be imported from Britain. It has been the misfortune of most of the manufactories, which have been set up in this country, to afford labour to journeymen, only for six or nine months in the year, by which means their wages have been necessarily so high, as to support them in the intervals of their labour. It will be found, upon enquiry, that those manufactories, which occupy journeymen the whole year, are carried on here at as cheap a rate, as they are in Britain. The expense of manufacturing cloths, will be lessened from the great share that women and children will have in them; and I have the pleasure of informing you, that the machine, lately brought into this city, for lessening the expense and time of hands in spinning, is likely to meet with encouragement from the legislature of our province. In a word, the experiments, which have been already made among us, convince us, that woollens and linens of all kinds, may be made and bought as cheap as those imported from Britain; and I believe every one, who has tried the former, will acknowledge, that they wear twice as well as the latter.

A third objection to manufactories, is, that they destroy health, and are hurtful to population. The same may be said of navigation and many other arts, which are essential to the happiness and glory of a state. I believe, that many of the diseases, to which the manufacturers in Britain are subject, are brought on, not so much by the nature of their employment, as by their unwholesome diet, damp houses, and other bad accommodations, all of which may be prevented in America.

A fourth objection to the establish-

ing manufactories in this country, is a political one. The liberties of America have been twice, and, we hope, will be a third time preserved by a non-importation of British manufactures. By manufacturing our own clothes, we deprive ourselves of the only weapon, by which we can hereafter effectually oppose Great Britain. Before we answer this objection, it becomes us to acknowledge the obligations we owe to our merchants, for consenting so cheerfully to a suspension of their trade with Britain. From the benefits we have derived from their virtue, it would be unjust to insinuate, that there ever will be the least danger in trusting the defence of our liberties to them; but I would wish to guard against placing one body of men only upon that forlorn hope, to which a non-importation agreement must always expose them. For this purpose, I would fill their stores with the manufactures of American looms, and thus establish their trade upon a foundation, that cannot be shaken. Here then we derive an answer to the last objection that was mentioned; for, in proportion as manufactories flourish in America, they must decline in Britain: and it is well known, that her manufactories alone have rendered her formidable in all our contests with her. These are the foundation of all her riches and power. These have made her merchants nobles, and her nobles princes. These carried her so triumphantly through the late expensive war; and these are the support of a power, more dangerous to the liberties of America, than her fleets and armies—I mean the power of corruption. I am not one of those vindictive patriots, who exult in the prospect of the decay of the manufactories of Britain. I can forgive her late attempts to enslave us, in the memory of our once mutual freedom and happiness. And should her liberty—her arts—her fleets and armies—and her empire ever be interred in Britain, I hope they will all rise in British garments only in America.



THE VISITANT, NO. X.—P. 223.

Remarks on dress.

TO defend the body from the inclemency of the seasons, and to

prevent the uneasy sensations arising from shame, were the first and most necessary purposes, which clothes were intended to answer. While these simple ends were all that were aimed at; and while men were satisfied, if these simple ends were obtained, there was no necessity for any difference in the dress of the different sexes. Their garments were composed of the same materials, wrought up in the same manner, and made in the same form. Distinct fashions, however, peculiarly suited to the constitution, and the occupations of each sex, were soon invented and used; but a long time elapsed, and society rose to considerable degrees of refinement, before the sexes were distinguished from each other, by garments of a different kind. "The only garb* of the ancients, both for males and females, seems to have been a kind of flannel, which they commonly wore white or grey, and which they scoured, as often as it grew dirty." Afterwards, clothes, which were, at first, designed only for use, were converted into an ornament; and what was introduced by necessity, became, in this, as in many other instances, an object of luxury. New improvements in dress were made; new purposes were served by it; it adorned, as well as defended, the body; and each sex availed themselves of it, in order to assume that appearance, and to set off those qualities, which were most agreeable in the eyes of the other. What are the qualities, by which the ladies captivate us?—Beauty, delicacy, softness, refinement. Their dress should be the emblem of them. What are the qualities, by which we recommend ourselves to the fair?—Sense, courage, magnanimity, honour. These should, in the same manner, be expressed by our dress. Since, then, the qualities, expressed by dress, should be different in the different sexes, the rules, respecting it, should be different likewise. Those respecting that of the women, I delivered in a former number, those respecting that of the men, shall be the subject of this.

It is obvious, that the virtues of the male sex have a greater proportion of simplicity, and are less connected,

NOTE.

* Hume.

in our imaginations, with ornament, than the virtues which constitute female merit. It follows, that the dress, which is fitted to represent us in the most advantageous manner, must be more unadorned, than that which is fitted to give the most graceful appearance to the ladies. In a ornament, which is expected in their dress, would be preposterous in ours. It might be imagined, indeed, upon the first view of the matter, that, although such ornament would not suggest the idea of an accomplished male character, it would at least suggest the idea of those qualities, which we admire in the fair sex. But this is by no means the case. As a timid behaviour, which is natural and becoming in a woman, would expose a man to the imputation of irresolution and cowardice; so the same gaiety of dress, which, in the former, would be thought expressive of beauty and refinement, would be regarded, in the latter, as a mark of vanity, and a ridiculous affectation of shew. What is natural to one character, is very unnatural to the other. Our ideas of beauty and deformity, and the consequent impressions of pleasure and disgust, arise from a relative, not an unconnected view of things, and from the congruity, or incongruity, the proportion or disproportion, which we observe among them.

I would not be understood to exclude every ornament from the dress of a gentleman: I only mean, that the ornaments, which he uses, should be manly and decent, and should bespeak the dignity of him, who uses them. Each sex value themselves upon those qualifications, that are most pleasing to the other. The fair sex, who discover themselves to be better judges of what is truly valuable, than we are, bestow, in determining the merit of our characters, more of their esteem on the accomplishments of the mind, and less on those of the body, than we do, while we determine the merit of their characters. For this reason, the importance of a man, and the terms on which he may expect to stand with the fair, depend not so much upon his person, or upon the manner in which he adorns it, as the importance of a lady, and the regard which she may hope to receive from

our sex, depend upon the beauty and elegance of her external appearance. Much attention, therefore, given to dress, is more excusable, and generally meets with greater indulgence in a lady, than in a gentleman. The former may without blame employ more time at her toilette, than the latter is allowed to employ under the hands of his barber.

That we are less disposed to shew favour to a passion for dress in a man, than in a woman, appears from an observation, which I am going to make on our language;—and observations, drawn from language, are, of all others, the most convincing proofs of the general sentiments of those, among whom it is spoken. General custom is its sovereign arbiter; and general custom can arise only from general consent. The observation I speak of, is this, that we have no term to express a lady, who is immoderately fond of dress: we must describe her by a circumlocution—a decisive argument, that the idea seldom occurs; for if it did, we should certainly provide a name for it. But when a gentleman is distinguished by the finery of his dress, more than by any thing else, we characterize him in a single word—we call him a beau.

I do not recollect to have heard a man of sense stigmatized with the appellation of beau; though I have known men of sense, as conspicuous for the gaiety and elegance of their dress, as I have ever known beaux to be. It may be worth while to enquire into the reason of this difference. It is to be observed, that, when we demonstrate one a beau, we do not only mean, that he is excessively attached to the fineries of dress; but also, that his attachment is that circumstance, for which he is principally remarkable, which strikes our attention most, and which is the best fitted to recal his idea to our minds. In short, the word beau is descriptive of a character. Thus, to say, that a man is covetous, only denotes, that he has an inordinate love for money; but to say that he is a miser, implies that his inordinate love for money, is that quality, by which he is chiefly distinguished from all other men, and is consequently the properest circumstance, by which he can be described. Now let us consider

the steps, which we take in forming characters: we will find the imagination, as well as the judgment, employed in this process. A surprising diversity, blended with a surprising uniformity, is diffused over the human species. Every one partakes of the properties common to his nature; and at the same time, every one possesses properties peculiar to himself, or common to him with a very few. It is the office of the judgment, to cull out those singular qualities, by which each individual is distinguished, and to set them apart, as the materials, from which his character is to be formed. The imagination discriminates still farther, and introduces a still greater degree of refinement. Unwilling to be perplexed with attending to all the peculiar properties, which are to be found in every person, she selects and fixes upon that single one, which is most conspicuous. The single peculiar property, therefore, which is most conspicuous in any individual, is that, from which we denominate his character.

These reflexions, I think, afford us a very satisfactory reason, why the same gaiety of dress, which will not expose a man of sense to the risque of being called a beau, will fix that character upon one, who is distinguished by nothing but his dress. The dress may be the same in both cases; but here is the difference: in one case, there is something, still more eminent than dress, to attract the imagination: in the other case, the imagination rests upon the dress, because there is no more dignified object to attract it.

I am sorry, that the result of my reasoning is, that the importance of a beau, in the opinion of all those, who ascribe that character to him, depends upon exterior ornaments; and that he may be designated, with an almost literal propriety, the creature of his barber and taylor. Under their forming hands, he commences his being, in the morning; and, at night, when he is stripped of the dignity, which they bestowed on him, he shrinks into his native insignificance; and must wait the renewed effort of their resuscitating influence, in order to be raised again to existence the succeeding day. One would imagine, that it must mortify him exceedingly, to reflect, that, when he undresses himself, he lays

aside his better part; and that what remains, is of so little consideration in the esteem of those, whom he converses with, as not even to enter into the composition of the idea, which they form of his character.

But while my reasoning, if it be just, proves that one who has generally got the character of a beau, is a person of very little consequence in the opinion of his acquaintance—it points out, at the same time, a very easy method, by which he may rid himself of the contemptible character, or lose it in a more reputable one. He has only to diminish the finery of his dress, till it becomes still less eminent than himself; or if his passion for shew will not permit him to take this method, he has only to acquire some valuable accomplishment, which will render himself more eminent than his dress.

Philadelphia, April 4, 1768.



Memoirs of the poet John Osborn.

JOHN OSBORN was born in the year 1713, at Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable: his father, who was a man of letters, (born and educated in Ireland, but of Scottish parents) was then employed at Sandwich, as a school-master. Not long afterwards he was settled in the ministry, at Eastham, in the same county. At the age of nineteen, young Osborn was entered a student at Harvard college, where he was remarked, as a lively genius, and made good proficiency in literature. He commenced bachelor of arts, in the year 1735, and received the degree of master of arts, at the expiration of the usual period.

The first entrance into the world, of a young student whose future prospects depend on his profession, and that profession upon his own choice, is frequently marked with indecision and inactivity. This was the case with Osborn. After leaving college, he repaired to his father's house, at Eastham, and spent some time in a state of irresolution. "To while away this awkward interval" in some intellectual exercises, and probably to gratify the wishes of his father, more than with any serious intention of pursuing the clerical life, he paid some attention to divinity. At an association of the neighbouring clergy,

at Chatham, he delivered a sermon, which he had composed. The ingenuity of this discourse, which was not perfectly orthodox, it is said, commanded the approbation of the reverend hearers. After this exhibition, we hear no more of him in the clerical line; and indeed, it is at this period that we trace him in a very different walk of amusement; for the whaling song appears soon to have succeeded the production of the sermon.

The inhabitants of the town of Eastham, and, indeed, of the whole of Cape-Cod, were, at that time, principally engaged in the whaling business. At the request of some of his sea-faring friends, with whom a social, lively temper led Mr. Osborn to be much conversant, he composed this song, which no true whalerman, it is presumed, can sing, or hear sung, but with rapture.

It has been said by some, who are possessed of this performance, and are informed of its author, that he went a whaling voyage himself. But this is a mistake—it originated, probably, from the liveliness and propriety of his descriptions, which naturally created a presumption, that he was personally conversant with those scenes, which he so justly represents. However strongly the wonders of the deep might strike upon the fancy of Osborn, it is not probable, that he indulged any inclination to take more than a poetic view of them. All his information, in this line, was derived from conversation with a class of men, many of whom are extremely intelligent and amusing. His attention, in the mean time, was directed to an employment, more consistent with his education, and better suited to his temper. Having determined upon the medical profession, and qualified himself for practice, induced doubtless by better prospects in business, he removed to Middletown in Connecticut. The time of his removal is not precisely ascertained. It was probably after receiving his second degree at college; for, while at Eastham, it is said, he was invited to accept a tutorship at college, which he declined, on account of a proposed matrimonial connexion, with which a tutorship was incompatible. This connexion

he afterwards formed with a miss Doane, of Chatham. Few particulars can be collected concerning him, after his removal to Connecticut. His sister, now living at Plymouth, from whom the foregoing intelligence has been principally received, knows but little concerning him, after that period. She received a letter from him, dated, Middletown, March 8, 1753, in which he gives the following description of himself and family—"our family at present are in usual plight, except myself. I am confined chiefly to the house, am weak, lone, and uneasy, and never expect to be hearty and strong again. I have lingered along, almost two years, a life not worth having; and how much longer it will last, I cannot tell. We have six children; the eldest fourteen years old, last November—the youngest, two years, last January—the eldest a daughter, the next a son, and so on to the end of the chapter."

The illness, which he mentions, was the effect of a fever, of which he never recovered. The life, which he esteemed not worth having, lasted but a short time, after he wrote the above-mentioned letter. He died soon after, at the age of forty; and his sister received the news of his death at Boston, at the same time that she received the letter. No information can be given of the situation of his family, except that one of his sons is now living at Middletown and is also a physician.

The manners of mr. Osborn, it is said, were plain, open, and agreeable: his temper cheerful, mild, and social; while sincerity and integrity characterised his conduct.

With respect to scholarship, there is good reason to presume him considerably eminent, and his morals were unimpeachable. A regard to truth, which ought to be the first law in every department of history, compels the mention of a suggestion from some of his contemporaries and others, that he was erroneous in his religious principles. The charge is indefinite, and leaves the kind and degree of his heresy, if he was heretical, undetermined. It can only be encountered therefore by general observations, which are naturally suggested by the occasion.

In the establishment of a man's religious belief upon rational conviction, there is necessarily a period of doubt and uncertainty. At that period, he who has more vivacity than discretion, will frequently express himself most unguardedly; and a youthful imagination often suggests many unwarrantable sentiments, which cooler reason, at a subsequent moment, would reprobate and condemn. It frequently happens, that the eccentric fallies of this period make too deep an impression, and the religious opinions of a man are invariably determined by observers, at a time, when in reality he has no opinion at all. The honest enquirer, in the mean time, still travels on in search of truth; and having found her sacred shrine, is unable frequently, though ever after one of her sincere and meritorious votaries, to wipe off the opprobrium of having once wandered in error. These observations are presumed to be applicable to the case of mr. Osborn, in regard to that part of his character, now under consideration. In the gaiety of his heart, in the free and unreserved moments of youthful intercourse, he probably uttered sentiments equally unjustifiable and untrue: but they ought to have been considered rather as the offspring of a lively fancy, than the result of a settled opinion. At a later period, it may be allowed also that he differed from many of his worthy contemporaries in points deemed important; but that he disbelieved revelation, or was unsettled in the fundamentals of the christian faith, is inadmissible. Independent of other arguments, the circumstances of being urged by his father to enter into the ministry, and to preach the sermon at Chatham, together with the invitation to officiate in an important station at college, all tend to disprove it.

Sufficient having been said respecting his principles, it is presumed, a few observations may now be indulged, upon what is less problematic, his poetical character. His performances in this line are before the public. That they have many beauties, will be acknowledged by every one. In the style, and in the construction of the verse, an accurate examiner may discover some defects,

which, considering the period, in which he wrote, are very excusable. The productions of men of genius bear the characteristic features of the age, in which they live, at the same time that they improve them. Composition is like a manufacture: its quality is conformable to the demand. With Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden, regularly succeeding each other, refinement may be observed to be regularly progressive; until at length the English nation had arrived to such a degree of refinement, that only such highly polished numbers, as flowed from the pen of a Pope, could please. To command applause, it was necessary for him to be just such a poet, as he was; and to that necessity, he was probably indebted for his celebrity. He mounted the summit of Parnassus; but he was mounted (if the expression is allowable) by the shoulders of the age. When there, he played the tyrant, while, as it happens with many political tyrants, the origin of his elevation was forgotten.

While scanning the sublime residence of Pope, let us not lose sight of Osborn. The application of the preceding observations is evident; and the intelligent reader will readily recollect and acknowledge, that the genius and circumstances of the time, in which he wrote, as they did not require, so they were not favourable to, that polish and refinement in poetry, which at this time perhaps ought to be expected. New England poetry was, for a long time, far below mediocrity. Osborn wrote in the year 1735; and it will be difficult to find any of our productions, previous to his, equally polished in style, and accurate in expression. His principal excellence is description, which, as an eminent modern critic observes, "is the great test of a poet's imagination, and always distinguishes an original from a second-rate genius." The circumstances in both his performances, are all judiciously chosen, and clothed in a versification easy and harmonious. The simile, with which the elegiac epistle closes, is particularly striking, and in the last line, the echo of the sound to the sense is peculiarly beautiful.

After these encomiums, it is not

without hesitation, that a query is suggested, whether he has not, in some instances, given us a specimen of the sublime? Perhaps the idea arises from that blind partiality, which a commentator frequently feels for his author. This will be determined by examination. For the solution of this question, accurate ideas of the sublime ought to be established. Not to enter into the theories of different writers upon this subject, the best approved definition of the sublime includes the following characteristics;—an object magnificent, awful or elevating—a description strong, concise and simple. With a view to these rules, let the following stanzas, descriptive of the death of the whale, be considered.

"In rage, she makes a mighty bound;
Thick foams the whiten'd sea;

The waves in circles rise around,
And wid'ning roll away.

"She lashes with her tail around,
And blows her red'ning breath:

She breaks the air—a deaf'ning
sound—

While ocean groans beneath.

"From num'rous wounds, with
crimson flood,

She stains the frothy seas,

And gasps, and blows her latest
blood,

While quiv'ring life decays."

That the object is of the sublime kind, cannot be disputed. The Leviathan, in the book of Job, is acknowledged to be such. Homer's Jupiter, and Milton's Satan, are scarcely superior; and it is surely equal to the heroes of Ossian.

Strength of description consists principally in a proper choice of circumstances, calculated to place the object in the most striking point of view. What do we see in the description before us? The wounded monster bounding—the sea thickly foaming—the waves rising—wide circles forming—the whale struggling—blood spouting—the air resounding—ocean groaning—the frothy waves stained with crimson—the last blood issuing—and the whale at length quivering in death. Every circumstance is selected that can serve to heighten the scene, and none that could degrade or weaken it, are admitted.

If the writer has been happy in this capital aid to the sublime, we do not find him less so, in the other essential requisite. Simplicity is placed by critics in opposition to studied and profuse ornament: conciseness to superfluous expression. In the lines before us, we find no glittering ornaments; there are no unnecessary words: the epithets sparingly bestowed, and some of them most happily chosen. So simple is the narration, that scarce a figure occurs. There is no wandering in generals; every thing is marked and particular; and every line suggests a new image. We are not detained by an amplification; but the writer, as if conscious of his own strength, and the copiousness of his theme, quits a circumstance rapidly, to hurry us on to another, still more lively and striking. His excellence, in the last mentioned particulars, is heightened by the circumstance of his writing in rhyme. This species of poetry frequently requires for many superfluous expressions to make out the rhyme which would otherwise be rejected, that it has been thought inconsistent with the sublime. Hence several passages in Homer, which are truly sublime, have lost their spirit in Mr. Pope's translation. Osborn seems not to have suffered by this embarrassment.

His pretensions to the sublime have been examined by the rules of criticism; which the connoisseurs in that art, will doubtless consider. To those who judge, as Osborn wrote, by their own feelings, rather than by critical rules, we appeal: by their united decision let it be determined, whether Osborn's death of the whale, is, or is not, a specimen of the true sublime.

It may appear chimerical to give poetic rank to a man, whose only productions, that have been given to the public, are two brief performances. But poetical compositions are not to be estimated by number, but by weight; the sterling weight of originality. Mallet's ballad of Margaret's G. first introduced him to notice; and the plaintive Gray is better known as the author of the Elegy written in a Country Church Yard, than by any of his subsequent performances.

Boston, March 21, 1787.

Hints on the manufacture and preservation of butter.

LARGE quantities of butter, exported from New England to the East Indies, were sold as low as four coppers per pound, owing to the following errors, and inattention in putting up that article, viz.—not working out the buttermilk, putting large quantities of salt between the layers, salting it with coarse, dark, unsuitable salt, not soaking the kegs with strong brine before the butter is put in, for which reason the part next to the wood is much injured; some kegs made of sappy, unfit timber, and butter of different complexions put down indiscriminately, which exceedingly injures the appearance.

It is of the utmost consequence to have our butter and beef superior in quality (as they soon will be in quantity) to those of Ireland; otherwise we shall be deprived of foreign markets; or when those articles are exported, they must be sold, as above, to a great loss. If the following directions be carefully attended to, they will soon establish the reputation of our butter, and raise its value.

Let the butter be made, while the milk or cream remains sweet; the buttermilk entirely worked out; a quantity of clean, white, fine salt, sufficient to keep it perfectly sweet, worked into it; packed, without any salt between the layers, into kegs that will contain six or eight gallons, made of white oak timber, free from sap, tight and full bound; let the kegs be well soaked with strong brine, and tarred, before the butter is packed; and endeavour to fill each keg, as near as possible, with butter of one complexion.

It would be best to have all butter put up at the dairies, soon after it is churned and prepared for packing; but, as a considerable part is carried in lumps to the country shopkeepers, and soon becomes rancid, if suffered to lie exposed to the air in their shops (which is too frequently the case) much, therefore, depends on their attention to pack it immediately, observing the above directions, and depositing it afterwards in cool cellars.

Worcester, (Massachusetts,)

May 21, 1719.

Constitution of the Baltimore manufacturing society.

WE, the subscribers, being desirous to promote the internal manufactures of this country, do associate ourselves under the title of the Baltimore manufacturing company; and in order to carry our views into effect, have agreed to the following rules or constitution, viz.

I. The funds of this company shall consist at least of one hundred shares, of ten pounds each share; one half to be paid on the election of directors and treasurer, and the remainder in two months, if demanded.

II. Every subscriber hereby undertakes to pay for one share each, and he may subscribe for and hold several shares; for which, in like manner, he hereby agrees to pay; and in the election for officers of this company, and all other matters, he shall have a vote for each share he holds, as far as three shares; and one vote for every additional three shares afterwards.

III. The subscribers shall elect by ballot seven of the company, who shall be called directors, and one of the said company, who shall be treasurer; they shall continue in office for one year, and may be re-elected; the directors shall have the whole direction of the funds, with power to receive farther subscriptions, at such rates as they may think proper, to carry into effect the designs of this institution, and shall determine the manner of doing business, appoint a secretary, the necessary clerks, agents, and servants, and shall lay before the society, at the annual meetings, a general statement of their proceedings and accounts; which statement and accounts shall be lodged with the treasurer for the examination and inspection of any of the subscribers, for at least ten days prior to such annual meetings.

IV. No share shall be transferable until the whole of the subscription is paid, and then the transfer shall be by an acknowledgment of the sale entered on the books of the company, in the presence of the treasurer.

V. When a hundred shares are subscribed for, the subscribers shall be called together by public notice, in order to choose the directors and

treasurer, and commence the business of the company.

VI. The subscribers shall not be engaged or bound by any act of the managers or directors to a greater amount than the share, or shares, for which they subscribe.

VII. The company at their annual general meetings, which shall always be on the first Monday in April, may make such order as shall be judged proper, with regard to the dividend, if any, of the profits arising from the business to be conducted by this company.

VIII. If any subscriber is deficient in paying the amount of his share, or shares by him subscribed, one month after the same becomes due and is demanded, such subscriber shall forfeit and make good to the company out of the money he has paid, twenty-five per cent. on the sum he is deficient.

IX. The company at their third annual meeting, or at any future period thereafter, shall have it in their power, if three-fourths of the votes agree thereto, to dissolve the said company, and to order the stock and property to be sold for the benefit of the proprietors.

X. Every subscriber shall have a right in all cases to vote by proxy, such proxy being appointed under his hand and seal.

XI. The treasurer shall give security for the faithful discharge of this trust, to such amount and to such person or persons as the directors shall deem proper.

XII. We will endeavour to obtain an incorporation of this company.



Instructions from the town of Newport, to George Hazard, Henry Marchant, George Champlin, Pelleg Clarke, William Tripp, and George Sears, esqrs. representatives of the said town of Newport, to the hon. gen. assembly of the state of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations.

IMRESSED with a sense of the necessity and justice of an immediate compliance with the recommendation of the honourable the congress, respecting the new form of government, for the united states of Ame-

rica, we cannot forbear renewing our instructions to you on this interesting subject.

We are now arrived at a period, when the principles which have actuated an opposition to the calling a state convention in this state, cannot operate.

All the states (this and North Carolina excepted) have acceded to the new constitution, and the latter hath ordered a convention to be called. The unanimity which hath prevailed in the acceding states, in the election of a federal president, vice president, senators, and representatives, hath fully evinced their approbation of the present system of government. The new congress is formed, and the new government will soon be in regular motion, and operate with suitable energy. The opposers of it in this state must therefore be convinced, that their opposition to it hath proved and will prove ineffectual.

Let us now advert to some of the ruinous consequences which will result from the obstinate continuance of an opposition to a measure which has been so generally adopted by the united states, and is now established.

This state cannot exist without commerce, agriculture, and manufactures; these are naturally connected, and must rise and fall together, however the bad policy of some men may have endeavoured to disunite them. But can we expect that our trade with the united states will be continued, if we still refuse to unite and harmonize with them, or that it will be favourably received by foreign nations?

Have we not reason rather to conclude, that we shall be viewed by both as an impotent, refractory state, which has forfeited all pretences to a friendly intercourse with them? we may therefore be assured our foreign trade must cease for want of federal protection, and that the ports of our once sister states will be shut against us.

The inhabitants of the principal maritime towns, and of this in particular, will then suffer the severest distress:—we receive the first necessities of life, bread and firewood, chiefly from the other states; and a large proportion of the inhabitants entirely depend for their subsistence on commerce, and

must perish with its destruction. In this wretched situation, necessity will oblige them as the last alternative to apply to the federal government for relief and protection, and it will be undoubtedly afforded to them.

Anxious to avoid the calamities, which threaten us, and desirous to participate in the advantages, which in the opinion of the wisest and best men in the united states, will result from an adoption of the new constitution, and at the same time solicitous for the existence, happiness and prosperity of this state, we your constituents renew our instructions, and urge you by every consideration that is dear and valuable, to continue your strenuous and laudable exertions, to obtain, at the next session of the general assembly, an act for calling a convention in this state, for the purpose of adopting the constitution, as recommended by the late general convention at Philadelphia.

Voted unanimously,

P. BAKER, jun. town clerk.

May, 1789.



Directions for raising flax. Published by order of the commissioners and trustees for fisheries, manufactures, and improvements, in Scotland.—And enriched with notes suited to the soil and climate of Pennsylvania, by a gentleman long in the practice of raising flax here.—P. 480.

Management of the flax, after rippling, and before watering.

RUSHES should be pulled and dried during the summer, for tying the handfuls of flax for the water. They save flax, and answer well for this purpose, as they do not easily rot in the water; and may be dried again, and kept for next year's use.

The flax, from the rippling comb, being properly sorted, as before mentioned, should be put up in small beets, never larger than a man can easily grasp with both his hands, and tied slack with a band of rushes. The flax that has stood long in the field, will be bent or crooked, and therefore must be carefully straightened with one's hands and knees, and laid even together in a mow, in a shade or barn. The mow ought to be raised regularly

one row above another, until it rises to the lopping, or is pressed down with logs or boards, and a sufficient weight above them. In this situation it should remain from twelve to twenty-four hours, according as the flax is dry. This compressing, and laying of the flax together, mellows it also, and prepares it the better for the watering.

Of watering flax.

A running stream wastes the lint, makes it white, and frequently carries it away. Loughs, by the great quantity and motion of the water, waste the flax also, and whiten it, though not so much as running streams. Both rivers and loughs water the flax quicker than canals.

But all flax ought to be watered in canals, which should, if possible, be dug in clay ground, as that soil retains the water best: but if a firm retentive soil cannot be found, the bottom or sides of the canal, or both the bottom and sides, may be lined with clay; or, instead of lining the sides with clay, which might fall down, a ditch may be dug on each side of the canal, and filled with clay, which will prevent both extraneous water from entering, and the water within from running off.

A canal of about sixty feet long, seven feet broad, and two feet and a half deep, will generally water the growth of an acre of flax. If the canal be deeper, the water near the bottom will be too cold; consequently the flax will not be so soon, nor so equally watered. But if the ground be loose, and subject to lose water, then the canal may be filled to the depth of three feet, but deeper is not advisable*.

The canal ought, if possible, be filled with fresh soft water from a river or brook, two or three weeks before the flax is put in, and exposed all that time to the heat of the sun. The greater way the river or brook has run, the softer, and therefore the better will the water be. Springs, or short runs from hills, are too cold, unless the water be allowed to stand long in the canal. Water from coal or iron is very bad for flax. A little of

the powder of galls thrown into a glass of water, will immediately discover if it comes from iron, by turning it to a dark colour, more or less tinged in proportion to the quantity of that mineral it contains.

The canal ought not to be under any shade; as this, besides preventing the sun from softening the water, would make part of the canal cooler than other parts, and by that means water the flax unequally.

The flax-raiser may observe, when the water is brought to a proper heat, small plants rising in it, numbers of small insects and reptiles generating, and bubbles of air rising on the surface. If no such signs appear, the water must not be warm enough, or is otherwise unfit for flax.

Moss-holes, when not much deeper than before described, answer well for watering flax.

The sooner flax is watered in the same season in which it is pulled, the better; and none should be put into the water after the middle of September.†

The beets of flax, before described, should be laid into the canal, in rows across it; the first row of beets with their crop-ends leaning upon the end of the canal, about a foot above the bottom, and the root-ends sloping downwards; the crop-ends of the second row overlapping the band of the first row; and so on till the canal be filled. Vermin are fondest of the tender crop-end; which, one might think, should for that reason be put downmost; but, as that end requires the warmest water, therefore, upon the whole, it is thought most advisable to keep it uppermost.

The whole flax in the canal ought to be carefully covered from the sun, and kept under water with a weight of fods; the grassy side next the flax, to keep it clean. If the flax is not covered, although it be under the water, the sun will discolour it. But it ought by no means to be so much pressed down, as to prevent the water

NOTE.

* In this climate, a pond or canal, filled with water from the coldest spring, will, in twenty-four hours, be sufficiently warm to receive flax.

† This direction will not hold good in Pennsylvania, because our weather after that time and even to the middle of October, is warm enough to water-rot flax or hemp.

from penetrating freely through every part of it. When sods cannot be easily procured, rushes, sedges, ferns, refuse of flax, or any weeds that will not discolour the lint, may be laid immediately above the flax; and the whole pressed down with slime, stones, or any other weighty body.

When the flax is sufficiently watered, it feels soft to the grip, and the harle parts easily with the boon or shew, which last is then become brittle and looks whitish. Take some beets out of the different parts of the canal; and out of the heart of these beets, take a few of the smallest stalks. Break these stalks in different parts, about four inches distant; and if the boon breaks freely, and can be drawn easily from the flax, without any of the harle adhering to it, then it may be depended upon that the stalk is sufficiently watered. When these resigns a sound, the flax should be taken out of the canal, beet, after beet, and each gently rinsed in the water, to cleanse it from the filth which has gathered about it; and as the lint is then very tender, and the beet slackly tied, it must be carefully and gently handled.

Great care ought to be taken, that no part is overdone; and as the coarsest is soonest watered, if different kinds be mixed together, one part will be rotted, before the rest is sufficiently watered.

When lint, taken out of the canal, is found not sufficiently watered, it may be laid in a heap, for twelve, eighteen, or twenty-four hours, which will have the same effect with more watering; but this operation is nice, and may prove dangerous in unskilful hands.

After the flax is taken out of the canal, fresh lint should not be put a second time into it, until the former water is run off, and the canal cleaned, and supplied with fresh water; it being found by experience, that the insects, bred during the first watering, will destroy the second filling, if the canal be not emptied, cleaned, and again filled with fresh water*.

NOTE.

* Another mode of watering flax.

Raise, by making two dams across a small stream, a head of three or

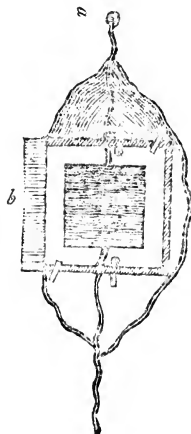
Of drying flax after watering.

In this variable climate, the spreading of flax upon the ground, as for-

NOTE.

four feet. In your lower dam, place a joint of a pump low enough to discharge all the water out of your pond. In your upper dam, place another joint, not so low as the former; with plugs stop both joints tight; then wall in a piece of ground between your dams, on all sides, and dig out the earth within the wall, three or four feet deep, and throw the earth over the wall. Near the bottom of your hole, thus made, put three or four sleepers, the ends of which must be introduced into your wall, to prevent their rising, when the pond is charged. Across these sleepers, nail some strips of boards, so close, that the flax may rest upon them, without touching the ground. By means of these dams, the course of your stream will be diverted to one or both sides of your pond, consequently your water in it will not be interrupted by rains. On one side of your pond, the most convenient to hawl from, place an inclining table, made of smooth boards, on which your flax is to be placed to drain, when taken out of the rotting pond.

All things being thus prepared, charge your pond, by drawing your upper plug. When charged, stop it again; let the water have twenty-four hours to warm; then form in the centre of your pond, a square island of flax, twelve or fourteen inches thick, thus;



a The spring. b The table.

merly practised, after watering, is now disapproved of, as losing a great deal of time, exposing it to great danger from high winds, and rotting by rains, and the grass growing through it. After grazing in the common method, parts of the crop are always found very differently prepared, and of different colours, because it is impossible to have it all equally exposed to the sun and weather, without frequent turning; which in this country is a difficult and expensive operation, and has been found very hazardous on account of high winds.

When the flax is taken out of the water, the beets are to be laid upon

NOTE.

Bind the several layers together by pieces of boards or rails; place on them some clean smooth pebbles, clear of grit, sufficient to sink the flax under the surface. When the fermentation begins, which will depend on the warmth of the weather, the flax will rise; then more weight must be put on, to keep it under water. When the fermentation is over, the flax will sink to the bottom, then is the time to draw it out, and spread it on the ground; but before you do this, wash it clean, by alternately draining your pond by means of your lower joint, and charging it with clean water by your upper. Flax, in very soft water, in very warm weather, will rot sufficiently in four days; sometimes it will require eight days, and sometimes twelve. The sinking is the sole criterion by which you are to be directed. In the summer, when the sun is very powerful, it will be necessary to put two small troughs on the top of your dam, one on the upper corner, the other on the opposite diagonal corner; this gentle running of water on the surface, will prevent the flax from rotting, sooner at the top, than at the bottom.

In the lower block of the flax brake, there should be a spring fixed, to prevent a jar of the arm. The spring may be made of hickory, and, when sunk in the block, should be secured by two pieces of iron.



the side of the canal to drain; and at this time the flax being very tender, it must be gently handled. When stiff enough to bear standing upon end, the beets are to be lifted, the bands drawn up near the crop end, and each beet set upon its root end, spread open to the wind, as is the practice with wet sheaves of corn. Women, boys, and girls, should be closely employed to spread open the beets, and expose the whole as much as possible to the sun and wind, until the flax be thoroughly dry.

If rain should fall while the beets are lying in heaps upon the side of the canal to drain, it will be in danger of heating, to prevent which they must be laid asunder, to give them the more air, until dry weather happens.



An account of the earthquakes which have happened in New England, since the first settlement of the English in that country, especially of that, which happened in October 29, 1727. Communicated to the royal society by Paul Dudley, esq. F. R. S. in a letter to the secretary.—P. 365.

THE next thing I proceed to, is the degree or greatness of the shake. This will be best known from its effects. I have already mentioned the falling of the tops of chimnies, dishes from shelves, china ware, &c. doors unlatched, bells jangling, beds trembling, chairs moving, &c. A country farmer tells me, he had forty or fifty rods of stone-wall thrown down by it; and though I acknowledge these effects are not very considerable, yet I cannot but be of opinion, that our earthquake for its species was as violent and terrible as any we meet with in history: and had the tremor continued a minute longer, or been repeated in the like degree, our houses had doubtless been many of them overthrown. One of my neighbours that was walking home at the very instant, tells me, the noise first brought him to a stand, and that during the shake, the earth trembled so under him, that he was so far from attempting to continue his walk, that it was as much as he could do to keep upon his legs, and he expected every mo-

ment the earth would have opened under him. Another that was riding home, says, that upon the noise the earthquake made, his horse stood stock-still, and during the shake, trembled to that degree, that he thought he would have fallen under him. Our house-dogs were also sensibly affected with the earthquake; some of them barking, others howling, and making strange, unusual noises. Nor was our earth only affected with this shake, but the sea also in our harbours, and our shipping, small and great, much moved with it. I don't suppose it ever happens that earthquakes of this kind, of any extent, are equal or alike in all places; and accordingly I find by information from several towns, that the shake was much more moderate in some parts of the country, than others.

The time and duration of the shock. —Our Boston newspapers fix the time at about forty minutes after ten o'clock at night; my own watch was not so much by five minutes; but the clocks of the town might be truest. The first day of November at midnight, which was three days after the earthquake, the moon changed. As to the duration of the shock itself—whatever others may print or have printed, I can by no means suppose it exceeded the space of a minute, if it was so long: I mean the first and great shock; after which in the same night, we had four or five more lesser tremors; and at sundry times since, the earth has trembled in different places (even to this 13th of November) but without any considerable effects or extent.

The last thing I have to mention, is the course and extent of the earthquake. Boston, the metropolis of this province, lies in the latitude of 42 degrees 25 minutes north, and 4 hours 43 minutes to the westward of London, as the longitude between the two places was settled by Mr. Thomas Brattle of this country, and Mr. Hodgson of London, many years since: and making Boston a centre, we have a certain account that our late earthquake was felt in Kennebeck river to the eastward, and at Philadelphia to the westward, one hundred and fifty leagues distant one from the other,

upon a W. S. W. and E. N. E. course nearest: and no part of the intermediate country, that I can understand, escaped the shake; the colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York, that lie between us and Pennsylvania, being all affected, though not equally, particularly at Philadelphia they write, a small shock. As to the opposite line or latitude, as we may call it, of the earthquake, we have two noted islands to the south east, called Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, about ninety miles distant from Boston, and the first lies about twelve leagues into the sea, distant from the main land; both those islands had the earthquake. Our English settlements towards the north west, do not yet exceed forty or fifty miles from Boston; but they all of them had this earthquake very sensibly; and how far it might reach beyond them, towards Canada, we cannot yet say. By this calculation, I believe it will be found, that our earthquake was of a much greater extent, than any yet taken notice of in history: as to the course of the earthquake, or where it began, I am not yet able to determine by all the information I can get: for they write from Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Philadelphia, all to the westward, that it was between the hours of ten and eleven at night. The same again is affirmed from Piscataqua, Casco-Bay, and Kennebeck river, which are to the eastward: so that as yet it seems to me, that the earth, through the whole extent aforesaid, was shaken very nearly at the same time. Some of my neighbours are positive, that it came from the southward; while others again are confident, that where they were, it came from the north. But this is not to be wondered at, since, as I suppose, the subterraneous channels, or caverns, through which the exhalation passes, are not in any one continued strait line, but branched out, and running upon all points of the compass, especially in such a vast extent of land.

I am now come to the 28th of November, and having met with some further particulars omitted in the preceding account, I shall throw them into a postscript.

A neighbour of mine, that has a

well 36 feet deep, about three days before the earthquake, was surprised to find the water, that used to be very sweet and limpid, sink to that degree, that they could make no use of it, nor scarce bear the house when it was brought in; and thinking some cation was got into the well, he searched the bottom, but found it clear and good, though the colour of the water was turned wheyish or pale. In about seven days after the earthquake, the water began to mend, and in three days more, returned to its former sweetness and colour. I am also very credibly informed, that several springs and good watering places were some of them lowered, and others quite sunk and lost with the earthquake. A worthy divine, in a town about twenty miles distant from Boston, assures me, that immediately after the earthquake, there was such a stench, or strong smell of sulphur, that the family could scarcely bear to be in the house for a considerable time that night. The like is confirmed also from other places. Persons of credit do also affirm, that just before, or in the time of the earthquake, they perceived flashes of light. A gentleman of probity, from Newbury, a town situated between thirty and forty miles to the N. N. E. of Boston, writes word, that at forty rods distance from his house, there was a fissure of the earth, and near twenty cart loads of fine sand thrown out where the ground broke, and water boiled out like a spring, and mixing with the sand, made a sort of quagmire; but at the date of his letter, which was the 21st current, the spring was become dry, and the ground closed up again. Since the receipt of this letter, I understand, that the ground where this sand is thrown up, and round about it for a considerable distance, is a solid clay for twenty or thirty feet deep, and nothing like sand ever to be found there before; so that the exhalation forced this great quantity of sand through a very deep stratum of clay. I am also very well satisfied, that the earthquake was more violent in the towns to the north and north east of Boston, than in those to the southward and westward; and in some of them that are rocky, the earth shook but a few days since.

VOL. V.

If any thing further worth communicating should hereafter offer itself, I shall transmit it: in the mean time I hope what I have sent, will be received by the society with their usual candour and favourable allowance, from their and your

Very affectionate

And humble servant,

PAUL DUDLEY.



An address, delivered in the assembly-room of New York, on the festival of St. John, the baptist, June 24, 1788; in the presence of the officers and brethren of St. Andrew's and Holland lodges, and a number of visiting brethren of the ancient and honourable order of free masons. By doctor James Tillary, of St. Andrew's lodge.—P. 128.

HAIL sacred masonry! hail thou happy medium of far-separated and contending nations, not more glorious in thine origin, than lovely in all thine operations! how shall I define thee, or how attempt to speak thy praise? I will call thee fair and unspotted, as thou appearest to my view—the benignant handmaid to our most holy religion, so intimately united, too, that it would be a task, not less ungracious than unsuccessful, to attempt a separation. Let us see if we can shew wherein this analogy consists, and if, in few words, we can point out some of the kindred qualities. What says the depository of everlasting truth on this subject; and what is the amount of all the doctrines contained in that unfailing oracle, where rest the pledges of our eternal happiness? summarily this—that we seek peace—love mercy—and walk humbly with our God. And what, after all, my friends, are the instructions so earnestly inculcated, so zealously enforced by the principles of our humane society?

Let us look at them, for they also are comprised in few words—that we shun contention and forgive injuries—that we be kind and friendly to each other—that we be sober, just, and merciful;—and that to this heavenly frame of mind, we add charity, which is the foundation and cap stone—the Alpha and Omega—the very essence and soul of our ancient and amiable

order. When we calmly survey the happy effects communicable by the royal art, through all the variegated path of life, we at once discern the real cause why so many exalted characters have at different periods, and in various quarters of the world, given dignity and fame to the annals of masonry: conducted, too, by this reflexion, we will naturally be led to enquire,—since the advantages resulting to mankind, in general, and to mason men in particular, from the knowledge of it, are so manifold and desirable; what temper and description of men are best calculated to preserve and perpetuate its invaluable blessings to future generations? this, my brethren, is indeed an interesting, as well as a very profitable question; and yet one so very easy and obvious, that in answering it, I feel myself no more than the echo of your united voices, when I say—none but the free—the industrious—the temperate—the wise—the just—the virtuous. Supported by such props, the wisdom of our art shall never be lost—the strength of our lodge shall never be impaired—the beauty of our badges shall never be defaced. If, happily, our mystic art shall be confided to the keeping of such men as alone are worthy of its jewels, neither ignorance nor prejudice—nor passion—nor vice—no, nor all the united powers of darkness, shall ever be able to subdue it—it shall continue to flourish, till the arrival of that blessed period of millennial peace, when all nations, and kindreds, and tongues, shall alike partake of universal joy.

A society so different in its structure from all others in the world, and so amiable in its operation, could not but attract the notice of the great and good men of all ages. I should break in too much on the more important duties of this happy day, were I to attempt to call to your remembrance even but a few of the long and illustrious roll of worthies, who have at once practised and adorned the craft. Their names and their virtues, what tongue can utter; what pen describe!—for who can count the stars of heaven, or tell their influence on this nether world? but methinks I see you ready to exclaim—“what, pass them all unheeded by,

nor decorate one line with the ever-memorable names of those who have been the friends and the benefactors of mankind!”—this I acknowledge would be unkind, ungenerous, and ungrateful. And yet to take a retrospective view of all those glorious personages who at this moment float before our imagination, would be a very difficult, though not an unpleasant task. But shall we—can we pass unnoticed the ever-honoured and immortal name of Solomon—our great corner stone? He, who in old time, first displayed to the astonished world the bright sun of science? no, whilst masonry remains on earth, to illuminate mankind by the rays of its all-pervading power, so long his name shall live in grateful remembrance amongst us: whilst it lives (and we have confidence in heaven that it will live long, very long) the fame of our most illustrious archetype shall never die. But where are Hiram, and Cyrus, and Pythagoras? and thou, O meek and placid herald and follower of righteousness, thou holy baptist, whose festival we now commemorate—by whose mission the WORD was so emphatically explained, and by whose life it was so admirably illustrated, shall we neglect to make honourable mention of thy name, who wert the fairest image of thy divine master—thou, whose system was love—the foundation-stone of whose doctrine was charity and good-will to man—the superstructure, all those gentle and affectionate offices, which could possibly flow from the most pure and evangelical life? Where, too, are those mighty princes and nobles, who, spurning the dangers of boisterous and wide-extended seas, quitted their dearest relatives and friends, to establish christian temples in the east—in that holy land, which witnessed the birth and sufferings of our ever-blessed Redeemer—princes, who wisely and humanely abandoned the merciless spirit of crusading, and returned to their respective dominions, where they raised and endowed magnificent lodges, and spread far and wide the knowledge of our art? where are James of Scotland—Henry and Edward of England—and Frederic of Prussia?—conducted by thee, fair genius of masonry, source of light

and love ! they are now, we humbly hope and believe, in the blessed mansion of eternal peace, partaking of the ineffable pleasures in store for every patient and persevering mason.

We have cause, brethren, to rejoice, and even to triumph, with a becoming decency, in this truth, that the greatest sages and philosophers of ancient times, have been, and the most renowned heroes, statesmen, and kings of our own days, continue to be patrons of the craft, and with pleasure lay aside the trappings of royalty, to be invested with the more amiable insignia of masonry. By characters approaching to such exalted dignity as those we have just named, and by multitudes of others, who, though not so highly distinguished, are nevertheless very dear to every good mason, it has happened, (and we glory in the thought) that the honour, the reputation, and the utility of the craft still flourish with all the verdure of youth and strength of manhood. It has outlived the wreck of nations, and the destruction of empires ; and while the character of nations continues to be that of men, who are zealous supporters of pure religion—cherishers of true philosophy—friends to the liberal arts—and promoters of science, its ancient landmarks shall never be obliterated, nor its beauty tarnished. It shall bloom with additional splendor, and live with increasing vigour, until time is swallowed up in the immensity of eternity. Animated by this comfortable hope, let us continue to convince the unenlightened part of mankind, that the exertions of a well-intentioned mason are always directed to enforce pure morality—to enjoin inviolable secrecy—and to cultivate a taste for the fine arts ; that we hold it our duty, on all lawful occasions, to protect, edify, and assist a brother in every emergency : that we sacrifice all personal resentments, and seize every convenient opportunity of administering to the profit and the pleasure of our lodge ; and, in fine, that, under the direction of such an heavenly temper, if a brother in necessity submits his humble suit to us, as individuals of the great fraternity, we will hear him with patience—comfort him by our kindness—and direct him by our best counsels. If his petition

comes before our lodge (to which every hapless brother, oppressed with misery and misfortune, has a right to appeal) we will examine it with candour—decide on it with mercy—and relieve the object of it, as far as our funds will admit, or the exigencies of his case may demand. In doing this, we will carefully avoid embittering his distress, by an over-scrupulous enquiry into the causes which compelled him to throw himself on our bounty—we will not be over-anxious to discover every slight circumstance of error, which might only tend to estrange our affection, or induce us to withhold our help. As frank and generous masons, if we discern culpability in the conduct of a necessitous brother, we will look into our own bosoms, where the consciousness of many faults will incline us to compassionate and forgive his failings, and seal our lips against all uncharitable upbraidings. On all occasions we will put the most favourable construction on such actions, as, to our narrow view, may appear reprehensible ; the whole of which, perhaps, we cannot see, and a part of which we may not be able to comprehend. Above all things, we will carefully avoid arrogating to ourselves, in any measure, the power of that omniscient Being, who alone may punish, because he alone knows the heart and the motives of every action.

Need I, brethren, dwell longer on the duties required by our order, from every member of it—or expatiate, at more length, on the proper conduct of a mason while in the lodge, or as a member of the world at large ? Before such an assembly as the present, I am sure, I need not. Instead, therefore, of presumptuously offering instruction to those, the pleasure of whose personal acquaintance has afforded me abundant proofs of the propriety of their lives, I would rather, in the unassuming language of entreaty, beseech you, brethren, to continue to support and adorn our glorious institution, by a steady adherence to all its interests and concerns. Let not the bright gem of masonry, so faithfully handed down to us from immemorial time, be tarnished in our hands, but let us, with a becoming and noble spirit of emulation, exert ourselves in transmuting

it to future generations, not only with unsullied, but, if possible, with additional lustre. Having th's noble purpose in view, we shall not be diverted from it by the impiety of the wicked—the jealousy of the unenlightened—the scoffs of the ignorant—or the slanderous tongues of detected Cowans, and contemptible eves-droppers. Conscious of the purity of our society, and with hearts warmed by its animating and philanthropic influence, whilst we exclude from these sacred walls every dissolute and prophane person, we will ever be ready to open the doors of our temple, and unfold the mysteries of our calling to the eye of wisdom, reason, and religion; and such only are worthy to participate of them. Let us therefore continue to be cautious of those, who, being in darkness, may be anxious to see the light, and without being too suspicious or severe on the one hand, let us on the other, be always watchful and determined. Let us constantly recollect, that a bad man can never make a good mason; and that if such men find easy admission amongst us, they will disturb the harmony of our lodge—they will debase and distract our endearing meetings—they will disgrace, and it is possible (which heaven forbid) they may be the means of destroying our happy society. Let us above all things remember, that benevolence and charity are the strong and beautiful pillars which give stability to our lodge, and efficacy to our workings; and let us never, never forget, that after the end of all sublunary things, the life of that mason will be found most acceptable to God, which shall have been spent most usefully to mankind.

Having thus, brethren, with feeble effort, little studious of exact method, or elegant arrangement, touched on a few of the great outlines of the royal art, and taken a cursory view of the noble principles by which it is governed, and of the great benefits derivable to society from the exercise of it, it is time we should unbend our minds, to join in the gratulations of this joyous day: but before we do so, I feel that an impulse of duty and affection, insensibly, though not unwillingly leads me to express my gratitude to those faithful brethren of St.

Andrew's lodge, who have so long, so ably and successfully presided in our sanctuary, and supported its reputation; particularly to the present right worshipful master*, who now maintains the dignity, and conducts the operations of it; and who, for the advancement of the craft, joins all the ardour of youth to the well-disciplined judgment of the ripest years.

I have now, brethren, in some sort finished the duty, which the favour of the lodge obligingly laid upon me. I wish sincerely, that my time and talents could have enabled me to render it more worthy of their acceptance. But, I am sensible of your goodness, and therefore shall neither multiply needless apologies, nor seek shelter under any pitiful shifts or mean pretences. I know, that whatever tends to soften and humanize the heart, though in never so small a degree, will be kindly received by this auditory; and I shall be truly gratified if this mite be in any measure adapted to so desirable an end. If on perusal it shall be found worthy of a place in the flock of transient harmless pleasure, the author shall count the time employed in throwing it together very well spent—his humble design quite accomplished—and himself amply rewarded.



From the FEDERAL GAZETTE.

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, South and North Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland. By the rev. dr. Collin, M. A. P. S.—P. 386.

NUMBER VIII.

A Good militia is the natural, easy, powerful, and honourable defence of a country. Even those nations, which are surrounded with formidable neighbours, need not altogether depend on great standing armies, which are not favourable to liberty, and create an enormous expense. Indeed regular troops are more excellent, as they resemble a militia; which is evidently seen in the Swedish army, and acknowledged by the

NOTE.

* Mr. James Scott, grand secretary,

best military writers of different nations. America will be well defended against any attack by the united strength of a small but well-appointed army, and a numerous well-ordered militia. The federal government is empowered to provide for the organizing and calling forth this principal branch of national defence, by the 15th and 16th par. in 8th sect. of 1st art. on which the following amendments are proposed: "That each state respectively shall have the power to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining its own militia, whenever congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, except when in actual service, in time of war, invasion, or rebellion: and when not in the actual service of the united states, shall be subject only to such fines, penalties, and punishments as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state." * "That the power of organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia (the manner of disciplining the militia to be prescribed by congress) remain with the individual states; and that congress shall not have authority to call or march any of the militia out of their own state, without the consent of such state, and for such length of time only as such state shall agree." † "That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, except in time of war, invasion, or rebellion; and that it shall not, unless selected by lot, or voluntarily enlisted, be marched beyond the limits of an adjoining state, without the consent of their legislature or executive." ‡ "That the militia of any state shall not be compelled to serve without the limits of the state for a longer term than six weeks, without the consent of the legislature thereof." §

Before I enter on the discussion of

NOTES.

* Conv. of Virginia and N. Carol. 21 am.

† Minor. of Pennsylvania, 11 am.

‡ Minority of Maryland, 11 and 1 amendment. This minority has two sets of amendments: the latter negatived by a majority of the committee.

§ Conv. of New York, 29 am.

these amendments, I beg leave to observe, the want of agreement, and the silence of the New Hampshire convention, with those of South Carolina and Massachusetts, who, as has been remarked, are satisfied with the military powers of the new constitution. The request, that each state respectively may provide for organizing, &c. its own militia, whenever congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same, I humbly presume to be a mere suggestion of jealousy. Congress can never omit such an important and general duty, without a treasonable design, which supposes many preceding degrees of corruption; but this corruption cannot continue and accumulate in a body formed and frequently changed by the people, except the people themselves are thoroughly corrupted.

The proposition, that the state-government may controul the power of congress to call the militia out of the state, must be regarded as hastily formed in the fermentation of party, and now disavowed by every American, who regards the safety and honour of the union and of his own state. If a powerful enemy invades any part of the united states, he must be opposed with all possible expedition, before he gets possession of any important passes, lays the country under contributions, defeats the weak forces that fall in his way, and creates the usual calamities of war. Sympathy with a sister state, and the assurance that she will, in time of need, repay the obligation, are sufficient motives to lend what aid the common guardian requires. The federal power watches for the whole union, views the magnitude of the danger, knows the resources of every state, and feels impartially for all; it is therefore the best judge of what they should in every emergency do and suffer for each other. That the militia should not be called to a farther distance, and in greater numbers, or kept in the field for a longer time than is necessary, every person of sense will readily grant; that a select body is, in real danger, much preferable to a multitude of ordinary militia, every military man well knows; but every regulation on this important matter, should be left to the general

government. It will certainly not be so liable to an abuse of such power as a state-government, which, with all its generosity, cannot in the same manner think and feel for the united states. What might be the consequence of recalling the militia on the eve of a decisive battle? Perhaps the conquest of two or three states, and the miseries of war for several years!

The constitution "reserves to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress." This surely is a perfect security to any state against an encroachment of the federal power. The safety of the union requires that the militia of every state should be well armed, and in every respect qualified for the defence of the country; consequently, general and effectual regulations must be made by congress. Fines, penalties, and punishments of a proper kind, are a necessary part of discipline; if these are to be exercised by the several states, it is needless to compliment the congress with the ridiculous power of organizing the militia.

A citizen, as a militia man, is to perform duties which are different from the usual transactions of civil society; and which, consequently, must be enforced by congenial laws and regulations. These military duties have in time of peace no other object than a complete preparation for war, and therefore do not require that rigour of martial law, which is indispensable in actual service;—yet when we consider the extreme importance of every military duty in time of war, and the necessity of acquiring an habitual exercise of them in time of peace—it would be childish to enervate, by a scrupulous delicacy, that manly discipline, which is the bulwark of the country—give us, then, for heaven's sake, martial law enough to be truly martial, when we are to face the veterans of a powerful enemy.

Fines, alone, are very insufficient to prevent the various kinds of neglect and misdemeanor in the militia service, because they will not affect the rich, and, at the best, only produce a mechanical compliance with-

out life and spirit. Disgrace in different and just degrees, is the most effectual penalty; and it will keep alive that high sense of military honour, without which a militia is only a disorderly populace, or a mass of animal machines.

With an equitable allowance for age, bodily infirmities, religious opinions, and pressing avocations—absence and the hiring of substitutes should be held dishonourable. Not to join your company, because you can earn more than the fine, in your shop or your field—or because you had rather loiter in an easy chair—or because you like the gambling table better than the drum—oh, for shame, not to learn that noble art, by which you can defend your life, liberty, and property—your parents, wife and children! In a day of danger to be defended by others like a weak woman and a helpless child! A man of spirit will be delighted with the play of arms in all the manœuvres that present the image of real war. Though worth ten thousand pounds a year, he cheerfully takes his place in the ranks with a day-labourer, who is his brother-citizen, and defender of the common country—his fortune only inspires the noble pride of a greater application to the theory and practice of the military art, that, by superior abilities, he may deserve the honour to command a band of patriots.

As the constitution makes no mention of martial law, it is not my business to enter further into this subject; only observing, that the sole means to render a standing army useless, is to form a truly warlike militia.



Anecdote.

AN Indian chief of the Creek nation, being once appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace with the people of South Carolina, was desired by the governor and council to speak his mind freely, and not be afraid, for he was among friends. "I will speak freely: I will not be afraid," said he, "for why should I be afraid among my friends, who never am afraid among my enemies?"

ODE—On the establishment of the constitution, and the election of GEORGE
our president.

GOD of our fathers! need we trace
The mis'ries of a former race,
To learn true conduct from recorded woes?
But now our errors, and our crimes,
Drew down thy judgments on the times—
Black o'er our heads a tempest rose :
Soon all the heav'ns were in a flame,
Pointing to blash our peace and fame.
But, oh! thy mercy turn'd the storm aside,
Deign'd to becalm the raging seas,
Deign'd to diffuse the swelling breeze,
And to the port of peace our vessel guide.—
Our PILOT, sav'd thro' such a wat'ry war,
Sits at the helm, and points to hope's bright star ;
And, THOU his guide, he bids us boldly go,
Whatever rocks oppose, whatever tempests blow.



The vice president.

WHEN heav'n resolv'd Columbia should be free,
And Independence spake the great decree,
Lo, Adams rose! a giant in debate,
And turn'd that vote*, which fix'd our empire's fate.
In Europe next the minister behold,
Who treaties form'd—and melted hearts of gold :†
Maintain'd the honour of our rising name,
And, as a nation, gave us rank and fame!
When allied armies triumph'd in the field,
And full-plum'd Vict'ry made proud Britain yield,
When Washington commanded "wars to cease,"
He crown'd our triumphs, by a glorious peace.
For these, his country pours its honours down,
And ranks him next her first, her darling son.
Long may they rule, in sentiment allied,
Columbia's safeguard, glory, boast, and pride.



For the AMERICAN MUSEUM.

From SILIUS ITALICUS, Book I. ver. 77.

By a lady of Connecticut.

Nobilis hoc ortu, & dextrâ spectatus Amilcar, &c.

BY birth distinguish'd, by his prowess more,
The first command renown'd Hamilcar bore,—
The chief indignant view'd his country's doom,
Disgrac'd, and humbled by the arms of Rome;
And sought his son's young bosom to inflame
With deadly hatred of the Roman name,
When reason first her glimm'ring dawn display'd,
And first his lisping tongue imperfect words essay'd.
Just in the centre of the city stood,
In the dark bosom of a sacred wood,

NOTES.

* Vote of independence.

† Loans effected with Holland.

A fane, in honour of Eliza rear'd,
 By Carthage with religious awe rever'd.
 Here baleful yew o'erspread the darken'd ground,
 And cypress cast a mournful gloom around;
 No cheerful sun in noontide splendor bright
 Through the thick boughs e'er pour'd his cheering light;
 But blackest night eternally display'd
 Her sable pinions o'er the dreary shade.
 Here, by her own rash hand, the love-lorn fair
 The hapless victim fell of wild despair;
 The mournful statues of her royal race—
 (Belus in front—) adorn'd the sacred place;
 With Belus, Agenor the nation's fame,
 And ancient Phœnix, whence Phœnicia's name.
 Sad Dido stood beside her much-lov'd lord;
 Beneath her feet was plac'd the Dardan sword:
 To gods celestial and infernal rear'd,
 An hundred altars in dread pomp appear'd;
 The hoary priestesses here with frantic air,
 In sable garments and dishevell'd hair,
 In accents dire, invok'd hell's gloomy queen,
 And all the pow'rs of Pluto's dark domain:
 When the torn earth, oppress'd with terror, shook,
 From the dun shade dire screams of horror broke;
 Sulphureous lightnings gleam'd a pallid ray,
 And kindling altars flash'd a sudden day;
 Thin spectres shrieking shot athwart the gloom,
 By magic songs forc'd from the silent tomb;
 Eliza's statue trembled from its base,
 And briny drops bedew'd the marble face.
 These dark recesses stern Hamilcar sought;
 With him the youthful Hannibal he brought;
 With anxious care the fire his mien survey'd;
 No change of hue the signs of fear betray'd,
 No wild Mætylian priests with fearful howl,
 No barb'rous rites dismay'd his stedfast soul;
 Nor the dire threshold wet with human gore,
 Nor Stygian flames evok'd by magic lore:
 The chief with fond paternal rapture prest
 The godlike boy, and clasp'd him to his breast.
 And thus bespoke—the sons of Troy disgrace
 With stipulations vile the Tyrian race.
 Should fate deny me to avenge the shame,
 And vindicate the Carthaginian name,
 Thine, O my son, shall be the future praise
 Destructive wars, against proud Rome to raise.
 Ausonian mothers trembled at thy birth;
 And youths of Latium dread thy rising worth.
 By such incitements fir'd, he fierce replied:
 When age maturer shall my counsels guide,
 By land, by sea, with sword and wasting flame,
 Will I pursue that loath'd, detested name;
 By thee, O Mars, terrific god of war,
 By thy dread shade, exalted queen, I swear,
 Tarpeian rocks and Alpine cliffs in vain
 Shall lift their heights, my vengeance to restrain;
 No faith of treaties shall my arms confine,
 Nor holy rev'rence for the pow'rs divine;
 No terms my settled enmity controul,
 Or to soft peace dispose my vengeful soul.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Vienna, March 7.

IT is strongly reported that a bloody engagement has taken place between the Russians and the Poles; and we further learn, that the republic has dispatched an *estafette* to the court of Berlin, requesting a succour of twenty thousand troops.

Paris, March 25.

The reform of government goes on with astonishing rapidity. With a generous enthusiasm for the cause of freedom, hardly to be paralleled in history, the several orders of the state are emulous, who shall yield up most, in order to establish that political equality, which is the only firm basis of national happiness. At the general assembly of the three orders of the district of Lyons, the noblesse unanimously declared, that in order to give to the king, and the nation, every proof in their power, of their readiness to concur in the renovation of the republic, they forever renounce all exemptions and privileges whatever, relative to the taxes that shall be legally imposed by the states-general.

The example of the noblesse was followed by the clergy, who declared that they would not permit the nobility to surpass them in generosity, nor in the sacrifice of self-interest to the general welfare.

The third estate of the city of Lyons, following the generous examples of the other two, announced a renunciation of all the privileges and exemptions, which the citizens of Lyons enjoy on the domains beyond the limits of the city. "The citizens," say they, "consent with pleasure to this renunciation, in order to give the inhabitants of the country a proof of that justice and attachment which they owe them."

A letter from Cadiz, dated March 9, says, "By an edict of our new king, Charles IV. is granted to all nations, the liberty of trading to Porto-Rico, Havana, and St. Domingo, with slaves for two years to come—to sell them to the best advantage, and, in return, to take money or goods."

The three orders of the provinces of Saintonge and Angoumois being met in general assembly, the clergy

and nobility have unanimously voted to renounce all pecuniary privileges in taxation, and to bear any public expenses in common with the third estate. As to the manner of voting in the states-general (*per capita*, or *by orders*) the opinions were divided; and it was resolved to submit, in this point, to the decision of his majesty.

The following resolution deserves to be noticed:

"The nobility of Roussillon, duly assembled, considering that its members are men and citizens before they are nobles, and being desirous to give their fellow-citizens, of the third estate, a convincing proof of their disposition to cement the union between all orders, have unanimously agreed on the solemn resolution, to pay, on the principles of a perfect equality, and each of them in proportion to his fortune, the imposts and general contributions of the province, without any pecuniary exemption; reserving to themselves only the sacred rights of property and those distinctions which are necessary in a monarchy, in order to support the rights and liberties of the people, the respect due to the sovereign, and the authority of the laws."

London, February 25.

We may form an idea of the principles upon which the states-general of France will establish their first deliberations, from the following extract of the public instructions, given by the duke of Orleans to his representatives.

1. Individual liberty. No man shall be imprisoned but by the ordinary course of law. It shall be death for any citizen to arrest, or cause to be arrested, any citizen, without the interference of his natural judge.

2. The liberty of the press, considered as a part of individual liberty; with such restrictions, however, as the states-general shall think proper.

3. Property shall be sacred, and no man shall be deprived of it, even for the public good, without a sufficient compensation.

4. No tax or impost shall be levied without the especial consent of the states-general of the nation: the grant of such tax or impost shall be limited to the time of the next meeting of the states; so that, if no such meeting

takes place, the said tax or impost shall not be continued.

5. The periodical meeting of the states-general is to be fixed at short terms.

6. The ministers shall be responsible to the states, in all matters relative to finances, and to the laws of the country.

7. The public debt shall be consolidated.

8. The taxes shall be laid equally on every citizen of the kingdom.

9. No impost shall be granted, until all the measures, relative to public and private liberty, shall have been agreed upon.

March 16. The council of war in France have determined, that the expenses of the army shall in future be restrained within ninety-six million livres, or four millions sterling. The peace establishment is to be one hundred and sixty-four thousand men.

March 27. In the new form of constitution, which the king of Sweden has ordered, for the future government of his kingdom, an oath of allegiance is to be taken by all members of the senate, to the following tenor.

"I acknowledge that there is an hereditary king, who has the power of governing the kingdom; of making war and peace; of concluding foreign alliances, and of distributing favours as he shall think most fit.

"That the supreme tribunal of the kingdom shall consist of plebeians as well as nobles, and the number shall depend on the pleasure of the king.

"That every subject has an equal right to purchase lands, and that the repairing of highways shall fall equally on every description of persons.

"That in respect to the highest offices in the state, they shall exclusively be given to the nobles and equestrian order; in respect to all others, those who give the greatest proofs of public virtue, shall always have the preference."

The oath has been subscribed to by three of the orders, and, therefore, the king has declared it a law.

It should be remarked, that the whole tenor of this act, is a libel on the constitution, formed by the king himself, in 1772, and which he then bound himself to preserve forever.

March 31. The revolution which has taken place at Geneva, is the more remarkable, as it is the first time these thirty-five years, that the whole republic have, with one consent, made and agreed to any laws; nor was there ever a greater day of rejoicing than the 30th ultimo. On the 7th, the senate laid before the council of two hundred, the laws required, which were approved of, *in globo*, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight against nine. On the 30th, they were carried to the council general, and approved of by one thousand three hundred and twenty seven votes against fifty four.

April 2. An additional house-tax is spoken of, as a substitute for the shop tax.

Councillor Born, of Vienna, inspector-general of the emperor's mines, has made a discovery of a very important nature—a new species of gunpowder, made without saltpetre; much cheaper than any hitherto prepared, much more powerful, and equally manageable. Vast quantities of it have already been purchased for the use of the Austrian army.

On the 9th of April, was held, at the London tavern, a meeting of the merchants and others concerned in the trade to the West India islands. The subject of their meeting was the proposed regulations of the African slave trade: and it was unanimously resolved, that, at a proper season, a petition should be presented to both houses of parliament, against the total abolition of this trade, as a measure that would be highly injurious to individuals, and, in the end, fatal to the very existence of the trade to the West India islands.

The meeting, in point of respectability and commercial consequence, was extremely important: we may say, the whole of the West India and African consequence was there, as well as of our manufacturers, who are all interested in this question.

Lord Penryn, in the chair,

Stated with great precision, the subject, and the importance of the trade: that the colonies would be deserted, in case they were not supplied with slaves for their cultivation; and that so far from committing acts of inhumanity, it was the interest of the mas-

ter to take care of the negroes, who were part of his personal estate.

Mr. Spooner, a merchant of considerable respectability, shewed the very great importance of this trade to the country; that its amount was in the aggregate, several millions; and that the French were ready, immediately on the vacuum, to fill the trade, which, by precipitation, we should lose. That not only this consideration, but a more natural consequence would ensue,—the decrease of our navy, and—what every Briton should shudder at—the increase of the maritime power of France.

This gentleman, and Mr. Archdeacon, gave several other reasons for the great consequence of this trade. Its abolition, they said, would be a fatal stab to our revenue, trade, and manufactures.



AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

Boston, June 5.

LAST Tuesday, in the general court, a bill for abolishing the right of primogeniture, was read a first time.

A vessel lately arrived at Rhode Island, brought in above seven hundred ounces of gold dust,—three hundred ounces of which were sold, a few days since, to a gentleman in the vicinity of this town, at £.4 16s. per ounce. The principal part of the gold dust, which is brought into the united states, is remitted and sold at a considerable loss in Europe, owing to there not being a mint established in the united states, wherein it might be coined.

Several vessels which have failed from this port, within these few days, have proved the advancement of our manufactures, their sails being all made of the product of the looms in the duck manufactory in this town.

New York, May 23.

Yesterday, the first act passed by the congress of the united states, prescribing the form of the oath to be taken by all persons holding offices under the government of the united states, and of the individual states, and the manner of administering the same, was presented to the president, for his signature, by a committee of both houses.

A letter from Kingston, Jamaica, dated March 16, says, "Owing to the rapacity of the cullom-house gentry, we are in a fair way of losing the Spanish trade. They lately seized a vessel with one hundred thousand dollars on board, because they say she is a little above the burden of seventy tons, allowed by the late free port act. She had nothing on board but the specie. Mr. Lindo, to whom the vessel is consigned, is determined to carry the business home, if call here; you may be assured, he has our hearty wishes for success."

June 17. Several motions have been made in the legislature of Massachusetts, on the subject of the practice of the law, with a view to lessen the fees of lawyers.

Elizabethtown, June 10.

On Wednesday, the 3d instant, an annual convention of the protestant episcopal church in this state, was held in St. John's church, in this town.

Charleston, June 1.

It must give every lover of his country pleasure to know, that the greatest concord, and anxiety for the public welfare, prevails in the senate and house of representatives of the united states; which was particularly exemplified in the consideration of the question, what title should be given to the president of the united states. The senate proposed that he should be styled—highness—but the house of representatives so ably and strenuously pointed out the impropriety of adopting princely distinctions in a republican government, that the point was given up; and the *man*, the tenor of whose life has evinced a contempt for ambition, will only be distinguished by the highest title that can be found in human life, the grateful and universal applause of his fellow citizens; compared with which, how poor is ambition's pride, and all the pomp of method and of art!

Richmond, June 10.

We learn from Norfolk, that on the 4th inst. the British merchants of that borough met at Mr. Lindsay's hotel, where they partook of a most sumptuous entertainment provided on the occasion. After dinner the following toasts were drank:—

1. King George the third—may he long reign with honour to himself and happiness to his people.

2. His royal highness George prince of Wales—may he inherit his father's virtues.

3. The queen and the rest of the royal family.

4. The president of the American union.

5. The federal government—may it be established with liberty, supported by justice, and be the means of securing peace and harmony with all nations.

6. The borough of Norfolk.

The evening was closed with every mark of festivity and generous glee.

Baltimore, May 29.

The Georgia gazette, of the 14th instant, mentions, that the convention for taking into consideration the constitution proposed for that state, on the 20th of January last, met at Augusta, on the 4th instant, and on the evening of Wednesday the 6th, finished their business, having adopted and ratified the said constitution, with a few alterations.

June 12. His excellency George Clinton, esq. is elected governor, and the honourable Pierre Van Cortlandt, esq. lieutenant governor of the state of New York.

The hon. Joshua Clayton, esq. is elected president of the state of Delaware.

June 9. A letter from Washington county, in this state, advises, that the navigation of the river Patowmack is now established one hundred and fifty miles above tide water. The letter writer expects great improvement in this important navigation, and observes that, in its present infant state, the advantage of carriage will save him from two hundred and fifty to three hundred pounds, on the flour he annually exports.

Pittsburg, May 30.

Information from the Indian country, received on Thursday last, confirms the account of several parties being gone out to war; and further, that from the general disposition of the Indians, it is evident they are determined to persist in committing depredations on the frontiers, this summer.

Philadelphia, May 28.

On Tuesday afternoon, anchored

in this port, a polacre, formerly commanded by capt. Feerer, with passengers returned from Carthage-na. These people, previous to their departure, from this port, in different vessels, were naturalized subjects of Spain. If then, whim, discontent, or other motives, should prompt the Spanish government to send them to the place, from which it solicited them to emigrate, sick, enfeebled, and still more debauched in their principles, than when they went away—should not the police of Philadelphia rigorously oppose the dangerous imposition? It is well known that some of the most daring profligates of both sexes have returned from their voluntary banishment.

June 10. The wonderful exertions of this country in economy and industry afford the most heartfelt satisfaction to patriots in every situation; men in public stations in almost every state are clothing themselves in the manufactures of the country—the old branches are daily improving—new ones introducing—and domestic manufactures extending beyond anything ever known heretofore. The silent progress of industry in this latter way has been evidenced by the wonderful sales of spinning-wheel irons in this city, which in the year last past, in two stores only, have amounted to five thousand eight hundred and sixty sets. It is with high pleasure we add, that a great number of wheels have been shipped in the coasters to the shores of the Chesapeake.

June 4. It appears now, from unquestionable authority, that the pot-ash furnished by the wood obtained from new lands, will more than pay for the expence of clearing them. It is to be hoped, some of the citizens of Philadelphia, who have lately employed their capitals in East India speculations, will now direct them to the encouragement of the manufacture of pot-ash in the new lands of Pennsylvania. The profits from this branch of business will be certain and regular, and the sources of it more durable, than the present generation. In Germany, forests are planted, only for the sake of obtaining their ashes by burning them. In Pennsylvania we have forests equally proper for the purpose, planted by the hand of nature.

A letter from Boston, dated June 4, says "the revenue officers have made three important seizures of goods, within these few days. This will pave the way for an efficient execution of the new laws.

"P. S. Since signing this letter, I am credibly informed, that a motion has been made in the general court, by mr. Henshaw, that a joint committee be appointed to prepare an address to the president of the united states, congratulating him on his appointment—expressing the attachment of the legislature to his person—and their intention to give every assistance to his exertions for promoting the common good, agreeably to the federal constitution. The motion being seconded, passed in the affirmative unanimously. Mr. Henshaw, dr. Jarvis, and mr. Mason, were chosen on the part of the house."

Extract from a proclamation of his excellency John Parr, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief, &c. of his Britannic majesty's province of Nova Scotia, dated the 25th ult. says, "I have thought fit, with the advice and consent of his majesty's council, to publish this proclamation, further to authorize and permit—and I do hereby further authorize and permit the importation of the following goods or commodities into this province—that is to say—scantling, planks, staves, heading-boards, shingles, hoops or squared timber, of any sort; horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry or live stock of any sort; bread, biscuit, flour, pease, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, or grain of any sort; by British subjects, and in British-built ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, for the space of six calendar months, to commence the 25th day of this inst. May; of which all persons whatever are required to take due notice."

June 20. His excellency the president of the united states has been much indisposed for several days past, which has caused great anxiety in the breast of every true friend to America; on Wednesday he was visited by several physicians, and a chain extended across the street to prevent the passing of carriages before his door; it is however hoped, that his indisposition

will not prove other than incidental, and the cause be soon removed.



MARRIED.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Boston. Mr. John Dugan, to mrs. Polly Keelle.

NEW YORK.

In the capital. John Wilkes, esq. to mrs. Deion.—John R. Livingston, esq. to mrs. Eliza M'Evers.—Mr. George Smith, to mrs. Nancy Audibert.—Mr. James Legget, aged eighty-six, to mrs. Rachel Hunt, aged seventy-five.

NEW JERSEY.

In Monmouth county. Mr. Anthony Taylor, to mrs. Anne Covenhoven.—*At Lambertton.* Mr. Ezekiel Robins, to mrs. Sally Franklin.—

MARYLAND.

In Baltimore. Mr. Samuel Adams, to mrs. Thomson.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia. Mr. George Buchanan, to mrs. Lætitia M'Kean.—Mr. Edward Carrel, to the agreeable and accomplished mrs. Maria Byrne.



DIED.

MASSACHUSETTS.

At Kingston. Mr. Samuel Stevens.—*In Boston.* Mr. Daniel Kirceland, aged sixty-eight.

NEW YORK.

In the capital. Captain Thomas Vardil, aged seventy.—Mrs. Jane Magill.

GEORGIA.

In Savannah. Captain William Murren.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

In Charleston. Dr. Peter Roberts,

VIRGINIA.

In Charles city. Mr. James Swaine.
In Norfolk. Mr. John M'Lean.

MARYLAND.

In Baltimore. Miss Backford.—Dr. Charles Frederick Weisenthal, aged sixty-three years.—Rev. Francis Spry.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia. Mrs. Anne Smyth.—Captain Andrew Hodge.—Mrs. Christiana Hagner.

Brief sketch of the most interesting proceedings of congress.—P. 523.
Friday, May 5.

MR. Benson, from the committee appointed to consider and report, whether any and what style or titles should be given to the president and vice president, reported that it would be improper to give any other than those that were mentioned in the constitution.—This report the house accepted.

Mr. Bland presented to the house an application of the state of Virginia, requesting congress to call a convention for the purpose of revising and amending the constitution.

Mr. Bland observed, that this application was made with a view of obtaining amendments to the constitution, in one of the two modes pointed out in the fifth article; that copies of the application, with an address, had been sent to the several states, but that few of them seemed to have coincided with Virginia in opinion; and whether the apprehensions of the people of that state were well or ill founded, time alone could determine. He wished that the paper might be referred to a committee of the whole house, and thought it would be advisable to give it a consideration at the same time that the amendments to be moved by Mr. Madison, of which he had given notice yesterday, should be brought forward.

Mr. Boudinot was opposed to the commitment: he wished to pay respect to the application of the state of Virginia, but he thought it ought to lie on the table for the information of the members. When a sufficient number of the states should, according to the constitution, join in the application, it would then be the proper time to commit it:—at present it was premature.

Mr. Bland hoped that a respect would be paid to the wishes of the state of Virginia, equal to what had been paid to the petitions of the citizens of New York and others. He hoped the house would pay Virginia the compliment of committing her application. He knew not whether other states would come forward or not, but if the house had this address before them, when the general subject of amendments was taken up, it might

have some proper influence on their decision, though it were not accompanied by other applications.

Mr. Huntington opposed the commitment, and was for having the paper lie on the table.

Mr. Madison said the house ought to treat this subject with all due respect: but the mode of disposing of this application ought to be consistent with the principles and spirit of the constitution. Congress had no deliberative power with respect to a convention; for whenever two thirds of the states should apply, they were bound to call one; but till this concurrent application took place, they had no power whatever to enter into the subject—the best mode was to let it lie on the table till a sufficient number of applications appeared.

Mr. Boudinot assured the gentleman it was from no disrespect that he objected to the commitment—he would wish to express his respect for every state, particularly Virginia; but he did not conceive it would be paying respect to Virginia, to commit her application to a body which had no power to deliberate or decide upon it.

Mr. Bland replied, that the committing the application could not lay any obligation upon the house whatever, as to its merits, and therefore it was no unconstitutional step. The matter regularly came before the house, without its ever passing the bounds prescribed by the constitution, or actually doing any thing to contravene its principles.

Mr. Tucker said, the provision in the constitution did not appear to him in the same point of view, in which it struck the gentleman. If two thirds of the states made application, congress were obliged to comply; but if this should not happen, they were at liberty to exercise their discretion. He thought, therefore, it would be constitutional to take this up and deliberate upon it. Great respect was due to the application of any state. If the states had this power, as they certainly had, a proper application ought not to be disregarded—it ought to be carefully attended to.

Mr. Gerry conceived this question to be out of order. A gentleman, he said, had yesterday informed the house, that on the fourth Monday of this

month he should move the house to go into a committee on the fifth article of the constitution; but there was no order of the house to go into a committee on that day. He had no doubt but the gentleman would bring forward his motion; but he thought it at present not in order, on the expectation of such a motion, to refer any thing to a committee of the whole, which was not yet in existence. He conceived, therefore, that the proper mode of treating this application, was to let it lie on the table till the fifth article of the constitution should be taken into consideration.

Mr. Page was opposed to the commitment. He thought it would be a proper respect to the application to enter it on the journal, and he was willing this should be done.

Mr. Bland said he had no objection to any mode of treatment which was respectful. It was a standing order, that the house should go each day into a committee of the whole, on the state of the union. To this committee he wished the application should be referred. And he thought it would be in their power to take the same at any time into consideration.

Mr. Madison said he would consent to enter the paper on the journal, and to have the original on the files of the clerk's office. He therefore moved that the application be entered on the journal, and the original deposited in the office of the clerk.

Mr. White seconded this motion; and the question being put, it was agreed to.

That part of the report of the committee of the whole, which respected tonnage, was then resumed—upon which Mr. Jackson proposed, that the sum of thirty cents on foreign tonnage, of nations in alliance, should be struck out, and twenty inserted. This produced a long debate. No decision was had upon the proposition, when the house adjourned.

Wednesday, May 6.

Mr. Lawrence presented the application of the legislature of New-York, dated 5th of February last, for calling a convention, to consider amendments to the federal constitution, which, after being read over, was disposed of in the same manner as the application from Virginia.

The house then resumed the further consideration of the tonnage duty, and resolved, that foreign vessels, belonging to nations in alliance, should pay thirty cents per ton, as had formerly been agreed to in the committee of the whole.

Adjourned.

Thursday, May 7.

The house resumed the consideration of the impost on tonnage, which was fully debated, and the report of the committee of the whole on that article, agreed to, with an additional clause to secure the coasting trade from being carried on by foreigners.

A motion was made by Mr. Gerry, to exempt fishing vessels from entering, clearing, and paying a duty of six cents per ton, in common with all other American shipping, but, after some debate, it was withdrawn.

Adjourned.

Friday, May 8.

A bill directing the mode of collecting the impost, was read a first time.

Mr. Smith informed the house that the president of the united states was ready to receive their address. They went to the committee-chamber, preceded by the speaker, who delivered the address, for which see page 440.

Adjourned.

Saturday, May 9.

The house in a committee on the impost bill.

A proposition was made, to lower the whole of the duties on enumerated articles, about one fifth. Arguments were advanced in support of the motion, by Mr. Ames, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Boudinot. They feared they were laid too high for collection, and that they would defeat the object of revenue which gentlemen had in view.

Mr. Fitzsimons, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Sherman, were for the duties remaining, as fixed by the committee and by the house. The subject had already been discussed three times, and nothing new was now offered to induce a change of sentiments. They did not think the duties were too high, if compared to what other nations paid: at best, whether they were so or not, was mere matter of opinion; but even these high duties, it was to be feared, would prove insufficient for the public wants.

The morning was spent in this discussion, when at length, upon repeated calls for the question, it was put, and the committee divided, nineteen for reducing the duty, and twenty-six against it.

After which the house adjourned.

Monday, May 11.

A message from the senate, purporting that they had appointed a committee, to join with such committee as the house might appoint, to confer upon the title, which it might be proper to give to the president of the united states, was read.

Upon which mr. Parker moved, that a resolution should be adopted to this effect—that the house could not concur with the senate, having already decided upon the subject unanimously.

Mr. Page supported the motion; he was fully of opinion, that the house by the constitution had no right to suggest or propose any thing upon the subject:—He considered it as anti-republican; and apprehended that great evils would result from the measure, should congress take any steps in it. He conceived, that the real honour and dignity of the government did not consist in, or depend upon titles, and said, that his feelings had been hurt, when he heard gentlemen address the members of that house, by the style of “the honourable member:” He thought, that the house had already fully and explicitly declared its sentiments, in the report of a former committee, and was sorry to have the subject again introduced.

Mr. Tucker agreed in sentiment with mr. Page, but observed further, that he had always been opposed to the appointment of any committee, in the first stage of the business; and was equally averse to taking it up now: the constitution was expressly against any titles whatever: the introduction of them would bring us back to monarchy, and would justify what had been said of the constitution, by its enemies. What could be the design of the senate? Did general Washington wish for a title? Did he fight for this? By no means. Real dignity consists not in these distinctions: titles bring equipage, etiquette, parade, &c. To support these, liberty must be sacrificed; and from

sustaining the character of independent freemen, we shall degenerate into servility; we shall no longer be men; we shall depreciate into apes, through a baseness of imitation. Mr. Tucker concluded, by wishing the subject might be dismissed.

Mr. Trumbull moved for a committee, to enquire into the difference which appeared in the votes of the two houses, upon the report of the joint committee on this subject, as now held out in the message from the senate.

Mr. Burke was averse to any further proceeding in the business, except it was to express their entire disapprobation; and to that purpose, he proposed a resolution against the introduction of any title, more especially all imitation of European styles or titles, whether given to emperors, kings, princes, or any other dignitaries whatever.

Mr. Madison coincided in opinion with the gentlemen opposed to a title; he was not, however, for proceeding in too summary a manner with the message of the senate; he urged the propriety of a decent and respectful attention to it, upon a variety of principles: and then observed, that he could not see the use or advantage of adopting titles; that it was evident, they did not confer power or influence; many of the poorest and most insignificant states have assumed the most pompous and high sounding titles; what greater or more lofty title could be assumed than that of “high mightinesses”—a style almost bordering upon impiety?—what real advantages had been derived from it?—Had event sanctioned the idea?—Titles he considered as unconstitutional, and contrary to the general sentiments of the people. Should it be determined to adopt them, we must either borrow or create: old ones we should find inapplicable; besides they would be considered as servile imitations; and new ones, he feared, would be absurd and ridiculous. The true dignity of a republican government, he considered as independent of titles; he hoped that gentlemen would not discover any warmth upon the occasion; had no doubt, that the same unanimity would now be shewn, as before, upon this question, and was

therefore in favour of a committee of conference.

Mr. White was opposed to the appointment of a committee of conference, and supposed it best to put a period to any further discussion, by informing the senate, that the house had already determined on the question, by unanimously adopting the report of the joint committee upon this subject.

Mr. Sherman supposed there would be an impropriety in appointing a committee, unless the house should first rescind their former vote; he thought, that, to make the journals appear consistent, this was a previous question.

Mr. Jackson observed, that, although he was as much opposed to titles and distinctions, as any gentleman whatever, he nevertheless thought that there was a propriety in appointing a committee of conference, that the result being known, might prevent the publication of ridiculous and absurd contradictions and titles in the news-papers, which had a tendency to bring the government into contempt.

Mr. Madison thought that mr. Sherman's ideas were not just: he supposed that a committee might be appointed, with as much propriety in the present case, as in any other, and assigned a variety of reasons, to prove, that the subject was open to discussion, and that every dictate of policy and sound judgment pointed out the expediency of paying all possible respect and attention to the communications of the senate.

Mr. Seney expressed his mind fully in opposition to a committee, as he considered the measure fruitless, and occasioning a loss of time.—He wished that mr. Parker's motion might be adopted, and an end put to the business.

Mr. Clymer was opposed to the conferring of titles: and observed, that the most impotent nations assumed the most pompous addresses. That they were not indicative of power and influence, was evident from facts, for when the kings of England had only the title of "highness," their prerogative was much greater, than it had since been under that of "most sacred majesty." He differed, however, from gentlemen, who supposed that the

people were averse to distinctions. It was evident, he said, from a variety of facts, that they had a powerful predilection for them; and this propensity, he thought, should be checked, and counteracted.

Mr. Page observed, that titles naturally lead to honours and distinctions, not always founded on merit, until in time the supreme executive comes to be considered as the fountain of honour, inducing a train of consequences derogatory to the dignity of a freeman.

Mr. Lee moved that the previous question should be taken, in words to the following effect—whether the house would now proceed to consider the subject of the message from the senate? This passed in the affirmative.

A variety of motions were then introduced, and one from mr. Trumbull was adopted, to the following effect—That a committee be appointed, to confer with a committee of the senate, upon the difference, which appears in the votes of the two houses, upon the report of the joint committee, on the question respecting titles; evidenced in the vote of the senate, appointing a committee to take up the same subject upon quite opposite principles.

This motion being adopted, mr. Madison, mr. Trumbull, mr. Page, mr. Sherman, and mr. Benson, were appointed.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, when the impost bill was taken up. Mr. Gerry proposed that six cents on melasses should be struck out, and two inserted—This produced a debate, in which mr. Ames and mr. Madison were the principal speakers, but the house adjourned, without coming to a vote upon the proposition.

Tuesday, May 12.

The house in committee of the whole.

The impost bill was taken up, and the debate upon the duty of six cents on melasses was resumed.

The speeches upon this occasion, were similar to those which had been made upon the previous discussion of the subject: many of the former ideas in favour of the reduction of the duty, were amplified, and the substitution of an excise on rum and other spirits,

distilled in the country, was contended for—On this side of the question, the speakers were mr. Ames, mr. Gerry, and mr. Goodhue—their observations were closed by a proposition, to strike out six cents and leave a blank for the sum to be annexed—the speakers on the other side were mr. Madison, mr. Fitzsimons, and mr. Sherman—this part of the question had equal justice done to it, and the vote on the above proposition being taken, it passed in the affirmative.

It was then moved that the blank should be filled with five cents. This, after some further debate, passed in the affirmative, by a majority of twenty-five to twenty-three.

A message from the senate, was, at this stage of the business, announced, when the committee rose—the purport of this message was, that the senate concurred with the house in the appointment of a committee, to confer with the committee of the senate upon the disagreeing votes of the two houses on the report of the joint committee, upon the subject of the titles proper to be bestowed on the president and vice-president—Adjourned.

Wednesday, May 13.

Mr. Thacher presented a petition from the inhabitants of Portland, in the state of Massachusetts, complaining of the high duty on melasses.

The house then went into a committee on the revenue bill.

China, earthen, and stone ware, looking glasses, and brushes, were added to the list of enumerated articles, under a duty of seven and a half per cent. and saltpetre was exempted from duty.

Mr. Parker moved to insert in the bill, a clause laying a tax of ten dollars on every slave imported into the united states.

On this motion, some debate ensued. The gentlemen from South Carolina and Georgia opposed it, on the ground of its being partial. They contended, that it would fall heavily and oppressively on those states, particularly on Georgia, and would be too odious to be endured. It would operate as a direct tax, which was impolitic at this time. Others, who were in favour of the tax, contended, that there was an impropriety in introduc-

ing such a clause into the bill, because it was foreign to the true nature of the bill. It was mixing human beings with goods, wares, and merchandize, in an improper manner. They thought it would be a proper subject for a distinct bill.

The motion was supported upon general principles. It was said, that it was the prevailing expectation, that some measures would be entered into, by the general government, against the slave trade—that the constitution itself was calculated upon this idea—and that unless such a measure was taken, it would be supposed, that, instead of discouraging, it was meant tacitly to countenance this disgraceful traffic—On the ground of policy, as well as humanity, it was contended, that the duty ought to be imposed, and that it would tend to the real advantage of those very states that most strongly opposed it. Their national policy was deeply concerned in the abolition of slavery—the practice was pernicious in a political and moral view, and tended exceedingly to diminish their relative strength and importance.

Mr. Parker at length, however, withdrew his motion, in order to introduce a separate bill for the purpose of laying this tax.

Adjourned.

Thursday, May 14.

The house in a committee on the revenue bill.

Mr. Smith made a motion, which was seconded by mr. Parker, to allow a discount, from the duties imposed, upon goods imported in American ships. The motion was carried by thirty against sixteen; and the question, on the rate of the discount, was carried in favour of ten per cent.

The committee having gone through the bill, rose and reported; and the house ordered the same to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow.

Mr. Madison, from the committee appointed to confer with a committee from the senate, on the disagreeing votes of the houses, on the subject of titles, reported, that the committee of the senate had informed them, that the senate would, for the present, address the president under the same style and title as the house of representatives had given him. Adjourned.

Friday, May 15.

Mr. Boudinot moved that the house should now come to a vote—That, on Tuesday next, the house would resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the arrangement of the executive department. Agreed to.

Mr. White introduced a resolve of the legislature of Virginia, by which a tender is made to congress, of ten miles square, in any part of that state, which they may think proper to choose.

The impost bill, engrossed, was then read; but an amendment being moved for, and seconded, it was, after some debate, recommitted. The speaker then left the chair, and the house formed itself into a committee of the whole. The amendment provided for extending the duty on distilled spirits, Jamaica proof, and all other spirits, imported from any other country whatever. This amendment being adopted, the committee rose, and the same being accepted by the house, the bill was passed to be engrossed.

Mr. Madison then introduced a clause to be added to the bill, providing for a limitation to the existence of the act. This brought on a very interesting debate.

The general argument in favour of the motion, was, that it was incompatible with the spirit of the constitution, and the principles of republican government, to pass a perpetual revenue law; that in the house of representatives was peculiarly vested the power of applying to the pockets of the people, for the means of supporting government. That this power was given for the wisest purposes, and to protect our dearest rights. That it was, in a great measure, for these objects, that the house of representatives was constituted in their present form, and was distinguished from the senate by their superior number, and the comparatively short duration of their appointment. The system, it was said, unless its continuance was expressly limited, would become a perpetual one; and, however oppressive it might be found in its operation, or enormous in its product, it would not be in the power of the representatives to lessen it and lighten its burdens. It would be in the power of the president, with

one-third of the senate, to prevent, at any time, a repeal of the act, and a diminution of this independent fund, the extent of which they might find convenient for the purposes of oppression. This was throwing out of the hands of the people a delicate and important right, of which the house of representatives was the proper and only safe guardian.

Against the motion, it was argued, that we had great objects to accomplish, and it was necessary that the means in the hands of government should be co-extensive with them. These objects were various and unlimited, both in extent and duration; the means, therefore, ought not to be limited. A lasting fund was necessary for the purpose of paying off the debts of the union. Unless adequate funds were provided, our creditors would lose the remains of their confidence in the counsels of the union. A revenue bill, limited to a few years, would not furnish these funds; nothing but a long and prosperous operation of the system, could bring into the treasury, money sufficient to answer the large existing demands, together with the exigencies of government. If the duration of the means was limited, the limitation must be made upon a nice calculation of the objects in view, together with a strict and determined appropriation, which we were not now in a capacity to make.

The decision of the question was postponed.—Adjourned.

Saturday, May 16.

Mr. Seney presented to the house an act of the legislature of Maryland, offering to congress a tract of ten miles square in any part of the state, for the permanent seat of the federal government.

The house then resumed the consideration of the motion of Mr. Madison, for annexing, to the bill for raising a revenue, a clause limiting its duration.

Mr. Jackson said he had as sincere a wish to restore the decayed public credit, as any man; but he did not think, that making this law a perpetual one, would have that tendency. The establishment of the public credit depended upon a regular and permanent system of honest policy—it would rise from the virtue of the govern-

ment, and the general punctuality, with which it performed its engagements. Can we, said he, doubt our own virtue? or do we suppose that a future legislature will be less virtuous than ourselves? ought we not rather to conclude, that there will always be a disposition in the federal legislature, to do justice to themselves, and to the interests and universal expectations of the people?—if this be the general conduct, public credit will be inevitably re-established, in whatever manner funds are provided for the payment of debts—passing a revenue bill for two, three, or five years, or forever, will not affect credit.

It would be dangerous, he thought, to make it a perpetual bill. It might soon be necessary to alter it materially. The house were far from unanimously approving it: some parts were very exceptionable to the members from the southern states: others, again, were disagreeable to those from the northern: some parts would bear hard on some of the states; other parts would perhaps be oppressive to others. It was not, he said, so much the public credit, that was interested in the question—it was the power and the right of the house, and the privileges of the people; the bill would put too much power into the hands of the senate. They must assent to a repeal; and they were so constituted, that, as less confidence could be placed in them, it was necessary to assure ourselves, that their assent would be easily obtained. Their duration rendered them almost independent; and whatever might be the complaints of the people respecting the operation of the law, the senate could not be supposed to feel them very sensibly.

But if the president should be averse to a repeal, and one-third of the senate should be of his opinion, it would be impossible for a majority in both houses to effect it. This would create divisions and jealousies between the branches of government, and would tend to destroy mutual confidence between the senators and representatives. It was better to prevent these difficulties, by keeping, as far as possible, the power in that house, where the constitution intended it should remain. He believed that gentlemen would not easily part with a

power, which had been given to them for the protection of liberty; but would support the motion for a limitation, as a means of securing it.

Mr. White said, it had been objected to the motion for a limitation, that a temporary law would have a tendency to injure public credit. He thought differently. He thought the credit of the united states was established on as solid principles, as a solemn act could establish it—better founded than that of any other country; for it had been made a part of the national compact—it was a part of the constitution, under which the house then sat. He believed that no other nation on earth had made the public credit an express part of their social compact. This constitutional provision had given to the public creditors all the confidence and satisfaction, which it was in the power of any government to give. What then was it necessary to do?—Nothing but to execute the constitution. Would foreigners enter into a minute examination of our revenue system, in order to determine their own confidence in us as a nation? Would public creditors scrutinize all the measures and means of government in detail, to ascertain the proportion of public faith which it possessed?—No!—They would observe the general conduct of the united states, as a nation, and see whether that conduct was directed by wisdom and prudence; if they saw this, they would be confirmed in the belief of that justice, of which the constitution itself had given them an assurance. These were the means of establishing the national credit. It was therefore properly the object of the house, to determine whether to render the revenue law perpetual, would be a measure wise and prudent in itself.

It had, he said, been well observed, that some parts would bear harder on some states than on others. Perhaps there was no state, which would not feel its pressure. It appeared that gentlemen, who represented opposite extremes of the union, entertained very different sentiments, and expressed those sentiments with great earnestness. There had been intimations and predictions of the dangerous consequences of high duties, which he would not repeat. If these

dangers were real, would it be prudent to risk these consequences, and to make these dangers unavoidable, by rendering the law perpetual? It was true, there had been every pains taken to impose the burdens as equally as possible—If some states were pressed by a high duty on melasses, it seemed to be balanced by the tonnage-duty imposed upon others; but it was still probable, that there were important mistakes in the bill, which experience only could point out, to the satisfaction of all parties. The system, he said, was great, complex, and comprehensive. It embraced finance, navigation, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, in short every thing, in which a nation could be interested. We are young and unexperienced; was it proper, then, under our present disadvantages, and on so difficult a subject, to enact a law affecting the dearest interests of the people, which was never to be repealed, but by the consent of three distinct branches? It had been said, that the senate had greater powers, than the representatives. He agreed, that, in some instances, they had greater powers, but in others their powers were less; with respect to revenue matters, they were certainly less; and very properly so. He feared that the representative body, by a perpetual system, would give up the superior power, which was so valuable to them—It was the intention of the constitution, that this power should be frequently exercised; for in its exercise alone consisted its advantage. It would be of little consequence to possess the mere nominal right, if, from the nature of things, it could never be exerted. If the senate had in their power a treasury constantly full—if all the wants of government were supplied by the operation of a perpetual act, why should the house of representatives exert their power of originating money bills? It would be mere wantonness. If this power was of any consequence, it should have proper objects for a repeated exertion, and should be frequently felt—if it was not, it would soon lose its excellent effect in the administration of government; and the provision itself would become a nullity.

The senators, it had been said, were a wise and vigorous body: he agreed

to this, and he hoped they would ever remain so; in his legislative capacity, he himself had ever acted, and would still continue to act upon this idea. Still it was true, that they were men, and subject to the same frailties, infirmities, and deceptions, as the rest of their fellow mortals. Besides, they were, in some measure, constituted for purposes, to which the other branch was not competent; and that branch was constituted for purposes, to which the senate was entirely unequal. It was a prevailing principle, and it was a just one, that taxation and representation should go together. The people should be taxed by those whom they had chosen for that purpose—this was the sentiment of our citizens—it had been written on the hearts of our English ancestors with their best blood, and it had descended in all its vigour to their posterity, with the spirit of liberty and the principles of republicanism. What, he asked, was the house about to do? A great branch of revenue, indeed the only branch to which an application was now proper, was going to be put out of that hand, which alone ought to possess it.

Whatever opinion he had of the wisdom and virtue of the senators, he was convinced, that they were not competent to those peculiar objects, for which the principles of a just representation became of the utmost importance—they were an unequal representation of the people—In that body the states had equal numbers, while in this house the representation was in proportion to the interests to be provided for. Delaware sent one, Georgia three, and Virginia ten. Was it possible, in the nature of things, he asked, that two senators could be as well acquainted with the interests and feelings of Virginia, as ten men taken from all parts of the state? were they competent to make a revenue law for that great commonwealth? certainly not—it was evident, therefore, that the people would not be satisfied with the proceedings of the senate, under an authority, which they never delegated to them. They would be alarmed, if their representatives relinquished any part of that power, which it was necessary to retain for their safety.

It had been remarked, he said, that

the senate was not a house of lords; that they did not possess any properties, which materially distinguished them from the representatives. But though the distinction was not so striking, yet it was as real. Neither the house of lords, nor the senate, were created by the people—the one was created by the king, the other by the state legislatures—their number was exceedingly small, and their duration considerably permanent—these circumstances afforded one of the most powerful objections to the new constitution; and the people would never have ratified it, had they supposed, that the powers of that body, in the delicate and interesting subject of taxation, would not be limited, in proportion to the smallness of their number, and the extent of their appointment.

He supposed, that on the same principle that this law was to be made perpetual, all others must be so. If an excise was laid, it must be perpetual. If even direct taxes were found necessary, the people must ever be oppressed by them. What then would become of that boasted privilege of the people, the right of taxing themselves? he was willing, he said, to pass a revenue law, to operate till the debts were paid. This was all that the public creditors could expect, and all that the house could with safety do. It was not supposable, that the senate would be as willing to repeal the law, when it became proper, as the representatives; they might be wiser men, but they could not be so well informed. Not knowing the wishes of the people, they would think its operation was satisfactory. Besides, there was something in the nature of man, which would not suffer them easily to part with power. He could cite many striking instances of this spirit. He would give a remarkable one, in the state which he represented. After the suppression of a rebellion, occasioned by British oppression, the courtiers took advantage of that situation, and the zeal of the house of burgesses, to procure the passing of an act, adding certain extraordinary powers to the council; though this council was esteemed a virtuous and patriotic set of men, and though the burgesses very early attempted a repeal of that act, yet they never could get the con-

currence of the council; they could not persuade them to part with a power, which, in an incautious moment, had been entrusted to them.

Mr. Tucker hoped to see it an established practice never to pass a perpetual law, but under extraordinary circumstances. Nothing, he thought, could justify such an act, but the necessity, the simplicity, and the immutability of the object, and the immutability of the circumstances which related to it—circumstances, which would render a law equally necessary, now, and on all future occasions. The house, if it passed a perpetual act, but in such a situation, would injure itself, and abridge the privileges of the people—every act of this kind narrowed the power of this house, and transferred it to the executive, and a minority of the senate. If the representatives went on to pass perpetual laws, there would be no power remaining in their hands. All would be given up. The senate would have it in their power to retain the advantages that were given them.

A change of circumstances, he said, might render a change of measures necessary: revolutions might happen in trade and in manufactures, which might require essential alterations. Suppose these should take place in two years, and a new house having assembled, should find, that this house had put the power of alterations out of their hands, would they not say, that it had betrayed the rights of the people, by transferring to the other branch of the government, those powers, which the constitution had vested here?

Mr. Silvester was in favour of the amendment. He thought a few years' experience would ascertain the defects of the law; and if the house had it then in their power, they could make it as perfect, as the nature of things would admit.

Mr. Clymer suggested, that gentlemen were mistaken, as to the perpetuity of the bill. In his opinion, it could not be considered so, unless there was an express declaration to that effect. He thought the act should be commensurate to the object, which was various and unlimited. He was of opinion, that public credit could only be perfectly supported, by pro-

viding funds, at all events sufficient to answer the demand of the creditors.

Mr. Sinnickson said, he had no idea of a perpetual law, incapable of alteration. He wished, however, to see a permanent system established. He thought, that revenue systems should not be temporary, the mere breath of an assembly, limited to two, three or five years, but should be something substantial. The act ought to stand, until altered by the wisdom of the legislature.

Mr. Boudinot rose to say a few words, to justify the part he should take in the division of the house. He conceived, that the manner, in which this clause was introduced, after the bill was supposed to be perfected—and the arguments, to which it had given rise, had shown that there was still further room for discussion; and that all the light had not been thrown up on it, which was necessary. But he was confident, that when the law was carried into execution, it would be found that all the purposes and all the essential advantages, intended to be accomplished by it, would be defeated by this very clause.

Sir, said he, if in all our public proceedings we are to have the parliament of Great Britain hung about our necks, and observations from their practice perpetually sounding in our ears, it would be worth while to examine, what that practice is, and to have it clearly defined—I believe that, in the whole body of their statutes, there cannot be found a single revenue law with a limitation—I believe that the laws passed fifty, sixty, and near a hundred years ago, are now in existence. Are we to rivet the infirmities of the old constitution upon the present government? Are we never to stand on a certain solid foundation? Has not public credit almost abandoned us? Ought we not to consider ourselves so deeply in debt, that a long period will be necessary to extricate ourselves? And is it not absolutely necessary, that we establish such a certain permanent fund, as will make the public creditors easy? If we consider it of any importance that the public creditors should have a certain and permanent security—if we wish that the evidences of our debts should be of any value, it is our duty to establish a

funding system, that will be commensurate to the object. I ask, whether the proposed clause will be consistent with such a system? I ask, whether our public debts are of so trifling a nature, that we should leave them in so trifling a situation?

As to the law being perpetual, he said, he should be as much opposed to that, as any man; but could a law be called perpetual, which was constantly in the power of the legislature? It appeared to him to be trifling with language. If the clause was annexed, the law would then partake more of perpetuity, than if it were omitted. Suppose it was declared, that the act should exist ten or fifteen years, could it be altered or repealed, before the expiration of that time, without a breach of the public faith?

He was sorry to see an opinion prevailing, of a difference of interest between the two houses; but he conceived, that if gentlemen meant to support the superiority, which they seemed to claim over the senate, the amendment would have a tendency to defeat this purpose. If the house were desirous of holding the power in their own hands, it could be more effectually done, without the amendment, than with it.

An idea was held up, that the house were giving the purse-strings out of their hands—he was sorry to hear it—had this house the purse-strings, any more than the senate?—It was true that body could not originate a money bill; but it could amend it—it could negative it.

He allowed, that, if the only object of the act was the support of government, he should have no objection to a limitation; but when it was considered, that the bill, before the house, was the foundation of a funding and finance system, the amendment would inevitably defeat its principal object—the language of gentlemen, he said, seemed to be greatly altered—now the system was a mere temporary experiment—but gentlemen would remember, that, in a former stage of the business, he himself had brought forward a question, whether it should be a temporary one or not, which was decided in the negative—he could see no benefit resulting from making mere experiments. Congress

would have it in their power to make alterations in the act, as they pleased; to expunge parts of it, to provide substitutes, and supply deficiencies. A gentleman had observed, he said, that foreigners would never examine, in detail, the acts of congress—he thought differently—he believed, that they would examine sufficiently to see whether the government had laid such a foundation, and had provided such means, as were necessary to create a confidence, and give them proper security. Would it be told him, he asked, that if he was lending money to a man, he would not enquire into the borrower's circumstances, and the means he had provided, or would provide, for the payment? People had seen enough of public faith and public virtue. For the future they would be sure before they trusted.

He agreed, that the legislature ought not to make a perpetual law, that is, one which could never be repealed. This was the true idea of a perpetual law. But gentlemen had said, they would not consent to any permanent, unlimited law—then he undertook to say, that there was an end of the government. Did gentlemen mean, that the law, establishing the judiciary, ought to be temporary and limited? Did they mean that establishment to exist only for a term of years?—No: it would be absurd.

Mr. Madison then withdrew his motion, in order to propose another, by way of accommodation, to this effect. That the impost act should expire on the day of unless continued by the act, which should appropriate the revenue arising from it.

Mr. Sherman was more in favour of this motion than the other, though he disapproved of both.

Mr. Ames opposed it; he did not think it varied the question in reality.

Mr. Fitzsimons was in favour of the limitation, on constitutional principles. He had no objection, that the law should continue in force till the debts were paid—it ought to be commensurate to its object—he could not join with gentlemen, who talked so much of the imperfection of the system. He believed, it was as free from defects, as could possibly be expected: if it was not, he could see none of those difficulties in making alterations and amendments, which the gentlemen apprehended. He hoped, the appropriations would be made, before they left their seats, and that, if the funds were not found sufficient, other funds would be provided.

Mr. Boudinot said, he would acquiesce in the motion last made, for the sake of accommodation.

Mr. Lee moved to strike out the excepting clause in the motion, and was seconded by Mr. Livermore.

This motion was agreed to, and the words struck out.

The main question, on the original motion for a limitation of the bill, was then put, when there appeared, for the motion, forty-one; against it, eight—majority, thirty-three.

Monday, May 18.

Mr. Parker moved the appointment of a committee to bring in a bill for taxing the importation of slaves, into the united states: a committee was appointed accordingly.

Mr. Goodhue moved the appointment of a committee to bring in a bill to ascertain and enumerate the whole number of free persons, and all other persons, within the united states: whereupon a committee was appointed for that purpose.

Adjourned.

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Directions for breeding silkworms—Address to the freemen of Virginia—&c. &c. are under consideration.

Letter of William Penn—Essay on the cause of the variety of complexion and figure of the human species—Account of the dunkards—Essay on smuggling—Account of the climate of Pennsylvania, &c. &c. shall appear next month.

ERRORS.—Page 114, line 5, for *ail*, read *allowed*.—Page 375, line 6, after *ground is*, add *never*.—Page 381, line 8, for *ferens* read *ferens*.—Page 447, line 36, for *Richard*, read *Robert*.—Page 450, add after the conclusion of the college of physicians, the date, "Philadelphia, April 7, 1789."—Page 535, line 54, for *ny* read *any*.

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